

CONTRIBUTION OF KASHMIR
TO
SANSKRIT LITERATURE
(Doctorate Thesis)

WITH A FOREWORD

by

HON'BLE DR. KARAN SINGH

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BY

Sāhityālaṅkāra Kavibhūṣaṇa

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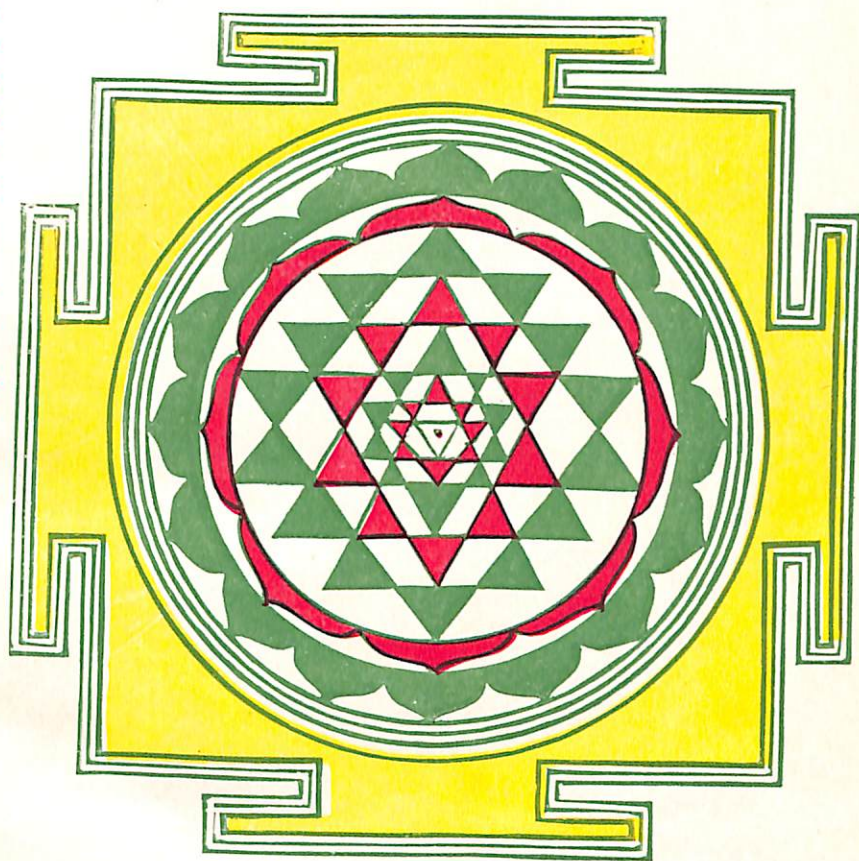
To my Guide and Guru,
Principal

Shri R. D. Karmarkar

of Revered Memory

Principles of Geometry and Trigonometry

of Reverend Memory



श्रीचक्रम्



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श्रीः

॥ काश्मीर वैभवम् ॥

श्रीचक्रोपरिसंस्थितां सुरनुतां श्रीराजराजेश्वरीं
श्रीविद्याजननीं शिवां त्रिणयनां कारुण्यवारांनिधिम् ।
श्रीकाश्मीरपुराधिवासनिरतां श्रीकण्ठचेतोहरां
श्रीवाणीपरिसेवितां पुरहरां वन्दे महादेवताम् ॥ १ ॥

सुमंगलाभालविभूषणांका विभाति रेखेव कुंकुमस्य ।
काश्मीरभूः कुंकुमजन्मभूमिर्दिश्युत्तरस्यां भरताख्यखण्डे ॥ २ ॥

अनादिकालादपि कश्यपस्य कृपेव या भाति हिमालयाग्रे ।
गीर्वाणवाणीकवितामयी सा काश्मीरभूमिर्जयति प्रशस्ता ॥ ३ ॥

यत्र द्राक्षा मधुरमधुरं दिव्यधारां प्रसूते
नेत्रानन्दं विदधति तथा कुंकुमं केसराश्च ।
शैवाद्वैतं हृदयसुखमप्यातनोति प्रभूतं
काश्मीरास्ते भरतवसुधाभूषणानीव भान्ति ॥ ४ ॥

यत्र स्त्रीणां लसति मधुरा चारुगीर्वाणवाणी
वाणी साक्षान्निवसति मनोहारिणी सर्वशक्तिः ।
शक्तेस्तत्त्वं भुवनविदितं श्रोतते नव्यभासा—
भासाख्यो वा जयति जनताचिद्विकासोऽभिवादः ॥ ५ ॥

द्राक्षाकुंकुमकेसरैर्विलसिता विद्वज्जनप्रेयसी
शैवाद्वैतसुधाभिवृष्टिविकसद् ज्ञानांकुरोल्लासिनी ।
वाणीपीठविजृम्भिता जनमनश्शान्तिप्रदा निर्मला
काश्मीराख्यमहामही विजयते सौन्दर्यशोभान्विता ॥ ६ ॥

मुनिरभिनवगुप्तो विलहणः कल्हणश्च
ध्वनिरसगुणतो ये काव्यभेदान्वितेनुः ।
सरसकविवरेण्यः क्षेमपूर्वेन्द्रनामा
धवलतमयशस्काः सन्ति काश्मीरकास्ते ॥ ७ ॥

निखिलकविसमूहो रम्यकाश्मीरजातः

रुचिरतमवचोभिः संस्कृतैः काव्यवृद्धिम् ।

जमिनवतररीत्या संविधाय प्रशस्ति

निरुपमनिरवद्यां प्राप्तवान्पूनमत्र ॥ ८ ॥

रसभरितफलानां जन्मभूमिः प्रभूतं

रससहितकृतीनां सृष्टिकर्त्री शतानाम् ।

रसिकजनसुखानां मूलहेतुबंहनां

सरसरससिजानां भाति काश्मीरभूमिः ॥ ९ ॥

काश्मीरजातकवितारसविन्दुसिक्तं

गीर्वाणवाङ्मयमतीव चमत्कृतं हि ।

बुद्धेर्विकासममलं सुखमात्मनश्च

केषां ददाति न वरं सकृदप्यधीतम् ॥ १० ॥

न भारतसमः खण्डो न संस्कृतसमं वचः ।

न काश्मीरसमो देशो न तत्काव्यसमं भुवि ॥ ११ ॥

यत्कारुण्यलवैनैव जगदुन्मीलति क्षणात् ।

तां वन्दे शारदां देवीं काश्मीरपुरवासिनीम् ॥ १२ ॥

श्री नागराजः

पर्यटन तथा नागरविमानत मन्त्री

MINISTER OF TOURISM

& CIVIL AVIATION

FOREWORD

Kashmir is not only one of the most beautiful places in the world, it has also in our history been one of the most creative in the fields of philosophy and intellectual activity. There is reason to believe that some of the earliest vedic writings took place in Kashmir, and certainly over 2,000 years ago it was a flourishing centre of Buddhist thought and practice. Subsequently the revival of Hinduism, revolving around the remarkable Shaivadarshan which is a unique and original contribution to Indian thought, puts Kashmir in the forefront of the areas associated with the development of our cultural tradition. Later still, the advent of sufism provided another fascinating chapter in the varied and colourful history of Kashmir.

In this broad context, Dr. Nāgarājan has brought out a penetrating study of the contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit literature. So eminent was Kashmir's position in the field of Sanskrit that it came to be looked upon as the special residence of the Goddess of Learning, Shārādā. And Sanskrit is indeed the very foundation of our cultural heritage. A language unrivalled in its beauty and power, Sanskrit has played an outstanding role in forging the cultural unity without which India could never have retained its identity through the dark centuries of oppression and foreign rule.

In his work Dr, Nāgarājan has ably dealt with the multifarious contributions made by Kashmir to various aspects of knowledge, particularly Poetics and Philosophy. It is a book which I am sure will not only be welcomed by scholars but read by a large number of intelligent laymen who would like to know more about the unique position of Kashmir in our cultural life. It is unfortunate that due to various political convulsions in the last two decades or so, the name of Kashmir in the public mind seems to have become co-terminus with political problems. In fact, despite these problems, Kashmir remains an area of unsurpassed physical beauty. Also, anyone who looks below the surface will realize the remarkable contribution that Kashmir has made to the development of our rich and composite national culture. I commend Dr. Nāgarājan's book as a welcome step in the deepening of just such an understanding.

NEW DELHI

MAY 21, 1970

Sd/- KARAN SINGH

— — —

PREFACE

1. This book is the fulfilment of a long cherished desire which was born out of my admiration for the mosaic of the literature of Kashmir, which is at once vast, varied and beautiful. The materials in this book originally formed the basis of a thesis presented for the doctoral degree of the Poona University. In this, I was fortunate to have the inspiring guidance of the late professor R. D. Karmarkar of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4. It is therefore my primary duty to express my deep sense of indebtedness to the University of Poona for all the facilities afforded to me.

2. This book is an endeavour in a critical evaluation of the many varied contributions of Kashmir to Sanskrit thought and literature and there is no question that this is by no means exhaustive or complete. But I should feel sufficiently rewarded if interest is created not only among literateurs but others as well to bring out further contributions in this field. I should apologise for the long lapse of time between the submission of the thesis and the publication ; but this was entirely due to circumstances beyond me and not a little to the rising costs of printing and paucity of funds.

3. My grateful thanks are due to the Hon. Dr. KARAN SINGH, Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation, Govt of India for readily favouring me with a suitable foreword. With his deep scholarship in Sanskrit and his preeminence in Kashmir he is in a unique position and it is indeed my great good fortune that he agreed to write the foreword. I would like to record my

appreciation of the help given by Padma Bhūṣan Dr. R. N. Dandekar of Poona University, Dr. M. T. Sahasrabuddhe of the Nagpur University and Dr. V. P. Mahajan of Poona in useful and enlightening discussions. I also thank Sri M.S. Sundara of Delhi, Dr. K. S. Gopal-krishnan of Poona, and many friends for their encourage-ment; and M/s. V. B. Soobbiah and Sons, Bangalore, who printed this book under great odds and difficult conditions of materials procurement.

श्रीमातृकुमा

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1st October 1970

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ANALYSIS

Purpose — Greatness of Kashmir—The Origin of Kashmir—Causes for the composition of Original Works especially on Poetics, Philosophy and History in Kashmir — The General Plan — Brief summary of the Topics dealt with in each Section and in the Chapters thereof — Concluding Remarks.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Dr. M. A. Stein, the celebrated translator of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, has significantly remarked as follows :—

“The favours with which nature has lavishly endowed ‘The land in the womb of Himālaya’ are not likely to fade or vanish. But those manifold remains of antiquity which the isolation of the country preserved and which help us to resuscitate the life and condition of earlier times are bound to disappear more and more with the rapid advance of Western influence.”¹

Now the Western domination over Kashmir is no longer in existence. Yet we are aware that the lot of Kashmir is still in the melting pot and it is not known what result may come out in future. Dr. Stein’s observation, therefore, still holds true. The earlier records are still at the mercy of the tumultuous course of time. The necessity of reviving them should, therefore, be felt all the more now, because political independence may show us a new way of approach to the material available in Kashmir. This material is not only in the form of relics and chronicles, but also in the form of a huge mass of Literature in Sanskrit on various Subjects. This would help the resuscitation of old Kashmirian traditions which are nothing but phases of the comprehensive Indian

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- 1) The English Translation of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir) Preface p. xxiv.

Culture. Therefore, it is felt that an attempt, to arrange in some order the available records in various forms and to evaluate them in the light of several broad aspects of that Indian Culture as a whole, may prove immensely fruitful.

There are certain striking factors about Kashmir which should always be borne in mind in an attempt of this nature. It is situated in the midst of beautiful and inspiring natural scenery. It was a great centre of learning from very early times. There was a university there which was as famous as the universities of Takṣa-śilā and Nalanda. It was, in the words of Bilhaṇa, Śāradādeśa¹ and it was believed by people that Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning, was actually living there.² The beauties of Kashmir are very well described by many poets like Bilhaṇa³ and Kṣemendra.⁴ Kashmir was not only the Śāradāpīṭha but also the Sarvajñapīṭha.

-
- 1) सहोदराः कुंकुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥ (Vik. I.v. 21)
 - 2) नमस्ते शारदे देवि काश्मीरपुरवासिनि ।
त्वामहं प्रार्थये नित्यं विद्यादानं च देहि मे ॥
 - 3) ब्रूमस्तस्य प्रथमवसतेरद्भुतानां कथानां
किं श्रीकण्ठश्चक्षुरशिखरिः कोडलीलाललाम्नः ।
एको भागः प्रकृतिषुभगं कुंकुमं यस्य सूते
द्राक्षामन्यः सरससरयूपुण्ड्रकच्छेदपाण्डुम् ॥ (Ibid XVIII-v-72)
 - 4) अस्ति स्वस्तिमतां विलासवसतेः संभोगभङ्गीभुवः
केलिप्राङ्गणमङ्गनाकुलगुरोर्देवस्य शृङ्गारिणः ।
काश्मीरेषु पुरं परं प्रवरतालब्धामिधा विश्रुतं
सौभाग्याभरणं महीवरतनोः संकेतसद्म श्रियः ॥
(Sam. Māt. I-v-4)

Even Śrīvidyā and the Śrīcakra worship seem to have originated there. The capital of Kashmir has, therefore, been rightly called Śrīnagara, city of spiritual as well as material wealth. There does not appear to have been a divorce at any time between learning and wealth in Kashmir. Sanskrit seems to have been spoken there even by women.¹

The following interesting account which indicates the intellectual importance of Kashmir appears in the introduction to the Naiṣadha of Śrī Harṣa. King Jayantacandra of Kānyakubja asked Harṣa, his court-poet, to compose a big work in Sanskrit. Accordingly he wrote the Naiṣadha and presented it to the king who, it is stated, asked him to take it to Kashmir, to show it to the Pandits there and place it in the hands of the Goddess of Learning and if approved by her to bring it back and report to him his experiences. The poet accordingly went there and placed his work in the hands of the Goddess Sarasvatī who, at first, seems to have flung it away as a mark of disapproval on the ground that there was a flaw in the 66th verse of the XI Canto.² But later on when he convinced her about the flawlessness of his composition she seems to have approved his work in the presence of scholars who had assembled there. The story goes on to say that the scholars were so jealous of him that even though he repeatedly requested them to take him to their king, they did not do so. But

-
- 1) यत्र स्त्रीणामपि किमपरं जन्मभाषावदेव
प्रत्यावासे विलसति वचः संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च ॥ (Vik. XVIII. v. 6)
- 2) देशो पवित्रितचतुर्भुजवामभागा वागालपत्पुनरिमां गरिमाभिरामाम् ॥
एतस्य निष्कृपकृपाणसनाथपाणेः पाणिग्रहादनुगृहाण गणं गुणानाम् ॥

accidentally he had to be brought into the court of the king as a witness to settle a dispute, where he showed that he was a gifted poet with an extraordinary power of retentive memory. Thus Naisadha which is considered as one of the five great Poetic compositions in Sanskrit and is described as the medicine for scholars,¹ became famous throughout the country. This incident shows how a poet, however great, was first required to go to Kashmir and get the approval of the seat of Learning for his compositions before he could be recognised as such in other parts of India. It was a belief among the people of India that the Goddess of Learning was actually living in Kashmir and was speaking to poets by way of approving their works. The full text of the incident as given in the introduction is reproduced in the foot note.²

- 1) नैपथं विद्वदौषधम् ।
- 2) नृपेणोक्तः कवीशः— वादोन्द्र ! किञ्चित्प्रबन्धरत्नं कुरु । ततो नैपथं महाकाव्यं वद्धं दिव्यरसं महागूढव्यंग्यभारसारं राज्ञे दर्शितम् । राज्ञोच्चे— सुष्ठुतममिदम् । केवलं काश्मीरान्त्रज तत्रत्यपण्डितेभ्यो दर्शय भारतीहस्ते च मुञ्च भारती च तत्र पीठे स्वयं साक्षादुसति असत्यं प्रबन्धं हस्ते न्यस्तमवकरनिकरमिव दूरे क्षिपति सत्यं तु मूर्धधूननपूर्वं सुष्ठु इत्युरीकरोति । उपरितः पुष्पाणि पतन्ति । श्रीहर्षो राजदर्शार्थं निष्पन्नविपुलसामग्रीकः काश्मीरानगमत् । तत्रत्यपण्डितेभ्योऽदर्शयत् । स्वकीयं सरस्वतीहस्ते पुस्तकं न्यास्यत् ! सरस्वत्या दूरे क्षिप्तं तत् । श्रीहर्षेणोक्तं— किं जरतीति विकलसि यन्मदुक्तमपि प्रबन्धमितरप्रबन्धमिवावमन्यसे । भारत्याह — भोः परमर्मभाषक ! न स्मरसि यदत्रोक्तं त्वयैकादशशर्गे पट्टपष्ठितमे श्लोके — देवी पवित्रितचतुर्भुजवामभागा इत्युक्त्वा मां विष्णुपत्नीत्वेन प्रकाश्य लोके रुढं कन्यात्वं लुप्तवानसि । ततो मया पुस्तकं क्षिपम् ।

पावको वंचको व्याधिः पंचत्वं मर्मभाषकः ।

योगिनामप्यमी पंच प्रायेणोद्देशकारकाः ॥

Kashmir is stated to have been created by the great Sage Kaśyapa who is mentioned as an authority on Metrics and Dramaturgy.¹ Seventy-five verses are quoted from Kaśyapa Muni in the Abhinavabhāratī which deal with certain technical details of the Sanskrit Drama.² All these verses are given in Appendix I of this Book. Hṛdayaṅgamā, a commentary on the Kāvyaadarśa of Daṇḍin informs that Kaśyapa and Vararuci have composed works on Poetics before the Kāvyaadarśa was written.³ Another commentary called the Śrūtānupālinī on the same work also mentions Kaśyapa and others as the predecessors of Daṇḍin in the field of Poetics. The Sinhalese Siya—Vas—Lakara, a work on Rhetorics refers to a sage Kaśyapa. All these references go to show that the sage Kaśyapa (probably the same person as the creator of Kashmir) was practically the first person who formulated certain definite rules in poetics which was later on developed by Kashmirians

वाग्देवोवाच श्रुत्वा श्रीहर्षो वदति । किमर्थमेकस्मिन्नवतारे नारायणं पतिं चक्रुषी त्वं
पुराणेध्वपि विष्णुपत्नीति पठ्यसे । ततः सत्ये किमिति कुप्यसि । कुपितैः किं लुब्धते
कलंकात् । इति । ततो देव्या स्वयं गृहीत्वा पुस्तकं हस्ते धारितम् ! ग्रन्थश्च
श्लाघितः सभासमक्षम् ।

(Naiṣadha of Śrī Harṣa Ed. by
Pt. Śivadatta 1894 Int. p. 324)

1) मात्राभिर्वर्णना यत्र सा जातिरिति कश्यपः । सममर्धसमं वृत्तं विषमं पैंगलं त्रिधा ॥
A. P. 336. v-22)

2) Ms. 41/1925-26 of the B. O. R. I. Poona pp. 384-391.

3) पूर्वेषां कश्यपवररुचिप्रभृतीनामाचार्याणां लक्षणशास्त्राणि संगृह्य पर्यालोच्य
पूर्वसूरिभिः कश्यपवररुचिप्रभृतिभिः । (K. D. Comm. on
vv. 1-2 and II-7)

into a perfect Science. Because the sage Kaśyapa has been referred to by many later writers as an authority on Poetics, it may be inferred that Kashmirians took seriously to the study of that Science and to develop it in as perfect a manner as possible.

A detailed account of the origin of Kashmir is given in the Nīlamata Purāṇa, one of the earliest works on the origin and creation of Kashmir. The work by itself is now available only in fragments. But the information that is furnished in it forms a connecting link between Kashmir and India and supplies authority for the various rites which are now prevailing in Kashmir. It is gathered from the account that is furnished in it that when Kashmir was first created Gods occupied it along with Nāgas and Goddesses dwelt there in the shape of rivers. It is this ancient work that Kalhaṇa seems to have used as the basis for his great Chronicle, the Rājatarangīṇī. The land is even today called the daughter of Kaśyapa. In fact Jonarāja refers to it as Kāśyapī or Kaśyapapurī¹. It may also be noted here that the word Kāśyapī is a synonym for Bhūmi or earth as the entire earth is supposed to be the daughter of the sage Kaśyapa. In the opinion of some scholars, Kashmir is stated to be another form of Kuśapurī on the ground that it was the land given to Kuśa by Śrī Rāma who gave Lavapurī (Lahore) to his other son Lava. But there are no data to substantiate this opinion. It may, in conclusion, be stated that Kaśyapapurī and not Kuśapurī was the original name of Kashmir.

श्री गोनन्दमुखैर्धर्मसम्मुखैराकलेः किल । काश्मीरकाश्यपी भूपैरपालि गुणशालिभिः॥

[Jon. Rāj v. 4]

The natural environments, the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere prevailing there and the traditional glory attached to its creation by the great sage Kaśyapa made Kashmir a really enviable spot in the whole of Bharatavarṣa, though very little is known about the intellectual and spiritual past of the country. Poetry of a very high order was composed in Kashmir as could be seen from the few beautiful compositions that are available even now. The primary concern of any poetry, as a matter of fact, is the real nature of man and his feelings. The workings of the human mind are best described in poetry. Not that it was impossible to compose poetry elsewhere but the surroundings in Kashmir inspired good poetry. Poetical passages are seen in some of the oldest works now existing including the Vedas and the Upaniṣads,¹ and they are not the monopoly of Kashmir. But as for Scientific discussion on poetry which constitutes the Science of Poetics, it does not appear to have been evaluated in any part of our country for a long time.

Such an evaluation has its comprehensive form in its various aspects in Sanskrit works on Poetics. The most remarkable fact, in this connection, is that most of these works seem to have emanated from Kashmir. A careful study of the history of the Science of Poetics in India produces an impression that many Kashmirian thinkers

1) अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्ता रुगिव स नये धनानाम् ।

जायेव पत्ये उशती सुवासा उपालेव निरिणीऽतेप्सः ॥ (R.V.I.—v. 7)

प्रणवो धनुः शरो ह्यात्मा ब्रह्म तल्लक्ष्यमुच्यते ।

अप्रमत्तेन वेद्व्यं शरवत्तन्मयो भवेत् ॥ (M.U. II-2-v-4)

thought on the problems of the beautiful in all possible ways and tried to explore ways and means of prescribing rules for the composition of good poetry and defining the form and content thereof. A close observation of the creation of Kashmir and the development of ideas there discloses the fact that the comprehensive whole of the Science of Poetics is strikingly prominent in the intellectual picture of Kashmir. From the elementary definitions of poetry and its contents the discussions were gradually taken up systematically and scientifically until new theories were evolved and Schools of Thought were born.

Commencing from the definitions of words, sense, figures of speech and style in poetry, subtle theories of Rasa and Dhvani originated in Kashmir so that it may be stated that the Science of Poetics was conceived, developed and systematised in Kashmir. Poetics is often called the philosophy and the Science of fine art in the final analysis. It is a part of philosophy because the majority of the writers on it have been influenced in their theories by philosophical, psychological and ethical ideas. Whether the theories have been propounded on the basis of such ideas is a point which requires close attention and investigation. It is called the Science of art because it deals with the technique of the art. It is philosophy in as much as it arouses in the reader or the spectator an experience in terms of the philosophic school to which he belongs.

The all-pervasive theory of Dhvani, analysing all the qualities of good poetry and announcing that suggestion is its soul was finally evolved in Kashmir and has exerted its profound influence ever since, on scholars all

over the country. It would not be wrong, if it is stated that the Science of Poetics as it exists in India to-day is called Kashmir Poetics. Kashmir Poetics and the Indian Poetics are thus almost identical.

Poetry sometimes expresses the highest philosophical truths. The explanations of these truths in all its ramifications may be the subject-matter of philosophy. But their expression in poetry is more vivid and emphatic. For instance Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka went to the extent of stating that the enjoyment derived by Rasāsvāda of a poetic composition was almost similar to Brahmānanda when a Mumukṣu realises supreme bliss.¹ In the same manner Abhinavagupta too, in his commentaries on the Dhvan-yāloka and the Nāṭyaśāstra, brings in, on several occasions, philosophical ideas and analogies in the course of his explanations and comments.² It can thus be seen that discussions on the various topics in poetics imperceptibly drifted from the region of poetics into the sphere of philosophy.

As a result of these discussions a veritable mass of literature on poetics appeared in Kashmir. Some of the writers began to write on philosophical topics also. For, a scientific and systematic analysis of poetics and topics connected with it gradually developed in some of them who were gifted with a high degree of talent, a philosophical thinking and attitude. This could be discerned in the works on poetics of some of the well-known Kashmirian writers. Thus it looks as though there is

1) A.B. Vol. I—pp. 278–279.

*2) Dhv. II. v. 6. p. 74, (Locana)

a close connecting link between Poetics and philosophy resulting in several grand facets appearing in the same person. Abhinavagupta first wrote brilliant commentaries on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata and the Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana and gradually became a philosopher of the first rank by writing equally learned commentaries on the standard works on Kashmir Śaivism and many original works like the Tantrāloka and the Tantrasāra. Kṣemarāja, his disciple, followed in the foot-steps of his master in this respect and Kṣemendra was both a poet and a Rhetorician. Many such instances could be seen among Kashmirian writers.

High philosophical discussions were carried on with certain new interpretations like that of the Trika and the Spanda in Kashmir. They centred round Śaivāgama, in particular, which imbibes in it the broad principles of Dvaita, Advaita and Dvaitādvaita. The Tryambaka Darśana, for instance, comes very near Advaita philosophy. There were writers who wrote on Kashmir Śaiva philosophy, not only from non-dualistic but also from the dualistic point of view. Sublime philosophical ideas that baffle the power of reasoning in man are, at times seen beautifully expressed in poetic ecstasy. While philosophical thinking gave rise to a considerable number of original works and commentaries on Kashmir Śaivism, the philosophical expressions took the form of Prayer-Poems which were composed in equally large numbers. As in Poetics the contribution of Kashmir to philosophy is equally large.

The next speciality about Kashmir is its contribution to another branch of Sanskrit Literature namely History.

Just as we find the mass of Literature on the Science of Poetics existing as a single comprehensive and unique unit in Kashmir, so also the Historical Literature that exists today in Sanskrit as exclusively Indian is from Kashmir alone. The reasons for this are also not far to seek. It may now be clear that Poetics and Philosophy had a great influence on the life of the people in Kashmir. As it has already been stated that several grand facets of the same time-honoured culture of our country appeared in the same person as a result of the immediate influence of philosophical and poetical deliberations, it is possible to infer that in some people it created a taste for chronicling and recording of events. The intelligentsia of Kashmir opened out fresh fields of thought and walked on untrodden ground. Gifted poets turned their attention towards History even as talented Rhetoricians became erudite philosophers and prolific writers of philosophical works. But the books they wrote on the History of Kashmir were not so large as those in Poetics and Philosophy. They are significantly few in number. Some of them were more poets than real historians. For instance Bilhaṇa is more a poet as his *Vikramāṅka-devacarita* is full of poetic exaggerations and fancies.¹ The chronicling element appears to be most prominent

1) अनभ्रवृष्टिः श्रवणामृतस्य सरस्वतीविभ्रमजन्मसूमिः ।

वैदर्भीरितिः कृतिनामुदेति सौभाग्यलाभप्रतिभूः पदानाम् ॥ (Vik-I-v-9)

काव्यं येभ्यः प्रकृतिसुभगं कुंकुमं निर्गतं च

च्छायोत्कर्षाद् भवति जगतां वह्नभं दुर्लभं च ।

यस्मिन्नन्तः स्थितवति जगत्सारभूते प्रयाताः

काश्मीरास्ते नियतमुरगाधीशरक्षास्पदत्वम् ॥

(Ibid XVII-v-16)

only in one of them, that is, in Kalhaṇa, though a poetical work has also been ascribed to him. He was followed by four other Kashmirians who continued his chronicle with the same name and almost in a similar style. They are Jonarāja, Srivara, Prājyabhaṭṭa and Suka. There are also a few purāṇas which, though not constituting historical literature as such, are useful records in narrating events and sometimes furnishing a correct account of them.

In addition to these branches of Sanskrit Literature which are exclusively from Kashmir there are contributions from Kashmirians to miscellaneous branches of learning. They broadly comprise of social topics, Vedic glosses and grammatical works and Treatises on Music and Astronomy. These also indicate to some extent the various directions in which the talents of people in Kashmir are being manifested.

It is this importance of Kashmir and the wealth of Literature in Sanskrit that is available there in various branches of learning in different forms, that has prompted me to write on the contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature. The contributions in poetics and Philosophy are so huge as to occupy the life-time of many persons for a detailed study of all of them or even a few of them. A very humble attempt is, however, here made to furnish as much information as could be possibly collected in this behalf. The original texts, wherever available, either in manuscript or in print have been referred to and faithfully followed in drawing certain conclusions and fixing the dates of the Kashmirian

writers. Wherever it is felt necessary, foot-notes have been furnished and the names of the authors whose books were consulted have also been mentioned.

The general plan which has been adopted in writing up this Book will now be briefly indicated. Keeping the facts mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs broadly in view this Book is divided into four main Sections, each dealing with a single branch of learning and the contributions thereof.

The first Section is accordingly devoted for poetics and poetry and consists of three chapters, the first dealing with Poetics, the second with a few Concepts in Sanskrit Poetics reconsidered and the third with the Poetical Compositions and Poets of Kashmir. Particular attention is paid to Rhetorics and its developments in Kashmir as a Science, as it is a subject of great interest to the author. The growth of the Science of Poetics in Kashmir is traced from the earliest times discussing the life and date of the writer concerned wherever possible together with the contribution he has made to the Science as a whole and its relative importance in particular, in the first chapter of this Section. The writers on poetics are described in a more or less chronological order and the various Schools of thought which they represent are indicated. It has also been pointed out how the contribution of Kashmir to this branch of Sanskrit Learning has been unique and substantial. For, no other country in India can boast of such a vast and original contribution to poetics culminating in the propounding of the Dhvani Theory which holds the sway even to day and stands supreme and

unchallenged. The nation, as a whole, may be stated to be indebted to Kashmir in this behalf. A detailed and special attention is paid to the third and fourth chapters of the *Vakroktijīva* of Kuntala by showing their value and importance in poetics. The date and birth-place of Bhāmaha, the double authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammaṭa and the *Alaṅkārasarvasva* are some of the other special features of this chaqter. Similarly a few statements of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka occurring in the commentaries of Abhinavagupta on the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* have been collected together to show the trend of his arguments on the *Rasa Theory* in Poetics. How these two original thinkers, Kuntala and Nāyaka along with Mahimabhaṭṭa, attempted to oppose the *Dhvani Theory* is also indicated.

It is in the next or the second chapter of this Section that a few concepts in Sanskrit poetics have been reconsidered in an original manner with a particular reference to the treatment of *Vakrokti* by Kuntala and the merits of his arguments in its favour. They have been commented upon in the light of the definitions given by the writers on poetics. The source of *Vakrokti*, its part in poetry and its wide implication, the fascination for the *Dhvani* theory and the relationship between *Dhvani* and *Vakrokti* are all discussed in as complete a manner as possible. The several theories in poetics are evaluated on the basis of the views expressed by Kashmirian Rhetoricians. The relative merits of the theory are then discussed from different points of view. Such topics as poetry is a work of art, the aesthetic pleasure derived by the reader, the element of *Rasa* in

Poetry, the part that Guṇa, Alaṅkāra, Rīti, Aucitya etc., play in a Kāvya and the subjective and objective elements in poetry are all discussed and the relative merits of these writers and their views on the topics are assessed. Of the three concepts namely, Dhvani, Vakrokti and Aucitya, that which is most appropriate to be considered as the Soul of Poetry is then discussed with reference to the definitions and views given by the propounders of each one of these concepts in relation to the aesthetic pleasure that is derived by the reader or the spectator as the case may be, in the enjoyment of a poetic composition. It has been shown by relevant data that while Aucitya cannot be considered as the essence of Poetry, Vakrokti which is, like Dhvani, a vehicle of Rasa, appears to have a firmer and a better stand to be considered as such. The chapter is finally wound up with the conclusion that the theory of Vakrokti, though closely related to the Dhvani theory, is more balanced and has a better claim to be considered as the Soul of poetry than all the other concepts in Sanskrit Poetics.

The next chapter in this section i. e., the third chapter of the Book is divided into three parts and deals with the Poets of Kashmir including Royal Poets and Minor Poets and their beautiful compositions. The anthologies written by some of these poets are also dealt with in the appropriate parts of this chapter. Though many works have not yet been unearthed and might have been lost owing to various causes, several important works have, however, been brought forth and stand to the credit of Kashmir throwing, as they do, ample light on the development of Literary thought in

Kashmir from pre historic times. Biographical sketches of Poets, wherever possible, have been drawn up with a brief discussion of the merits of their compositions with quotations, wherever necessary, in support of the conclusions drawn. It has also been hinted therein how these works might have shown the way to the people in other parts of India for writing good Poetic compositions. The names of a few unpublished works and of authors whose identity has not been definitely established are also mentioned. The special topic that has been discussed in this chapter is the possibility of rebuilding the views of Mātṛgupta on the technique of the Sanskrit Drama by collecting together the fragments that are available in the form of quotations in the commentaries of Abhinavagupta, Rāghavabhaṭṭa and others.

The second Section comprising of the Fourth and the Fifth Chapters of the Book, is devoted to Philosophy. Chapter Four deals with the Philosophers of Kashmir and Kashmir Śaivism. This chapter is divided into three parts, the first dealing with Kashmir Śaivism, the second with Buddhist Philosophers and the third with other writers on Philosophy. The contribution to philosophical Literature by Kashmir cannot be called exclusive because other parts of India also have their own substantial contribution. Still Kashmir Śaivism which may be called a form of idealistic non-dualism stands aloof from the well-known Six Schools of Thought in Philosophy, in as much as it shows a practical way out of this worldly existence to the suffering individual. The doctrines of this system as propounded by Vasugupta and Somānanda are briefly summarised in this chapter and the works that have been published by the Research Department of

Sanskrit in the State of Jammu and Kashmir with their importance and utility have been noted. The works of Kallaṭa, Utpala, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja have been dealt with at some length in their various aspects. In the second part an account of Buddhist Philosophers and their works, most of which are lost, is furnished. In the last part of this chapter a brief account of Kashmirian writers on other branches of Philosophy is given.

The Fifth Chapter deals with the Tāntric works of Kashmir, as Śrīvidyā is supposed to have originated there. The information that could possibly be collected regarding the origin of Śrīvidyā, the Guruparamparā and the principal Tāntric works and doctrines propounded in them are briefly and succinctly mentioned. The manner of Śrīcakra-worship and its significance are also incidentally dealt with briefly in it, explaining its meaning with the help of the well-known diagrammatic representation of the Śrīcakra. The Prayer-poems full of philosophical truths and Poetic beauties are also dealt with in this chapter.

The third main Section consisting of the sixth and the seventh chapters of the Book is devoted to the History and Topography of Kashmir. In the sixth chapter the Historians of Kashmir and their contributions are briefly narrated. To begin with, an account of the History of Kashmir commencing from its creation by the Sage Kaśyapa right upto the present day is given in detail, tracing, in between, the effects of foreign invasions on the land with a view to arrive at and gauge the influences that they have on the development and shaping of the Literary thought-currents there from time

to time. It is also mentioned therein that, in Kashmir, there was a remarkable fusion of the essential concepts of several religions and cultures of nations with a free exchange of views on either side. Kashmir, as a result of her contact with great religions and nations of the world, stands even to-day as an example of unity in diversity worthy of emulation by other nations of the world. It is then shown how, even in the field of History, Kashmir stands distinguished. No other part of India seems to have ever thought of writing out the chronicle of events. It is this conspicuous absence of Historical Literature in Sanskrit that has brought forth severe attacks and criticisms from the Western Scholars. That the severity of those attacks has been mitigated to some extent by the great works of Kalhana and others has been shown in this chapter pointing out their importance in the History of Kashmir and India. The void has been filled up by Kashmir to some extent. Lastly a few minor Historians and their works have been dealt with, furnishing the available information in respect of them.

In Chapter Seven the Topography of Kashmir is described in as detailed a manner as possible. At the commencement, a brief description of the natural scenery, the mineral and botanical wealth, the gifts of nature, the rivers, the mountains and the flora and fauna, is furnished. The effect of this Geographical situation of Kashmir on the life and conduct of the people has also been pointed out incidentally.

The Fourth and the last Main Section consisting of the Eighth Chapter of the Book is devoted to the miscellaneous contributions of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature. This Chapter is also divided into three

parts, the first dealing with Vedic Glosses and Grammatical Works, the second with Works on Social Topics and the third with other miscellaneous works such as Lexicons, Prose-works, Dramas, Works on Music, Astrology and Technical subjects. The names of Grammatical Works and the Vedic commentaries by Kashmirian authors are mentioned in the first part indicating how Kashmir has not lagged behind even in this field but has contributed fairly substantially. In the Second part compositions on Social and other Topics of interest and utility are dealt with, with particular reference to the works of Kṣemendra showing that Kashmir's contribution on general subjects is also equally important and substantial. The third part deals with works and their authors on other branches of learning including Technical Sciences. Wherever possible the subject matter of the work, whether published or in manuscript, and the biography of the author have been furnished in brief. Quotations from most of these works are also extracted with a view to show the beauty and the utility of the composition.

In addition to these four main Sections, there is one more chapter consisting of concluding remarks. It is the ninth chapter of the Book and is called the Resume. In this chapter it is stated that the works of Kashmirian authors written on various subjects which are lying scattered have been brought together in one place under the appropriate Section with a view to present to the Literary world, at one glance how much Kashmir has contributed to the various branches of Sanskrit Literature and how much of it is original and unique, especially in Poetics, Philosophy

and History. The reasons for the maximum contribution from Kashmir during a particular period only, namely from 700 A. D. to 1500 A. D., such as Royal patronage and other special circumstances have also been furnished. The encouragement given to the growth of Sanskrit Literature by a few Muslim Kings who ruled Kashmir and the reasons therefor are also mentioned. Finally it has been pointed out how far the Book is original mentioning the new topics that are dealt with in it.

Besides these nine chapters there are six Appendices at the end. Seventy verses of the Sage Kaśyapa which are quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* and which are found in an unpublished portion of the manuscript in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, are reproduced in Appendix I. In Appendix II, how far the theory that Kālidāsa is a Kashmirian is tenable Vis-a-Vis the other existing theories is discussed in all its aspects. Verses ascribed to Candraka in the several anthologies in Sanskrit are collected together in Appendix III furnishing complete references. The stray verses of the Kumārasambhava of Udbhaṭa which are quoted in his own *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-sangraha* are reproduced in Appendix IV. The names of important places, rivers, mountains and Tīrthas which occur in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* are furnished in the form of a statement in Appendix V with their modern equivalents wherever possible. Appendix VI contains a statement indicating a few Kashmirian writers who are known only in name with relevant references, wherever available. A copy of the diagram of Śrīcakra is provided at the beginning of the Book and a copy of the latest map of Kashmir is attached at the end.

In the course of the collection of material it has not been possible to discover the existence of Sanskrit Dramas written by Kashmirians with the sole exception of *Karṇasundarī*, a play written by Bilhaṇa which has been published, though there are evidences to show that Candraka was a reputed dramatist of Kashmir, that another writer by name Śyāmala wrote a *Bhāṇa* by name *Pādatāditaka* and that Kṣemendra refers, perhaps, to a play of his *Kanakajānakī* by quoting verses from it in his works on Poetics. This paucity of dramas by Kashmirian writers has been discussed in the concluding chapter or the Resume. Even though it has been mentioned by many a Kashmirian poet that Sanskrit was spoken freely and fluently by women and children in Kashmir for a long time, it is surprising to note that there has not been a single Kashmirian authoress. This fact has also been pointed out in the last chapter.

This, in brief, is the general plan which has been adopted on the contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature. In view of the fact that some times a writer on Poetics is also a Poet or a Philosopher, and a poet is a Historian or a writer on any one of the miscellaneous topics, it has been found almost inevitable that a particular author has to be dealt with more than once in the Book according to the necessity of the theme. Care has, however, been taken scrupulously to avoid repetitions in furnishing the information either about the author or his work. At times, such repetitions may creep in either out of sheer necessity or without the knowledge of the author unintentionally.

In dealing with the writers on a particular branch of Literature and their works, the chronological order has generally been followed. But depending on the nature of the subject or topic under discussion, a few discrepancies might have crept in here and there for which the writer wishes to express his regrets at the outset. As regards the fixation of dates of the several Kashmirian writers whether on poetics or Philosophy or History, the dates that have generally been accepted by scholars have mostly been followed. Wherever there is a difference of opinion or any personal view about the date of any particular author or about the joint authorship of any well-known work, care has been taken to furnish specific reasons in the appropriate place.

In conclusion the author wishes to state that a very humble attempt is made in furnishing as much of information as is available and accessible at present on the contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature. He has no pretensions to say that anything has been stated finally in the book. Apart from the fact that he is fully aware of his own limitations, the subject in itself is so wide in its scope that fresh evidences and views will always be forthcoming to alter the results already arrived at. In spite of these difficulties, the fact remains that the vast and diverse contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature would arrest the attention of any student of Sanskrit. This Book is, therefore, presented with the full hope and confidence that it will be welcomed in Literary circles. If it is done the author feels amply gratified.



Section I



POETICS AND POETRY



CHAPTER I

POETICS

Analysis

Preliminary remarks — Bhāmaha — Udbhaṭa —
Vāmana — Rudraṭa — Ānandavardhana — Abhinava-
gupta and other commentators on Dhvanyāloka —
Mukula — Tauta — Nāyaka — Kuntala — Mahima-
bhaṭṭa — Kṣemendra — Mammaṭa — Ruyyaka —
Commentators on Nāṭyaśāstra and Alaṅkāraśāstra —
Conclusion.

CHAPTER—ONE

POETICS

As has already been stated in the General Introduction, the credit of presenting a full-fledged picture of the Science of Poetics can be attributed, in a large measure, to Kashmir. The reasons for this have also been furnished there. Though the fundamentals in Poetics could be traced to works like the Agnipurāṇa and Nāṭya-śāstra of Bharata, it is remarkable to note that all aspects of this science are elaborated and discussed in detail by Kashmirian authors. Original theories have been suggested and speculations worked out in such a catholic manner that one is tempted to say that the Science of Poetics, in its entirety, is visible only in Kashmir. Every topic pertaining to the Science, like Alaṅkāra, Rasa, Rīti or Dhvani was thoroughly discussed. Even grammatical points which would require attention while discussing the relation between Śabda and Artha were not lost sight of, though they had no direct connection with the subject.

The writings on Poetics prior to Bharata appear to be vague and scanty. Bharata, however deals with it, in his Nāṭyaśāstra, as far as it concerns the drama. He mentions only four figures of speech namely :— Upamā,

Rūpaka, Dīpaka and Yamaka¹ and deals mainly with the Rasa theory as it was found suitable to his purpose. He also states that the theory was in existence even before him and that he is only developing it to suit the requirements of the drama in particular. He defines the origination of Rasa as due to the combination of exciting determinants, emotional responses and passing moods. But later writers like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and others, referred to the drama as a species of the Kāvya so that the rules enunciated by them could be made applicable there also. They, particularly those of Kashmir, introduced finer shades of distinction between the various kinds of figures of speech, especially between figures of words and figures of sense.

Kashmir writers like Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Mammaṭa wrote standard works on the subject which defined the scope and gave a complete shape to the Science of Poetics. It was Dr. Bühler who first discovered in Kashmir some of the most valuable works on Poetics. It was till then thought that the works on Poetics were few and disconnected. Now it is clear that they are not sporadic but form an extensive literature with an intensive and systematic treatment of the subject at different stages of its development. That is why Dr. S. K. De characteristically remarks "that the commonly used term 'Rhetoric' is inadequate in explaining the stand-point of a study

1) उपमा दोषकं चैव रूपकं यमकं तथा ।

अलंकारास्तु विज्ञेयाश्चत्वारो नाटकाश्रयाः ॥

(N S. Vol. L. p 206)

2) विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ।

(Ibid. p. 274)

which includes a great deal more than a mere practical treatment of Rhetorical categories ; while the expression 'Aesthetics' is misleading in this connection in as much as the theoretical scope of *Alaṅkāra* is not fully co-extensive with what is expressed by that term in modern philosophical study. So the word 'Poetics' is found to be the fittest term for *Alaṅkāraśāstra* or *Sāhityaśāstra*'.¹

A brief history of this important science would, therefore, be not out of place here, before Kashmir's share is dealt with in detail. Bharata is practically the first known writer on the subject. He is extremely simple in his statements. All later writers and schools of thought take inspiration from him². His primary theme, as already stated, is the drama. According to him there can be no poetry without *Rasa*. He was, after a fairly long interval of time³ followed by *Bhāmaha*, *Dandin* (Seventh century A. D.)⁴ and *Dhvanikāra* none of whom can be said to be the absolute founder of the system which he represents. In the time of *Bhāmaha* Poetics was trying to make its appearance as an independent Science. The poetic embellishment formed the subject of his study. It is very likely that the *Alaṅkāra* school co-existed with the *Rasa* school. As Dr. De says "the art of poetry was supposed to comprise a collection of precepts relating to the forms of expression, its damaging faults and its Rhetorical ornaments without

1) H. S. P. Vol. I, pp-xii & xiii of the Preface.

2) P. V. K. pp. 46 & 47.

3) The gap between Bharata and *Bhāmaha* appears to be fairly wide.

4) Ibid pp. 120 to 124.

going further into the speculative aspects of the problems involved''¹ The older writers seem to be content with saying that poetry would bestow fame on the poet and pleasure on the reader. In Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa we find that the essential sign of a Kāvya is the existence of the poetic figures. There does not appear to exist a thorough critical system in either of them. Later writers like Mammaṭa analysed various aspects of poetry and have pointed out that it is not only a source of pleasure but also has a greater and a nobler aim such as warding off evil and helping in the attainment of salvation.² Poetry, in effect, should not be pedagogic or pedantic.

From the statements in the works of unknown writers of the past, the Agnipurāṇa, Bharata and Bhāmaha, Kashmir scholars developed a systematic scheme of poetics. It fell to their lot to advance mature views on the various aspects of this scheme. All of them point out the necessity of wide study and experience on the part of the poet in whom pratibhā or genius is natural. The Agnipurāṇa stresses on the importance of Arthālaṅkāra in poetry.³ Here we find the demarcation between figures of words and figures of sense ; also

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- 1) H. S. P. Vol II p-44.
 - 2) काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते व्यवहारविदे शिवेतरक्षतये ।
सद्यः परनिवृत्तये कान्तासम्मिततयोपदेशयुजे ॥ (K. P. I. V. 3)
 - 3) स्यादावृत्तिरनुप्रासो वर्णानां पदवाक्ययोः ।
अलंकरणमर्थानां अर्थालंकार उच्यते ॥
तं विना शब्दसौन्दर्यमपि नास्ति मनोहरम् ।
अर्थालंकाररहिता विधवेव सरस्वती ॥ (A. P. vv. 343 & 344)

the number of figures of speech increases as the distinctions become subtle and minute. It was four in Bharata as already mentioned and five in the writings of those later than Bharata but earlier than Bhāmaha.¹ It increased to thirty-nine in Bhāmaha, fortyone in Udbhaṭa, thirty-three in Vāmana, fifty-five in Rudraṭa and sixty in Mammāṭa. Then the place of style in poetry is discussed and the different kinds of style that exist and their natural relationship and relative importance are fully analysed. Thus Vāmana dealt with Rīti in Poetics. In the same manner the concepts of Dhvani, Rasa, Vakrokti and Aucitya manifested themselves in quick succession. Ānandavardhana, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Kuntala and Kṣemendra were respectively the propagators of these concepts. They were all Kashmirians. Though only a commentator Abhinavagupta, also a Kashmirian, made a substantial contribution to the Dhvani theory and has described the part played by the sparkling intellect and creative capacity of a poet in a poetic composition.² Udbhaṭa and Vāmana may be taken as the expounders of the Kashmirian School of Poetics which produced its first fruit in Ānandavardhana. For, the former established the Alaṅkāra Doctrine and the latter skillfully constructed the theory of Rīti and both paved the way for the Dhvanikāra.

1) अनुप्रासः सयमको रूपकं दीपकोपमे ।

इति वाचामलंकारः प्रचैवान्यैरुदाहृताः ॥

(K. A. X. V. 6)

2) प्रतिभा अपूर्ववस्तुनिर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा । तस्या विशेषो रसावेशवैशद्यसौन्दर्य-
काव्यनिर्माणक्षमत्वम् । प्रज्ञा नबोनबोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा स्मृता ॥

(Dhv. Locana p. 29)

The Rasa School then made its appearance in full in the works of stalwarts like Lollaṭa, Nāyaka and Sankuka. With the advent of the Dhvani theory there was an elaboration of the concept of Rasa. Guṇas were supposed to be intimate with Rasa and Alaṅkāras were supposed to be extraneous and artificial so that the figures of speech came to occupy a subordinate position in poetry. It was Bhaṭṭanāyaka who gave a critical analysis of the Rasa doctrine and boldly refuted some of the earlier views on it. According to him Rasa consists in the permanent mood (स्थायिभाव) which is experienced through denotation (अभिधा) and generalisation (भावकत्व) and is enjoyed by a blissful process called Bhoga till it is raised to a state of pleasurable relish.¹ Later, Abhinavagupta criticised the insufficiencies of the earlier theories on Rasa and dealt with the aspect of Rasa-dhvani, synchronising the idea of Rasa with the theory of Dhvani. It was he who elaborated the Rasa theory. While commenting on the views of Nāyaka he says that there is no need either for Bhāvakatva or Bhojakatva as they are included in the state of relish (आस्वाद). He introduced a fresh term called Pratīti or Perception of Rasa which results from the abhivyakti by the power of suggestion and goes a step further when he says that स्थायिन् remains in the hearts of appreciating audience in the subtle form of latent impressions. The feeling in a man of taste or a cultured critic (सहृदय) when raised to a state of relish is called Rasa in which lies the essence of poetic enjoyment. The relish arises only after the normal

1) C. A. Vol. X. p. 63.

limitations are transcended.¹ Later writers only accepted this theory and the Rasa School gradually merged in the Dhvani School.

The Dhvani is one of the highest concepts in poetics. The credit of fixing it into a new and complete frame goes to Ānandavardhana, also a Kashmirian. Though the beginnings of this theory could be traced to earlier writers on grammar and philosophy, its independent treatment consists of व्यंग्यार्थ vis-a-vis वाक्यार्थ and it tries to correlate the ideas of Alaṅkāra, Rasa, Rīti and Guṇa with those of Dhvani. The Dhvani or suggestion is stated to be the soul or the essence of poetry. Excellent poetry is that in which there is this suggestive sense. Apart from this importance of the Dhvani theory there is still another notable factor. That is, topics like Rasa, Rīti, Guṇa, Alaṅkāra and Doṣa are so discussed as to lose their conceptual individuality and merge imperceptibly into the comprehensive or all-pervasive concept of Dhvani. There is a special stress on Rasadhvani because Rasa appears to be the centre of gravity towards which every thing else in a poetic composition moves. The Dhvani theorists do not altogether reject the Guṇī bhūta-vyaṅgya. They also evolve a new theme of Aucitya or propriety. It is not an extension of the Rasa theory for Rasa forms only one aspect of it. Thus the chief merit of this all-embracing theory exists in the elaboration of the fundamental principle of all higher poesy namely, the art of suggestion which helps the reader to pass through various stages from that which is distinctly

1) पुण्यवन्तः प्रमिन्वन्ति रसवद्रससन्ततिम् । (H.S.P. Vol. II p. 172)

expressed to that which is left unexpressed. In this respect no other work on Sanskrit poetics has exerted so much influence as the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana. It is supposed to be the focus of the tentative efforts of earlier thinkers. There were attempts on the part of a few later writers to disagree with the views of Dhvani theorists and to form new systems. But they were not successful in spite of their able efforts to reveal new and original paths of approach. It is significant to note that even those who tried to supplant the Dhvani theory were also Kashmirians namely Kuntala and Mahimabhaṭṭa. Their theories had to recede to the background before the powerful Dhvani theory which was forcefully upheld by the scholarly exposition of Abhinavagupta.

It is said of Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka* that it is more authoritative in some places than the original itself. It should not be taken to mean that the Dhvani theory went without opposition. There was the reactionary school which, while trying to maintain the older theories, began to storm the new theory by its stringent criticism. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Kuntala and Mahimabhaṭṭa (all Kashmirians) form a group in this regard. Though they do not deny Dhvani, they enunciate different theories. The work of Bhaṭṭanāyaka has not yet been discovered. While he is not prepared to accept the function of *vyañjanā* as the means of manifestation of *Rasa*, Kuntala is of the opinion that *Vakrokti* is the soul of poetry. In his zeal to supplant the Dhvani theory Kuntala assigns a predominant position to *Vakrokti* and treats *Alaṅkāra* in a subordinate manner.

He further states that the test of a poetic figure of speech is विच्छित्ति.¹

Mahimabhaṭṭa, on the other hand, accepted the importance of indicated sense in poetry but stated that it was possible only through the process of Anumāna or syllogistic reasoning. He differs from Kuntala in putting forward his own idea of Rasa and its importance in poetry, criticising at the same time the definition of Dhvani and its place in a poetic composition. According to Kuntala only the continuous sense of Rasa can make poetry immortal.² The Anumāna theory, however, fell through for want of a liberal support and recognition from scholars.

In conclusion it may be stated that each school of thought took its birth from Kashmirians and had an important function to perform in the establishment of fundamentals in Sanskrit poetics. Thus, the Alaṅkāra school confined itself to the embellishment of expression; the Rasa school introduced the subjective element of Rasa in poetry represented in the feelings, moods, and sentiments, the Rīti school stressed on the objective beauty of representation realised by means of diction and Guṇas and the Dhvani school elaborated a peculiar theory of indicated or suggested sense embodying not only the doctrines of earlier writers but also the essence

1) कविन्यापारवृत्तप्रकाराः सम्भवन्ति षट् ।

प्रत्येकं बहवो भेदास्तेषां विच्छित्तिशोभिः ॥

(V-J-I-v-18)

2) निरन्तरसोद्धारगर्भसन्दर्भनिर्भराः ।

गिरः कबोनां जीवन्ति न कथामात्रमाश्रिताः ॥ (V-J. Ms. IV-p-184)

of good poetry. These four schools were the nuclei from which flowed main currents in different directions. The post-Dhvani period mainly contented itself with explanation, expansion and restrictions of rules enunciated by these schools. Though a few other schools of thought like the Vakrokti school and Aucitya school were born during this period they were not able to impress and gain a following to lend support to them. There was nothing original in the works which were produced in this period. But there was only an orderly and concise discussion of the primary issues. The most popular of the later writers of Kashmir were Mammaṭa, the author of *Kāvya-prakāśa* and Ruyyaka, his learned commentator.

As in many other branches of Sanskrit Literature so in the field of Poetics we come across many writers whose works have not come down to us and who are no more than mere names. The Kashmirian writers of the various schools of thought in poetics and their contributions are now dealt with together with the commentators. The importance of these works and the influence they exerted on the various branches of Sanskrit Literature are also pointed out wherever necessary. The writers of the Post-Dhvani period and their indebtedness to the original authors on poetics are also dealt with in as brief a manner as possible furnishing the available information wherever necessary.

I—BHĀMAHA (675–725 A. D.)

Bhāmaha is one of the earliest writers on poetics. He is mentioned with great respect by almost every one

of the later writers on the subject. It is, however, unfortunate that we know very little about him. We are, as in the case of many others, completely in the dark as regards the country in which he was born and the time during which he lived. We are entirely at the mercy of conjecture in this respect. Dr. Būhler has, however, stated that he was a Kashmirian perhaps on the ground that two works on Prakrit grammar ascribed to him were discovered in Kashmir.¹ Prof. Baladev Upadhyaya also says "Tradition says that he was a Kashmirian and this is believed by Būhler and others. There is no reason to disbelieve it even though we have no reasonable evidence — external or internal — to prove it beyond doubt".² Sri Vamanasastri Jhalkikar says that Bhāmaha whose work was commented upon by Udbhaṭa was certainly a Kashmirian and that he is one of the very ancient writers as referred to by Pratīhārendu-rāja in the Vṛtti for the first time.³ This fact is further confirmed by Abhinavagupta and Hemacandra. Dr. De also refers to Bhāmaha but does not mention anything about his nativity or date except stating that he is a link between Bharata and later writers. The Pratāpa-rudrīya also commences with a deep reverence to Bhāmaha and other earlier writers.⁴ Ruyyaka, another

1) B. K. R. p. 75.

2) K. A. (Kāśī series p. 6 of introduction)

3) भामहस्तु काश्मीरदेशीयः । तथा च यस्य ग्रन्थस्य विवरणं भट्टेन्द्रटैः कृतं तस्य कर्ता । तदुक्तमुद्रालंकारसारसंग्रहलघुवृत्तौ प्रथमे वर्गे प्रतीहारेन्दुराजेन-
स्पष्टमिदं भामहविवरणे भट्टेन्द्रटेन । अयं हि भामहः प्राचीनतरः ।

4) पूर्वेष्वो भामहादिभ्यः सादरं विहिताञ्जलिः ।
वक्ष्ये सम्यगलंकारसारसर्वस्वसंग्रहम् ॥

later Kashmirian writer on poetics, also refers to him as a very ancient writer on Poetics.¹ It may be that Bhāmaha was a Kashmirian because a large number of Kashmirian writers on poetics (if not all who come after him) pay him obeisance before they commence their treatises.

As to his parentage Bhāmaha himself says that he is the son of Rakrilagomin.² Since Rakrila is similar to such names as Rāhula, Somila, Pottala etc., and his work begins with a bow to सर्वज्ञ some suppose that he was a Buddhist.³ But the internal evidence available in his work does not lend support to this view. For, he criticises the अपोहवाद of the Buddhists,⁴ speaks of Vedic rites and ceremonies and refers to the Rāmāyaṇa and many popular Hindu legends like the story of Udayana.⁵ There is, on the other hand, no reference to Buddhist legends in his work. As to the usage of Sarvajña in the invocatory verse it may be an epithet of Śiva and Gomin may be a contraction of Gosvāmin. Also the word Gomin may be a term of respect.⁶ The following

1) भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयश्चिरन्तनालंकारकाराः । (A. S. p-3)

2) अवलोक्य मतानि सत्कवीनामवगम्य स्वधिया च काव्यलक्ष्म ।

सुजनावगमाय भामहेन ग्रथितं रक्लिगोमिसुनुनेदम् ॥ (K.A-VI-v-64)

3) प्रणम्य सर्वसर्वज्ञं मनोवाक्कायकर्मभिः ।

काव्यालंकार इत्येष यथानुद्धि विधास्यते ॥ (Ibid I. v-1)

4) अन्धापोहेन शब्दोऽर्थमाहेत्यन्ये प्रचक्षते ।

अन्धापोहश्च नामान्यपदार्थात्कृतिः किल ॥ (Ibid VI. v-16)

5) विजिगीषुमुपन्यस्य वत्सेशं वृद्धदर्शनम् ।

तस्यैव कृतिनः पश्चादभ्यधाच्चारश्चन्यताम् ॥ (Ibid IV. v-39)

6) गोमिन् पूज्ये

[चन्द्रव्याकरण— (4. II. 144)]

remarks of Dr. Sunil Candra Ray in this regard are significant. "The Kārkoṭaka period produced some great writers on the subject (Poetics). The eldest of them is Bhāmaha, son of Rakrilagomin. Probably he lived in the beginning of the eighth century A. D. Bhāmaha's Kāvyaśāṅkārā is the earliest work of Poetics and has 390 verses and is divided into six Chapters which deal with such topics as Kāvyaśārīra, Alaṅkāra, Doṣa, Nyāya and Śabdaśuddhi Whether Bhāmaha was a Buddhist has been a matter for much controversy among historians. The Kāmadhenu and the Vṛttaratnākara quote some verses from Bhāmaha which are not found in the Kāvyaśāṅkārā. So he must have written a work on metrics also."¹

The date of Bhāmaha is still a controversial subject. There is no clue to it anywhere in his work. The earliest writer to quote him directly by name is Ānandavardhana² He precedes Udbhaṭa and Vāmana as both of them not only refer to him but also quote him profusely in their works. He must, therefore, have lived prior to them. On the ground that he mentions a Nyāsakāra, Prof. K. B. Pathak fixes his date as 700 A.D. But the Nyāsakāra that is referred to by Bhāmaha³ may not be the Buddhist Jinendrabuddhi but an old writer whose identity has not been established. Some critics are of the opinion that since he made use of the teachings

1) I. H. Q. Vol. XXXI No. 3 for Sept. 1955 p. 239.

2) न पुनः पर्यायोक्ते भामहोदाहृतसदृशे व्यंग्यस्यैव प्राधान्यम् । (Dhv. p.39)

3) शिष्यप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा ।

तुया समस्तपण्ठीकं न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् ॥

(K.A.VI. v-36)

of the Buddhist philosophers, he must be later than 700 A. D. This may not be tenable because it is not certain whether he made use of these teachings. Dr. Kane says that he is later than Daṇḍin and fixes his date approximately between the last quarter of the seventh century A. D. and the first quarter of the eighth century A. D.¹ But Principal A. B. Dhruva does not agree with this view and says that he is much earlier than Daṇḍin. "I share with the editors the opinion of those who place Bhāmaha before Daṇḍin to me Daṇḍin's line² appears to have made a crushing reply to Bhāmaha.³⁻⁴ Bhāmaha quotes an earlier writer Medhāvīn by name. There might also have been a chronological proximity between Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha as there is very close resemblance in the number, order and treatment of the Alaṅkāras in Sanskrit.

With all these views regarding the date of Bhāmaha independent conclusions can also be drawn by a perusal of the work itself. Judging from the general diction and the simplicity of his work and the way in which the subject-matter and the figures of speech are handled one feels, not without reason, that Bhāmaha might be assigned to a much earlier date than what is generally accepted. Even modern scholars seem to be attracted

1) P. V. K. pp. 111 to 120

2) प्रतिशब्देतुह्यन्तहानिर्दोषो न वाप्यसौ ।

विचारः कर्कशः प्रायस्तेनालीढेन किं फलम् ॥ (K. D. III. v. 127)

3) स्वादुकाव्यरसोन्मिश्रं शास्त्रमप्युपयुज्यते ।

प्रथमालीढमधवः पिबन्ति कटु भेषजम् ॥ (K. A. V. v-3)

4) K. A. Kāśī Series p-6 of the Foreword.

to his work. Dr. Warder's remarks in this behalf appear to be very significant. They are as follows :—"A date in the region of 250-450 A.D. would seem to accord very well with Bhāmaha's handling of the Alaṅkāra. Following his usual empirical procedure he appears to have collected them from various earlier theorists, keeping them in groups according to source as he accepted or rejected them, probably adding some of his own. Later theorists such as Daṇḍin either introduce the Alaṅkāras in a single more or less systematised block or classify them in groups of related figures — Bhāmaha marks the transition to the following period, when all Kāvya comes within the domain of Rasa, a Rasa moreover generated from the elaborate description of sentiment rather than from incidents. Attention was then focussed on the details of figure and style, their high finish, the arresting allusiveness of individual verses and the delightful fancies (Utprekṣās) of poets who, without relenting at all in their pursuit of vividness and realism (Bhāvakatva) in pictorial expression, would laugh at the careful researches of the Dīpnāgas."¹

Bhāmaha's work on Poetics is called Kāvyaālaṅkāra. This has been printed in the Kāśī series. There are six chapters in it consisting of about 400 verses in all. According to the general scheme drawn up by him, the first chapter deals with the body of a Poetic composition, the second and third deal with figures of speech, the fourth mentions the faults, the fifth with logical sequence

1) J.O.R.M. 1958 p. 106

and the sixth with the purity of words. It is written in a simple but elegant style. It was not discovered for a very long time. The first person to give publicity to his work and to make definite statements about him was Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar of Bangalore. He observes as follows :—“Next to him (Bharata) in point of time comes Bhāmaha whose priority to Daṇḍin is proved by the latter criticising his views in the first chapter of Kāvyaadarśa.”¹ The definitions of the figures of speech are furnished in it. Thirty-nine of them are defined in addition to the definitions of a poetic composition and its classification.² The importance that is given to figures of speech in a poetic composition is clearly mentioned by Bhāmaha.³ Another notable feature of this work is that there is a reference to a number of earlier writers whose names are Rājamitra, Rāmaśarmā, Acyutottara and Śākhāvardhana. But unfortunately none of the works of these writers is available at present. It may thus be stated that Bhāmaha pays a great attention to figures of speech in a poetic composition.

Bhāmaha's name in Sanskrit poetics has assumed importance and gained popularity. As far as our knowledge goes, there does not appear to be any

1) In the Int. to his Edn. of a Kannada work (काव्यावलोकनम्) by नागवर्मा—(Ed. 1903) on Poetics.

2) शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यं गद्यं पद्यं च तद्विधा ।

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चान्यदपभ्रंश इति त्रिधा ॥

(K.A. I. v. 16)

3) न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विमाति वनितामुखम् ।

रूपकादिमलंकारं वाल्माचक्षते परे ॥

(Ibid I. vv. 13 & 14)

important work on poetries which does not refer to Bhāmaha and his work. His name appears to be associated with the Science of Poetics practically from its infancy.

II—UDBHAṬA (750–800 A. D.)

Udbhaṭa is the next Kashmirian writer on Poetics. Very little is known about his parentage. Kashmirian tradition identifies him with a scholar of that name who was the President of the Royal Council in the court of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir.¹ The most prosperous part of his activity appears to be during the earlier half of King Jayāpīḍa's long reign. He is quoted with great respect by later writers like Ānandavardhana and others. Since the date of King Jayāpīḍa is from 779 to 813 A. D. that of Udbhaṭa cannot be earlier than about 750 A. D. So he may conveniently be placed in the second half of the eighth century A. D.²

His work on poetics is called Kāvyaśaṅkārāsāra-sangraha. It was transliterated by Col. Jacobi in the J. R. A. S.³ It is divided into six chapters and contains about 79 kārīkās defining altogether 41 Alaṅkāras and furnishing about 100 illustrations. The order in which the figures of speech are enumerated in it closely follows that of Bhāmaha. He omits a few figures that Bhāmaha defined and adds a few more to those that are

1) विद्वान् दीनारलक्षेण प्रत्यहं कृतवेतनः ।

भट्टोज्जुह्वस्तस्य भूमिभर्तुः समापतिः ॥ (Rāj. IV. v. 495)

2) P. V. K. p. 129.

3) pp. 829 to 847 of 1897 Edn.

mentioned by him. The net difference in the total number of figures mentioned by them is very little. For Bhāmaha mentions 39 figures whereas Udbhaṭa has 41 in his list. He seems to have exercised a profound influence over the Science of Poetics. He may be considered as one of the foremost representatives of the Alaṅkāra School. He illustrates from his own work called Kumārasambhava which resembles to some extent the Mahākāvya of the same name of Kālidāsa.

There is a set of new ideas in him. He laid some stress on the element of sentiment in poetry and added Sāntirasa to the already existing eight sentiments. He ignored the styles mentioned by Daṇḍin and introduced new ones under different names altogether namely;—Elegant (उपनागरिका), Ordinary (ग्राम्या), and Harsh (पटुवा). He added (दृष्टान्त) exemplification and (काव्यलिङ्ग) poetical causation into the list of figures of speech already in existence. He divided the figure of speech simile (उपमा) according to grammatical forms and inserted the complex issue of the blending of figures namely;—संयुष्टि and संकर. There is no mention of Vakrokti in his work. General problems concerning the technique of the poetic composition seem to have been left undiscussed. He appears to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor in enumerating the figures. Sometimes he enters into finer descriptions here and there. For instance, he speaks of four kinds of अतिशयोक्ति and three varieties of अनुप्रास. There are, in general, indications of advance but not of deviation. His work is considered to be a systematic treatise on Poetics in which the treatment of the subject-matter is on proper Scientific lines.

Besides the above principal work on Poetics he has also written a commentary called *Bhāmaha-Vivarana* which appears to have brought him both fame and popularity. *Sārṅgadeva* refers to him as one of the commentators on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata along with *Lollaṭa*, *Śankuka* and *Abhinavagupta*.¹ So it is possible that he might have written a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Since he quotes from his own *Kāvya* called *Kumarasambhava* he is also a poet. Thus the credit of laying the plan for a systematic exposition of the Science of Poetics goes, in some measure, to *Udbhaṭa*.

III—VĀMANA (750-800 A. D.)

The next name in the galaxy of original writers of Kashmir on poetics is that of *Vāmana* who was perhaps a contemporary of *Udbhaṭa*. He too was a poet in the court of King *Jayāpīḍa* of Kashmir. He must have been a rival to *Udbhaṭa* for neither mentions the other. Even in his case no information is available as regards parentage and ancestry. He seems to have migrated later on to the court of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* King *Jagattuṅga* known as *Govinda III* and become a member of his council there. It can be seen from the invocatory verses in his works that he was favourably inclined towards Buddhism and Jainism. Perhaps he was a minister in the Royal Cabinet of Kashmir as stated by *Kaḷhaṇa*.²

The date of *Vāmana* can be fixed fairly accurately on the basis of both internal and external evidence. He

1) व्याख्यातारो भारतीये लोल्लटोद्भटशंकुकाः । मट्टाभिनवगुप्तश्च श्रीमत्कीर्तिधरोऽपरः ॥

2) मनोरथदशखदन्तश्चटकस्तंघिमांस्तथा । बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥

(Rāj. IV. v. 497)

quotes a verse from the Uttarakāmarīti of Bhavabhūti and the word पद्मालीपिगलिम्रः which occurs in the Mālātī-Mādhava of the same author.² He specifically mentions the names of Viśākhila, a writer on Kalāsūtra,³ Sūdraka for illustration of the Śleṣālāṅkāra⁴ and Kavirāja.⁵ The names of the following works viz Kāmaśāstra, Chandovicitti and Nāmamāla,⁶ Kāmandakīnīti and Hariprabodha⁷ are also mentioned. Assuming that the date of Bhavabhūti who was patronised by Yaśovarman, King of Kanuj, to be in the first quarter of the eighth century A. D. it may be stated that the date of Vāmana is slightly later than that. Since he was a contemporary of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir who ruled there from 779-813 A.D., his date may be placed in the second half of the eighth century A. D. This also agrees with the date of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king who seems to have ruled from 794-813 A. D. All these factors help us to place Vāmana in the latter part of eighth century A. D.⁸

Kāvyaālāṅkārasūtra is the name of his work on Poetics. It has been printed in the Kāvyaamālā series (No 15). It is divided into three parts namely the Sutrās, the author's own vṛtti and examples as stated by

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- 1) इयं गेहे लक्ष्मीरियममृतवर्तिर्नयनयोः— (etc. K.S. IV. iii. v. 6)
 2) K.S.V. ii. v. 18 3) K.S.I. iii. v. 7
 4) K.S. III. ii. v. 4 5) K.S. IV. i. v. 10
 6) K.S I. iii. vv. 3 & 5 7) K.S. IV. i. v. 2
 8) P.V.K. p. 138

himself in the invocatory verse of his work¹ and in Chapter IV thereof². It is, thus, full of quotations and is of great importance in settling the dates of several Sanskrit writers. It is written in the Sūtra style containing five Adhikaraṇas³ each of which contains two or three chapters. There are in all twelve chapters and 319 sūtras in his work. He defines altogether 33 figures of speech omitting a few of those mentioned by the earlier writers⁴. Some of the definitions given by him seem to be based on those of Bhāmaha. His work seems to have been very popular as he calls it Kavipriyā.

The main theme of his work is the place of diction or style in poetry which he says is "the soul of poetry".⁵ He asserts this maxim and explains the distinction between Guṇas and Alaṅkāras.⁶ He mentions that there are three kinds of style namely : Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Pāncālī. He includes vakrokti as a figure of speech of sense and gives a peculiar definition of Viśeṣokti.⁷ He points out that रुद्रौ meaning Rudra and Rudrāṇī and विम्बाधर are wrong usages.⁸ He gives two meanings for

1) प्रणम्य परमं ज्योतिर्वामनेन कविप्रिया ।

काव्यालंकारसूत्राणां स्वेषां वृत्तिविधीयते ॥ (K.S. I. i. v. 1)

2) एभिर्निर्दिशेनैः स्वीयैः परकीयैश्च पुष्कलैः ।

शब्दवैचित्र्यगर्भेयमुपमैव प्रपंचिता ॥ (Ibid IV. iii. v. 33)

3) शारीर, दोषदर्शन, गुणविवेक, आलंकारिक, प्रायोगिक-

4) पर्यायोक्त, प्रेयः, रसवत्, ऊर्जस्वि, उदात्त, भाविक, सूक्ष्म.

5) रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य.

(K.S. I. ii. v. 6)

6) काव्यशोभायाः कर्तारो धर्मा गुणाः ।

तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलंकाराः ॥ (Ibid III. i. vv. 142)

7) एकगुणहानिकल्पनायां साम्यदाढ्यं विशेषोक्तिः—

एकस्य गुणस्य हानेः कल्पनायां शेषैर्गुणैः साम्यं यत्तस्य दाढ्यं विशेषोक्तिः

यथा—भवन्ति यत्रौषधयो रजन्यामतैलपूर्णास्तुरतप्रदीपाः ।

(Ibid. IV. iii. v. 23)

8) K.S.V. ii. vv. 1 & 14

the figure of speech called Ākṣepa¹ which correspond to Pratīpa and Samāsokti of Mammaṭa.

It can thus be seen that Vāmana attempts to improve upon the system of Daṇḍin and some of the ideas of his predecessors. He does not claim entire originality in respect of the illustrations. In fact the sources of many of them can be traced easily. He also cites from the unknown expositors of the past. Daṇḍin often acts as a link between these unknown authors and Vāmana. Vāmana sometimes criticises the views of Daṇḍin. For instance, he says that Daṇḍin is not right in emphasising Ojas in the Gauḍī Rīti in as much as it is common to all the Rītis.

Vāmana was the first to lay down that diction is the soul of poetry, word and sense constituting the body. He attempts, perhaps, for the first time to consider a suitable definition of the soul of poetry. He tries to define diction as a special construction of words which mainly rests upon Guṇas. Of the three styles, he mentions that Vaidarbhī is the best as it contains all the ten Guṇas. Gauḍī, according to him, is bombastic as

1) उपमाक्षेपश्चाक्षेपः—

उपमानस्याक्षेपः प्रतिषेध—उपमानाक्षेपः ।

तुल्यकार्यार्थस्य नैरर्थक्यविवक्षायामाक्षेपः

यथा—तस्याश्चेन्मुखमस्ति सौम्यसुभगं किं पार्वणेनेन्दुना ।

उपमानस्याक्षेपः साक्षेपतः प्रतिपत्तिरित्यपि सूत्रार्थः यथा—

एन्द्रं धनुः पाण्डुपयोधरेण शरदधानाद्रनखक्षताभम् ।

प्रसादयन्ती सकलं कमिन्दुं तापं खेरप्यधिकं चकारा॥

(K.S. IV. iii. v. 27)

it contains only Ojas and Kānti. Pāñcālī, he says contains only Mādhurya and Saukumārya and so ends in prolixity. The translation of the word Rīti as style is to give a poor exposition of it because there is always a subjective valuation in it; whereas it is essentially in the objective beauty of reproduction arising from a proper unification of sound and sense. The expression should be in conformity with the sense that is conveyed, the Poetic excellences coming in according as the idea is the denoter or the denoted. One of the main defects in his analysis is the needless multiplication of Guṇas whose number has been reduced to three in the works of later writers. The three qualities are Ojas, Prasāda and Mādhurya. The systematic treatment of the subject by Vāmana gained for him a large support from many of the later writers such as Rājaśekhara, Hemacandra and Jayaratha. Poetry is acceptable to him only if there is charm or beauty in it, Rīti and Guṇa coming in as *sine-quo-non*. Thus Vāmana pointed out what constituted real charm in poetry and in a way anticipated the theory of Vichitti of Kuntala later on. Dr. Kane rightly observes "The Rīti School makes a very real advance over the Alaṅkāra School. Though it did not reach the real essence of poetry it approached very near it."¹

Vāmana's other works are Līṅgānuśāsana, Vidyā-dharakāvya and a part of Kāśikā Vṛtti. It looks as though he was a poet and a grammarian also. The commentators of Vāmana's works on Poetics are:— Bhaṭṭagopāla, Gopendratippabhūpāla, Maheśvara and

1) P.V.K. p.364

Sahadeva. The name of the commentary of Gopendra is Kāmādhenu which is considered to give a lucid exposition of the text of Vāmana.¹ The commentary of Maheśvara is called Sāhityasarvasva.²

IV — RUDRAṬA (825-875 A.D.)

Rudraṭa is the next Rhetorician of Kashmir of whom very little is known. His name resembles that of a Kashmirian. He does not mention in his work any author by name. He may be regarded as a representative of the Alaṅkāra School. Namisādhu, his commentator says that he was also called Śaṭānanda and that his father's name was Vāmuka.³ He also states that he was a student of Sāmaveda. There seems to be a reference to Bharata and his work in the word आचार्यैः used by Rudraṭa in one of the verses.⁴ There is also an interesting geographical reference in his work to the river Śiprā and to the ladies of Mālava.⁵ The Sangītaratnākara mentions a Rudraṭa as a master of music; but there is no clue or evidence to show that he is the same as the author of a work on Poetics.

The date of Rudraṭa can be settled with certainty. He is later than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, because

1) P.V.K. p.139 2) I.C. Cat. p.321.

3) शतानन्दापराख्येन भट्टवामुकसूनुना ।

साधितं रुद्रेनेदं सामाजा धीमतां हितम् ॥

K.L. p. 53

4) रसनाद्रसत्वमेषां मधुरादीनामिबोक्तमाचार्यैः ।

निर्वेदादिष्वपि तन्निकाममस्तीति तेऽपि रसाः ॥

व्याख्या—आचार्यैर्भरतादिभिरेषां स्याधिभावानाम् ।

(Ibid XII. v. 4)

5) K.L. VII. v. 105

he quotes more figures of speech (the number mentioned by him is 55) than they do and because he appears to be more precise and scientific. He is quoted by numerous writers from the tenth century A. D. onwards. The Locana also quotes him by name. So he may not be later than about 900 A. D. Utpala in his commentary on the first work of the Yogayātrā of Varāhamihira names Rudraṭa and quotes his definition of Ananvaya. At the end of his commentary on the Bṛhajjātaka, Utpala says that he composed it in 888 Śaka which corresponds to 966 A. D. Rudraṭa does not appear to be aware of the Dhvani theory and so he might have lived before Ānandavardhana. It may not, therefore, be wrong if his date is placed somewhere between 825 and 875 A. D.¹

The name of his work on Poetics is Kāvyaḷaṅkāra which is printed in the Kāvyaṡālā series (No. 2). It is an extensive work consisting of sixteen chapters in which the entire field of Poetics is fully reviewed. It is mostly composed in the Āryā metre. Its speciality is that all the examples are the author's own. There are in all 734 verses, in addition to the 14 verses in the twelfth chapter (dealing with the eight kinds of Nāyikā and their sub-varieties) which are considered to be interpolations. The shortest chapter is the thirteenth containing only seventeen verses and the longest are the seventh and the eighth chapters containing 111 and 110 verses respectively. The work commences with an invocation to Gaṇeṣa and Gaurī. The objects of a Kāvya and the

1) P.V.K. pp. 145 and 146.

essential requisites of a poet namely शक्ति, व्युत्पत्ति and अभ्यास are then mentioned.¹ The second chapter deals with the qualities of a Poetic composition. The five Śabdā-
laṅkāras are enumerated in it. In the succeeding chapters all the Alaṅkāras are defined in order with illustrations. Though he does not seem to attach much importance to Rīti in a Poetic composition, he casually refers to it and increases the number of Rītis from three to four by adding Lāṭī to the list. He omits the treatment of Guṇas. Then the erotic sentiment and its divisions are elucidated. The work ends with a treatment of Rasa and the various kinds of Poetic compositions.

Rudraṭa was, perhaps, the first to introduce a scientific and systematic classification of figures of speech based on certain definite principles such as वास्तव, औपम्य अतिशय and श्लेष. As a result of this the same figure occurs more than once according as it is based on two or more of the above factors. The same figure of speech occurring in earlier and the later writers in a few cases occurs in Rudraṭa under a different name. Vakrokti is defined and classified into two divisions namely Kāku and Śleṣa.² It was in his time that the name Vakrokti which applied to all Poetic figures in general originally narrowed itself to a specific verbal figure of speech.

Though Rudraṭa was very much influenced by the Rasa theory he may properly be assigned to the Alaṅkāra

1) K.L. I. v. 14

2) वक्ता तदन्यथोक्तं व्याचष्टे चान्यथा तदुत्तरदः ।

वचनं यत्पदभंगैर्ज्ञेया सा श्लेषवक्रोक्तिः ॥

(K.L.II.v-14)

School as he devotes as many as ten chapters to Poetic figures alone which he calls the elements of poetry. As already stated he does not attach much importance either to Rīti or Guṇa. But still he considers Vaidarbhī as the best because it is simple and free from long compounds. According to him the notion of Rīti entirely belongs to the province of Śabda as it is called its Samāsavatī Vṛtti. The distinguishing feature of his work is the detailed treatment of all the Poetic figures of speech. Daṇḍin criticises such minute classification saying that it would result in an infinite multiplication. It is, no doubt, a step forward in the Scholastic activity revealing a certain degree of independence resulting in a divergence of treatment. In the fullness of treatment Rudraṭa stands next to Daṇḍin. Rhetorics rather than Poetics appears to be his theme. Partly due to the novelty of treatment and partly due to the omission of the discussion of General principles he has very few followers except, perhaps, Rudrabhaṭṭa, if he is a different person. After him the Alaṅkāra School suffered a decline and later merged itself in the all-pervasive Dhvani School.

The commentators of Rudraṭa are Vallabhadeva, Namisādhū (a Jain pupil of Śālibhadra), Āśādhara and Gopālabhaṭṭa whose commentary is known as Rasataraṅgiṇī. Rājasekhara, who lived at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century A. D., mentions the names of both Vāmana and Rudraṭa saying that the former had a large number of followers and the latter dealt with Vakrokti for the first time in his work.

IV (a)—RUDRABHAṬṬA (825-875) A.D.)

Rudrabhaṭṭa is another Kashmirian Rhetorician. It is not known if he is identical with Rudraṭa. The name of his work is Śṛṅgāratilaka which is printed in the Kāvya-mālā series (Part III). It has three chapters, the first dealing with the nine sentiments, the second with Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra and the third with the remaining Rasas and the four Vṛttis namely :— कैशिकी, सात्वती, आरभटी and भारती.— The last verses at the end of the third chapter¹ describe the nature and quality of his work and also the circumstances in which it was written. As to the date of this writer he has been assigned to the same period as Rudraṭa for the present.

There is a keen controversy regarding the identity of the two authors Rudraṭa and Rudrabhaṭṭa. Weber, Bühler, and Aufrecht hold the view that the two are one and the same whereas Pt. Durgaprasad, Dr. Jacobi and Dr. Harichand think that they are different. The anthologies do not seem to make any distinction between these two authors. Dr. Kane also holds the view that these two are distinct persons on the ground that the views expressed in the Kāvya-lāṅkāra and Śṛṅgāratilaka are conflicting and that the chapters 12 to 14 of the former are repeated in the latter.² He also says that the later

1) कान्या काव्यकथा कीटवैदग्धी को रसागमः ।

किं गोष्ठीमण्डनं हन्त शृंगारतिलकं विना ॥

त्रिपुरवधादेव गतामुल्लासमुमां सभस्तदेवताम् ।

शृंगारतिलकविधिना पुनरपि रुद्रः प्रसादयति ॥ (S.T.III.vv. (56&57))

2) P.V.K. pp. 147 to 152

writers do not refer either to Rudrabhaṭṭa or his work. Sri M. Krishnamacharya refers¹ to a quotation from the Bhāvaprakāśa (Chap. IV) of Sārādātanaya in which there is a mention of the name of Rudraṭa. Bhaṭṭa-gopāla says that these two authors are one and the same.² Some of the above quotations show that there is general agreement between Rudraṭa and Rudrabhaṭṭa on the basis of which their identity has been inferred.

There are, however, some points which may create a doubt as regards their identity. It is known that Rudraṭa was the son of Vāmuka whereas the parentage of Rudrabhaṭṭa is not known. While Rudraṭa adds one more Rasa namely Preyas, Rudrabhaṭṭa deals only with the traditional nine Rasas. The treatment of Bhāvas is brief in the former but extensive in the latter. Similarly there is difference in the treatment of Vṛittis, the former mentioning five³ and the latter only four as already stated. There is difference even in the classification of Nāyaka and Nāyikā. Their variation and sub-species with their Avasthās are explained briefly by the former and elaborately by the latter. Again while Rudraṭa introduces वेङ्ग्या as a class of heroines, Rudraṭa summarily dismisses it. The trespasses in love according to the former depend upon three factors only namely :- Kāla-Deśa and Prasajga. But the latter adds a fourth factor

1) इत्थं शतत्रयं तासामशीतिश्चतुस्तुरा ।

संख्येयं रुद्रटाचार्यैरुपयोगाय कल्पिता ॥

(H.S.L. by M.K. p 774

foot note 5)

2) आर्यानुरागी सर्वज्ञस्तत्त्वं रुद्रस्त रुद्रटः । (H.S.L. by M.K. P.745

3) मधुरा, प्रैढा, परुषा, ललिता and भद्रा foot note)

namely the person or Pātra. Is it possible for the same person to express different ideas precisely on the same subject ?

There is verbal coincidence in the works of these two writers and this exists only in the definitions and not in the illustrations. So on this ground alone their identity cannot be established. Can we then assert that these are two different persons ? It may also be stated that Rudrabhaṭṭa was later than Rudraṭa because Hemacandra is the first writer to quote him by criticising the invocatory verse of his work.¹ It cannot also be established that either of them is a Kashmirian ; however something in their names leads to the belief that they may be Kashmirians. Moreover the ending of the name in "ṭa" is rather very common in Kashmir as in the case of Kaiyaṭa, Uvaṭa, Mammaṭa, and others. We feel that from whatever evidence is available so far, no assertion is possible either way. I am, however, inclined to believe that they are two different persons.

V—ĀNANDAVARDHANA (850-900 A. D.)

It is only after the introduction of the Dhvani theory by Ānandavardhana that a new impetus was given to the development and progress of the Science of Poetics. In fact, there was a revolution in the field of

- 1) शृंगारी गिरिजानने सकल्लो रत्यां प्रवीरः स्मरे
 नेमस्सोऽस्थिभिस्सफणी च भयकृन्मूर्त्याद्भुतस्तुङ्गया ।
 रौद्रो दक्षविमर्दने हसकृन्नयः प्रशान्तश्चिरा-
 दिव्यं सर्वसाश्रयः पशुपतिर्भूयात्सतां भूतये ॥

(S.T.I.V.1)

Poetics and Kashmir can be said to be responsible for it. A verse¹ attributed to Rājaśekhara not only mentions the name of Ānandavardhana but also extols the theory of Dhvani as very profound and original. Ānandavardhana by expounding it gave a right initiative into the proper understanding of the 'Soul of Poetry' and won the admiration of many erudite scholars. Dr. V. S. Narvane rightly remarks "He tried to create a unified and all-embracing theory of Aesthetics by linking together all aspects of art in the common bonds of suggestion or Dhvani"². His work has been published in the Kāvya-mālā series (No. 25) with the commentary called Locana of Abhinavagupta which reveals deep scholarship and critical acumen and is written in a lucid style with clearness of expression. The work is so important that many of the later writings on the subject are either in support of or in contradiction to it. He himself says that he is the author of Dhvanyāloka.

Very little is known about the personal history of Ānandavardhana except that he was the son of Nonopādhyāya or simply Noṇa (or Jona according to some versions).³ He himself says that he is the author of Dhvanyāloka.⁴ He refers to two other works of his in the Dhvanyāloka namely: Viṣamabāṇalīlāṣ

- 1) ध्वनिनातिगभारेण काव्यतत्त्वनिवेदिना ।
आनन्दवर्धनः कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्धनः ॥ (S K.M.IV. v.78)
- 2) Kashmir Vol. VI No. 1. for Jan. 56 p.3.
- 3) इति श्रीयोगानन्दश्रीमदानन्दवर्धनविरचितम् । (D S Colophon & v.101)
- 4) सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं स्फुरितप्रभृतकल्पं मनःसु परिपक्वधियां यदासीत् ।
तद्व्याकरोत्सहृदयोदयलाभहेतोरानन्दवर्धन इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥
इति श्रीराजानकानन्दवर्धनविरचिते ध्वन्यालोके । (Dhv.p.246)
- 5) यथा भवैव कामदेवस्य सहचरसमागमे विषमबाणलीलायाम् । (Ibid p. 152)

and Arjunacarita.¹ The title Rājānaka prefixed to his name shows that he is a Kashmirian.

The date of Ānandavardhana can be settled with precision.² Kalhaṇa says that he was a poet in Kashmir when king Avantivarman was ruling there (855-883 A.D.).³ So the date of Ānandavardhana is in the second half of the ninth century A. D. This date agrees with that obtained from other sources. For instance, he quotes Udbhaṭa⁴ and must be later than 800 A.D. Rājaśekhara (900-925 A. D.) mentions his name with great respect as already stated. Ratnākara, one of his contemporaries according to Kalhaṇa, is the author of Haravijaya which, according to him was composed in the reign of Bālabhṛspati whose date coincides with that mentioned above. Many verses are quoted in the Subhāṣita and are ascribed to Śivasvāmī who was also a contemporary of Ānandavardhana. According to Locana, Manoratha was also one of the contemporaries of the author of Dhvanyāloka.⁵ There is a reference to Dharmakīrti,⁶ a Buddhist philosopher who is known to have lived between 635 and 650 A. D. Ānandavardhana also seems to have written a Vivṛti on the

1) यथा च मदीय एवार्जुनचरिते महाकाव्ये । (Dhv. p. 148)

2) P.V.K. pp. 193 & 194

3) मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः ।

प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात् साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ॥ (Rāj. V v.34)

4) नन्वलंकारप्रतिमायामपि श्लेषव्यपदेशो भवतीति दर्शितं भट्टोद्भटेन तत्पुनरपि शब्दशक्तिभूतो ध्वनिर्निर्वकाश इत्याशङ्क्येदमुक्तं- आक्षिप्तः इति (Dhv.p.96)

5) ग्रन्थकृत्समकालमाविना मनोरथनाम्ना कविना । (Ibid Locana p.8)

6) तथा चायं धर्मकीर्तिः श्लोक इति प्रसिद्धिः । सम्भाव्यते च तस्यैव । (Ibid p.217)

Dharmottamā which is a commentary on the Pramāṇa-viniścaya of Dharmakīrti.¹ Dr. Vidyabhushan states that the date of Dharmottamā is 847 A.D.² In the commentary on the Devīśataka, a prayer-poem composed by Ānandavardhana, Kaiyaṭa, son of Candrāditya and grandson of Vallabhadeva, says that he wrote it during the reign of King Bhīmagupta (977 A.D.).³ Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka, the author of Hṛdayadarpaṇa, who lived at the end of the ninth century A.D. criticises the Dhvanyāloka. On the basis of all these evidences the date of Ānandavardhana may be placed in the later half of the ninth century A.D.

The Dhvanyāloka is divided into three parts namely :—the Kārikās, 129 in number, the Vṛitti in prose explaining the Kārikās and the examples taken from the works of various authors. There are four chapters in the work, each of which is called an Uddyota. The Kārikās are mostly composed in the Anuṣṭup metre. There are five manuscripts in Devanāgarī and two in the Sāradā script in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. It was translated into German by Dr. Jacobi.

The main question that arises now is whether both

- 1) ध्वन्यालोकः, देवीशतकम्, विषमबाणलीला (प्राकृतम्) — अर्जुनचरितम्,
विनिश्चयटीकाया धर्मोत्तमाया विवृतिः—(बौद्धग्रन्थः)— एतद्ग्रन्थपञ्चक-
मेतत्प्रणीतं ज्ञायते । (Dhv. Preface p. 1)
- 2) H. I L pp. 329 to 331
- 3) बह्वर्चनदेवायनितश्चन्द्रादित्यादवाप्य जन्मेमाम् ।
कैयटनामारचयद्विवृतिं देवीशतकस्तोत्रे ॥
वसुमुनिगगनोदधिसमकाले याते कलेस्तथालोके ।
द्वापञ्चाशे वर्षे रचितेयं भोमगुप्तनृपे ॥ (D. S. Colophon)

the *Kārikās* and the *Vṛtti* are by the same author or by different authors. This has been fully discussed by Dr. P. V. Kane by putting forth many cogent arguments against the theory of identity¹ This question is being discussed for the past several years and still it has not been settled beyond cavil. Several scholars have argued and are still arguing both in favour of the identity and against. Much has been said on both sides. If the *Dhvanikāra* or the author of the *Kārikās* is different from that of the *Vṛtti*, then he should have lived either before or at the same time as *Ānandavardhana*. Certainly it is not before, because none of the earlier writers on Poetics mentions the existence of *Dhvani* or a work on it. If he was at the same time as that of the *Vṛttikāra* it is not clear why his name has been kept in the dark. Because *Abhinavagupta* refers to the *Kārikākāra* and the *Vṛttikāra* separately in his *Locana*,² there is a strong feeling against the identity of the two. This peculiar usage in the *Locana* and elsewhere has lent itself to many surmises. For instance, because there is a

1) P.V.K. pp. 154 to 160

2) द्वितीयोद्योते कारिकाकारोऽवान्तरविभागं विशेषलक्षणं च

विदधदनुवादमुखेन मूलविभागं द्विविधं सूचितवान् ।

तदाशयानुसारेण तु वृत्तिऋदत्रैवोद्योते मूलविभागमवोचत् ।

स च द्विविधः इति ।—न चैतन्मयोक्तम्, अपि तु कारिकाकाराभिप्रायेणेत्याह ।

भवति मूलतो द्विभेदत्वं कारिकाकारस्यापि संमतमेवेति भावः ।

एतत्तावद् द्विभेदत्वं न कारिकाकारेण कृतम् । वृत्तिकारेण

तु दर्शितम् ॥

(Dhv. pp. 59, 60 and 123)

reference¹ by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhāratī to the Kārikās as सहृदयालोक it is inferred that the author of Kārikās might be a person by name सहृदय. This is rather ingenious. For the verse quoted in the above reference occurs in the Dhvanyāloka.² By saying सहृदयालोक Abhinavagupta only means the Dhvanyāloka and nothing more. Even Mr. Pramathanatha Tarkabhushana feels that the Vṛttikāra and the Kārikakāra are different on the ground that Abhinavagupta refers to them individually as pointed out in the reference cited above. Merely because Abhinavagupta refers to them severally it may not be fully correct to infer that the author of the Kārikās and the Vṛtti are different. It is probable that he might have used them in one and the same sense i. e., to refer to the same author by different titles.

Whatever may be the controversies that are going on on this subject, the point at issue, is whether these two authors (or author) were Kashmirians. There appears to be no room for doubt because the existence of the Dhvanikāra is not heard of anywhere else in India. The Dhvani theory was born in Kashmir, developed by its master-exponent Ānandavardhana, a Kashmirian, and explained in detail by Abhinavagupta, also from Kashmir, before it began to spread its influence in other parts of the country.

1) यथ, सहृदयालोककारः— सन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गघटनं रसवन्धव्यपेक्षया ।

न तु केवलशास्त्रार्थस्थितिसंपादनेच्छया ॥

(N. S. Vol. III p. 42)

2) Dhv. Chap. III-v-12

For instance, the Locana while commenting on the words परम्परया समाम्नातः says that no work dealing thoroughly with the theory of Dhvani existed prior to it.¹ Even if they are two different persons it is possible that both of them were Kashmirians.

The Dhvanyāloka should be given the first place in Sanskrit Poetics. Though earlier writers like Bhāmaha and Vamana wrote original works on it, they could not show the path of Dhvani which revives if not revolutionises the methods so far existing for the composition of poetry of a high order. Later writers, like Mammaṭa and others made an intensive study of this new system and became famous by giving an exposition of Poetics basing their inferences on it. Some critics are of the opinion that the origin of the Dhvani theory is in grammar because its nomenclature was suggested by the Sphoṭa theory of the grammarians.² There is a reference to it by Pāṇini also.³ The significance of Dhvani in the mind of Ānandavardhana is quite different from that propounded by the grammarians. In Poetics, Dhvani is responsible for enhancing the merits of a Poetic composition whereas in grammar it is used with quite a different

1) विनापि विशिष्टपुस्तकेषु विवेकादित्यभिप्रायः । (Dhv. I. p. 3)

2) प्रथमे हि विद्वांसो वैयाकरणाः व्याकरणमूलत्वात्सर्वविद्यानाम् । ते च श्रूयमाणेषु वर्णेषु ध्वनिरिति व्यवहरन्ति । तथैवान्यैस्तन्मतानुसारिभिः मूर्तिभिः काव्यतत्त्वार्थदर्शिभिर्वाच्यवाचकसंमिश्रः शब्दात्मा काव्यमिति व्यपदेश्यो व्यञ्जकत्वसाम्याद् ध्वनिरित्युक्तः ।

3) अवह स्फोटायनस्य । (Pān. VI. 1-123)

The Sphoṭa is probably older than Pāṇini who mentions a predecessor Sphoṭāyana.

connotation. This Dhvani is different from Guṇa, Alanṅkāra, Rīti or Rasa. In expounding it Ānanda-vardhana refused to accept the theories that were propounded by his four forerunners.

The Dhvanyāloka commences with an invocation in praise of Viṣṇu in the Narasiṃha incarnation.¹ In the first Chapter the author first deals with the different views on Dhvani that existed before namely :—Some holding that it does not exist, some saying that it is included in Lakṣaṇā, others holding that it cannot be defined and some others that it is identical with Bhakti and so on and asserts that Dhvani is the Soul of poetry.² The definite view of the author regarding Dhvani is then expressed that a Poetic composition is appreciated not for its direct meaning or the information that it carries but for its grace or beauty. It is defined as that which captivates the attention of the cultured critic and which is as it were the soul of a good poetic composition and which was not expounded at any time before.³ He explains that the sense of a sentence composed by a poet

1) स्वेच्छाकेशरिणः स्वच्छस्वच्छायायासितेन्दवः ।

त्रायन्तां वो मधुरिणोः प्रपन्नार्तिच्छिदो नखाः ॥ (Dhv. I. p. 1)

2) काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यस्समाम्नातपूर्व-

स्तस्याभावं जगदुरपरे भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये ।

केचिद्वाचां स्थितमविषये तत्त्वमूचुस्तदीयं

तेन ब्रूमः सद्ब्रह्मदयमनःप्रीतये तत्स्वरूपम् ॥ (Ibid. v. 1)

3) तस्य हि ध्वनेः स्वरूपं सकलसत्कविकाव्योपनिषद्-

भूतमतिरमणीयमणीयसीभिश्चिरन्तनकाव्यलक्षणविधायिनां

वृद्धिभिरनुमोल्लिखपूर्वम्

॥(Ibid. p. 11)

is of two kinds namely :—Vācya (expressed) and Pratīyamāna (felt). The first is well-known and is expounded in various ways by similies and such other poetic embellishments whereas the second exists in the words of master-poets like loveliness in the limbs of ladies.¹ The varieties of the implied sense are then dealt with in detail with illustrations. He points out how the primary sense is understood only through the help of the Vācya (though secondary). After establishing that Dhvani exists he divides it broadly into two divisions namely :—अविवक्षित्वाच्य and विवक्षित्वाच्य. The first kind is Lakṣaṇā-mūla or suggests the sense by implication.² It conveys more than what the expressed sense means. It is at once explicit and implicit like the beautiful bosom of a Mahārāṣṭrian lady as one of the commentators explains.³ The same sense is echoed in the commentary of Abhinavagupta also.⁴ The second kind is more beautiful than the first and has three main functions⁵ namely :—Abhihā, Tātparya and Dhvanana which help each other to give rise to Vyaṅgya which is essential for

- 1) प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम् ।
यत्तत्प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाङ्गनानाम् ॥ (Dhv. I. v. 4)
- 2) सुवर्णपुष्पां पृथिवीं चिन्वन्ति पुष्पास्त्रयः ।
शूरश्च कृतविशश्च यश्च जानाति सेवितुम् ॥ (Dhv. I. p. 49)
- 3) नान्द्रीपयोधर इवातितरां प्रगाढः नो गुर्जरीस्तन इवातितरां निगूढः ।
अर्थो गिरामपिहितः पिष्टिश्च कश्चित्तौभाग्यमेति मरहद्वधूकुचामः ॥
- 4) गोप्यमानं सत्रायिकाकुचकलशयुगलमिव महार्थतामुपयद् ध्वन्यता ।
(Dhv. I. p. 49 Lochana)
- 5) अत्र च त्रय एव व्यापाराः — अभिधा तात्पर्यं ध्वननं नेति ।
(Ibid p. 50 Lokana)

Dhvani. A beautiful example is quoted to illustrate this kind of Dhvani also ¹

In the second chapter the two kinds of Dhvani are sub-divided. There are two sub-divisions under the first kind namely : अर्थान्तरसंक्रमित and अत्यन्ततिरस्कृत and two under the second kind namely असंलक्ष्यकम् and संलक्ष्यकम्. All these kinds of Dhvani and their sub-divisions are explained in detail through Vyaṅgya. Then the author explains that there is Dhvani for each Alaṅkāra and that under each, it arises out of two elements namely : the force of words and the force of sense. A number of examples is quoted to bring home to the reader not only the existence of Dhvani in various forms but also the inter-relations between Rasa, Bhāva, Guṇa and Alaṅkāra. There is a force in the word or sense or in both which contributes for variety in Dhvani according as it is under Vastu, Alaṅkāra or Rasa. The Dhvanyābhāsa is then dealt with.

In the third chapter the Dhvani is explained through Vyañjaka and the place of propriety in it is pointed out.² In this chapter the term Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya is explained in full pointing out incidentally that the Poetic Compositions where it exists can be considered as belonging to the second class. All those compositions in which there

1) शिखरिणि क्व नु नाम कियच्चिरं किमभिधानमसावकरोत्तपः ।
तरुणि येन तवाधरपाटलं दशति विम्बफलं शुक्रशवकः ॥

2) अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसमङ्गस्य कारणम् ।

प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत्परा ॥

औचित्यातिक्रमेण सुतरां दोषः ।

(Dhv. III. p. 145)

is Dhvani mainly belong to the first class. Ānandavardhana then stresses on the vast independence of the poet and his own experience which qualifies him for a man of taste and enables him to compose poetry full of beauty and charm.¹

In the fourth chapter the utilitarian aspect of Dhvani is explained pointing out at the same time that the variety of Dhvani and hence of a Poetic composition is limitless depending on the way in which Rasa and Bhāva are handled.² Dhvani is ultimately compared to the wish-yielding tree in the heavenly garden of Poetic Compositions. The wish that it should be enjoyed by fortunate persons only is fondly expressed and the work is wound up with a beautiful verse conveying this idea.³

This, in brief, is the chapter-analysis of the Dhvan-yāloka in which Ānandavardhana has pointed out the importance of Dhvani and its varieties. Dr. K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar's remarks on Dhvani and Ānandavardhana are worthy of note in this respect. They are as follows :-

1) अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेव प्रजापतिः ।

यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते ॥

शृङ्गारी चेत्कविः काव्यं जातं रसमयं जगत् ॥

(Idid. p. 222)

2) दिशानयानुसर्तव्यो रसादि बहुविस्तरः ।

मितोऽप्यनन्ततां प्रातः काव्यमार्गो यदाशयात् ॥

(Ibid. IV. v. 3)

3) नित्यक्लिष्टरसाश्रयोचितगुणालङ्कारशोभादतो

यस्माद्वस्तु समोहितं सुकृतिभिः सर्वं समासाद्यते ।

काव्याख्येऽखिलसौख्यधाम्नि विबुधोच्चानि ध्वनिर्दर्शितः

सोऽयं कल्पतरुपमानमहिमा योग्योऽस्तु भव्यात्मनाम् ॥ (Dhv.p.246)

"We may describe poetry at its purest as a 'mystic incarnation allied to prayer' or as soul communing with soul. When poetic expression approximates to the mantra, the effect on the hearer is far more profound than the mere words would seem to warrant; it is as though, leaping over the physical boundaries of the coils of intellectual cognition, the meaning intended by the poet lodges directly in the reader's soul. Words, grammatical organisation, the rhythmic arrangement, jugglings with sound, figures of speech, the operations of the intellect, the emotional excitement, the rule of current fashion and the pull of tradition-all have their part to play in determining the composition of a poet; yet without the soul-quality a poem is only a lifeless mass of words, a temple without the installed deity, a statue without life. Dhvani in poetry is really this soul-quality which is at once the excuse and the explanation of the rest. Not the outer habiliments of form and diction, the riot of Śadbhāṣṇakāras and Arthāṣṇakāras, not the stern logic of the plot or the innate worth of the sentiments but this reality within, the soul-quality, this undertone of significant suggestion, that constitutes the utter uniqueness of poetry.

Sanskrit rhetoricians mention the basic catagories of Vastu (matter, form or plot), Alaṅkāra (embellishment, fullness of detail or diction) and Rasa (sentiment, sensibility or emotional intensity); but Ānandavardhana rightly urges that in respect of all these, the reality within is of far greater consequence than the outer appearance. Not until the story or the plot is seized in terms of universality does it become poetic; nor until verbal expression

becomes a new way, the only satisfying way in the context, of adequately conveying the writer's individual vision of life or character does such expression become poetic, and likewise not until the communicated sensibility is so laden with the undertone of significance as to kindle the soul to a new awareness of life's 'deep magic' can such sentiment or sensibility be called truly poetic. In a word, only when a poem, instead of imprisoning or suffocating the reader within the granite walls of precise meaning proves rather to be a magic casement opening on the foam of the endless oceans of ambrosial significance can it deserve the name of poetry. What we seek in a scientific statement is the sufficiency of the statement; in poetry we seek to pierce the *Māyā* of visible or cognisable picture or statement and touch or apprehend the intangible reality within. Poetry not only tells us something but does something to us. '1

V (a) THE COMMENTATORS OF THE DHVANYĀLOKA

The authority with which Ānandavardhana originated the Dhvani theory not only eclipsed the earlier writers on Poetics but also made the later writers glorify him as Dhvanyācārya. This is clear by the large number of commentators on the Dhvanyāloka. The Kashmirian commentators are dealt with in this section. The most reputed of them is Abhinavagupta whose commentary is known variously as Dhvanyālokalocana or Kavyālokalocana or more popularly as the Locana. The first and the

1) Dhv. (Tr.) Foreward pp. viii to ix.

third chapters of the Locana end with a significant verse¹ which reveals the existence of earlier commentaries and the eminence of the Locana over them. Most of them are now lost works. The solitary one which is occasionally referred to by Abhinavagupta is mentioned below.

CANDRIKĀKĀRA (900-950) A.D.

Candrikā was an earlier commentary on the Dhvanyāloka which is frequently referred to by Abhinavagupta in his Locana. It was written by a person who probably belonged to the same family as that of Abhinavagupta. His name does not appear anywhere in the references that Abhinavagupta makes. His commentary is perhaps the first to be known only by reference. But still Abhinavagupta cites it only to condemn it. Certain other commentaries are also summarily referred to by him. Even when he condemns he does so gracefully.² Because the commentary Candrikā is referred to in the Vyaktiviveka and in no other earlier work than that it is presumed that it was written somewhere between 900 & 950 A.D.³ No other information than this is available either about the commentary or its author. Because Abhinavagupta refers to it, it is probable that its author is a Kashmirian.

1) किं लोचनं विनालोको भाति चन्द्रिकायपि हि।

तेनाभिनवगुप्तोऽत्र लोचनोन्मूलनं व्यधात् ॥

(Dhv. pp. 60 & 233 Locana)

2) इत्यलं पूर्ववश्यैस्सह विवादेन—

3) P. V. K. p. 198

ABHINAVAGUPTA — (950-1020) A. D.

The next commentary on the Dhvanyāloka is the famous Locana of Abhinavagupta. A fairly detailed account of his parentage¹ and Guruparamparā² are furnished by him in his Tantrāloka and Locana. According to it Atrigupta, one of his remote ancestors came to Kashmir at the invitation of King Lalitāditya who was then the ruler there. In his family was born Varāhagupta whose son Cukhala was a great devotee of Siva and his son was the great Abhinavagupta. The mother of Abhinavagupta was Vimalakalā from whom he inherited a deep interest in spiritual practices. He seems to have remained a celibate throughout his life. Thus we see that he was born in a noble and learned Śaiva Brahmin family of Kashmir. His father was very religious and scholastic and his mother was pious and orthodox. He lost his parents when he was very young. It was perhaps this circumstance that prepared him for a life of renunciation even from his cradle.

- 1) तस्मिन् कुवेशपुरचारसितांशुमौलितांमुख्यदर्शनविरूढपवित्रभागे ।
 वैतस्तरोधसि निवासममुष्य चक्रे राजा द्विजस्य परिकल्पितभूमिसंपत् ॥
 तस्यान्वये महति कोऽपि वराहगुप्तनामा बभूव भगवान् स्वयमन्तकाले ।
 गोर्वागसिंधुलहरीकलिताग्रमूर्धा यस्याकरोत्परमनुग्रहमाग्रहेर्ण ॥
 तस्यात्मजश्चुखुलकेति जने प्रसिद्धश्चन्द्रावदातविषणो नरसिंहगुप्तः ।
 यं सर्वशास्त्ररसमजनशुभ्रचित्तं माहेश्वरी परमलंकुरुते स्म भक्तिः ॥

(T. A. Ahn. 37 Ms.)

- 2) श्रीसिद्धिचेलचरणाब्जपरागपूतमृदुनदुराजमतिसंस्कृतबुद्धिलेशः ।
 वाक्यप्रमाणपदवेदिगुरुः प्रबन्धलेखारतो व्यरचयत् ध्वनिशास्त्रपंक्तिम् ॥
 (Dhv. IV. Locana end)

His thirst for learning was so great that all fountain-heads in Kashmir were insufficient to quench it. So he went outside his land of birth in search of fresher fountain-heads in the shape of capable teachers. He was not satisfied with a single teacher and a single branch of knowledge. In one of the verses¹ he characteristically mentions the reasons for serving under several teachers. A list of his more famous teachers with the subject or subjects which they taught is furnished below :-

Sl. No.	Name of Teacher	Subject or subjects taught
1.	Narasimhagupta (his father)	Grammar
2.	Vāmanātha	Dvaitādvaitatantras
3.	Bhūtirājanaya	Saivism
4.	Bhūtirāja	Vedānta
5.	Lakṣmanagupta	Krama and Trika Darśanas
6.	Indurāja	Dhvani
7.	Bhaṭṭatauta	Dramaturgy
8.	Sumatinātha	The Tantras
9.	Somadeva	-do-
10.	Sambhunātha	-do-

Besides these there were twenty other teachers in whose cases the subjects which were taught are not known. He had an uncle by name Vāmanagupta, a younger brother called Manorātha and four cousins

1) आमोदार्थी यथा भृङ्गः पुष्पात्पुष्पान्तरं ब्रजेत् ।

विज्ञानार्थं तथा शिष्यो गुरोर्गुर्वन्तरं ब्रजेत् ॥

(T. A. Ahn. XIII. v. 335)

by name Kṣema, Utpala, Cakraka and Pādmagupta. In the Abhinavabhāratī he quotes his uncle who seems to have written on Poetics. His brother was also deeply learned in all the Śāstras and was his first disciple. One of his cousins by name Kṣema may be the same person as Kṣemarāja, the well-known writer on Kashmir Śaivism. All were devotees of Śiva. There was a spirit of renunciation pervading in his domestic circle.

That Abhinavagupta was a great devotee of Śiva is evident by several passages occurring in the Locana.¹ Studying as he did at the feet of several teachers he developed his knowledge wonderfully in the various branches of learning. Bhaṭṭendurāja was his teacher in Poetics as is clear from one of the introductory verses of his commentary on the Dhvanyāloka.² He holds his teacher in very great reverence and refers to him frequently in his Locana as a poet and a prince among critics.³ This Bhaṭṭendurāja is different from Pratibārendurāja who was a commentator of Udbhaṭa. After a fairly long span of an illustrious life of intensive study of the various branches of knowledge and bringing out

1) वस्तुतः शिवमये हृदि स्फुटं सर्वतश्चिवमयं विराजते ।

नाशिवं कचन कस्यचिद्वचः तेन वः शिवमयी दशा भवेत् ।

इति महामाहेश्वराभिनवगुप्तविरचिते काव्यालोकलोचने—

(Dhv. IV Locana end)

2) भट्टेन्दुराजचरणाब्जकृताधिवासहृत्सन्नुतोऽभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधोऽहम् ।

यत्किंचिदप्यनुरणन्स्फुटयामि काव्यालोकं सुलोचननियोजनया जनेषु ॥

(Ibid I. Locana Com.)

3) यथा वासुदुपाध्ययस्य विद्वत्कविसहृदयचक्रवर्तिनो भट्टेन्दुराजस्य—

(Ibid. III. Locana, p. 160)

many authoritative works, Abhinavagupta seems to have left the world in a miraculous way. Tradition says that he, accompanied by 1200 disciples, entered a cave repeating the Bhairavastotra and was seen no more. That cave is even now shown at Biru (ancient Bahumpa) 13 miles to the south-west of Kashmir.

There is no difficulty in fixing the date of Abhinavagupta. He himself says at the end of his *Bṛhatī Vimarśinī*¹ that he completed it in the year 4115 of the Kali age when the Laukika year in Kashmir was 90 which corresponds to 1014-1015 A.D. The Bhairavastotra is stated to have been composed by him in the Laukika year 68 and the Kramastotra in 66.² He wrote the *Locana* after he wrote the *Tantrāloka*. From these references it can be easily seen that the period of his literary activity extended for nearly 30 to 40 years i.e., from 980 to 1020 A.D. Kṣemendra says that he studied Rhetorics under Abhinavagupta. As his literary activity has been placed between 1040 and 1070 A.D. that of Abhinavagupta would naturally be earlier than that. This also agrees with what has been stated above. Kṣemendra probably contacted Abhinavagupta towards the end of his life.³

- 1) इति नवतितमेऽस्मिन् वत्सरान्त्ये युगान्ते तिथिशशिजलधिरथे मार्गशोर्षावसाने ।
जगति विहितबोधामोश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञां व्यवृणुत परिपूर्णां प्रेरितः शम्भुपादैः ॥
(Bh. S. v. 10)
- 2) वत्सरसपौषे कृष्णदशम्यामभिनवगुप्तः स्तवमिममकरोत् ।
षट्षष्टिनामके वर्षे नवम्यामसितेऽहनि ।
मयाभिनवगुप्तेन मार्गशोर्षे स्तुतः शिवः ॥
(Kr. S. v. 30)
- 3) P. V. K. p. 231

On the basis of these factors the date of Abhinavagupta can be placed between 950 & 1020 A.D.

Abhinavagupta's fame rests on his scholarly works on Kashmir Śaivism and on his commentaries on the Nāṭyaśāstra and on the works on Poetics. The former are dealt with separately. Among the latter the commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata and that on the Dhvanyāloka are prominent. He has also written a Vivaraṇa on the Kāvyaakautuka of his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tauta to which he often refers but which is now lost. The first i.e., his Abhinavabhāratī seems to have been inspired by Bhaṭṭa Tauta of whom nothing is known and the second by Bhaṭṭendurāja whose verses are quoted in the Locana with great respect and admiration. For instance the verse that he quotes in illustration of the kind of Dhvani called अत्यन्ततिरस्कृतवाच्य is exceedingly nice.¹

The Locana which is an authoritative work on Poetics commences with a beautiful invocation to the Goddess of Learning.² At the beginning and the end of his commentary on each chapter of the Dhvanyāloka

- 1) यथा—भट्टेन्दुराजस्य — इन्दीवरञ्जुति यदा विभ्रयां न लक्ष्म
स्युर्विस्मयैकमुद्दोऽस्य यदा विलासाः ।
स्वान्नाम पुण्यपरिणामवृत्तान्तदानीं
कीरीकपोलतलकोमलकान्तिरिन्दुः ॥

(Dhv. III. p. 160 Locana)

- 2) अपूर्वं यद्वस्तु प्रथयति विना कारणकलां
जगद्ग्रावप्रख्यं निजरसभरात्सारयति च ।
कमात्प्रख्योपाख्याप्रसरसुभगं भासयति त-
त्सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाख्यं विजयतात् ॥

(Ibid I. Com. Locana)

there is a short invocation to the Divine Mother indicating the philosophical bent of his mind which will be seen later. There is also a small verse in the end mentioning, in brief, what has been discussed and defined in the foregoing chapter. The winding up of his commentary on the third chapter can be taken as an instance of this.¹

A few instances of his masterly treatment of the subject under discussion are extracted from the Locana to show with what force and erudition he discusses. Referring to the circumstances in which Vālmīki composed the verse which became the basis for the Rāmāyaṇa, Ānandavardhana appears to state that Soka was in Vālmīki as a personal emotion or Bhāva and it was this that inspired him to write poetry. This view is confirmed by his explanation on Kārikā No. 17 of the Second Uddyota to the effect that figures come at the beck and call of the poet suffused with emotion.² But Abhinavagupta seems to take a slightly different view namely : that the poet's personal emotion is not of much value to poetry. This is what he clearly says :—

न तु मुनेः शोक इति मन्तव्यम् । एवं हि सति तद्दुःखेन सोऽपि
दुःखित इति कृत्वा रसस्यात्मतेति निरवकाशं भवेत् । न तु दुःख
सन्ततस्यैवा दशेति । (Dhv. p. 27 Locana)

(Translation) It should not be taken to mean that

1) काव्यालोके प्रभां नीतान् ध्वनिभेदान् परामृशत् ।

इदानीं लोचनं लोकान् कृतार्थान् संविधास्यति ॥

आवृत्तितानां भेदानां स्फुटतापत्तिदायिनीम् ।

त्रिलोचनप्रियां वन्दे मध्वमां परमेश्वरीम् ॥ (Dhv. p. 233 Locana)

2) अलंकारान्तराणि हि निरूप्यमाणदुर्घटनान्यपि रससमाहितचेतनः

प्रातिभानवतः कवेरहंपूर्विकया परापतन्ति ॥ (Ibid. II. p. 87)

it is the sorrow of the sage. For if it is so, there will not be any occasion for sentiment to play its part. This state cannot be experienced by a person who is tortured with sorrow. Dr. K. Krishna Murthy observes as follows :— ‘In the process of creation, the poet’s personal emotion does have a very important place, though it becomes quite irrelevant from the standpoint of the reader since, he may be interested only in enjoying the emotion to the extent it has been universalised.’¹ In the same manner while discussing the purpose of *Alaṅkāra Abhinavagupta* says as follows :—

अचेतनं शवशरीरं कुण्डलाद्युपेतमपि न भाति अलङ्कार्यस्याभावात् ।
यतिशरीरं कटकादियुक्तं हास्यास्पदं भवति अलङ्कार्यस्यानौचित्यात् ।
न हि देहस्य किञ्चिदनौचित्यमिति वस्तुत आत्मैवालङ्कार्यः अहमलंकृत
इति अभिमानात् । (Dhv. II. p. 75 Locana)

(Translation) Even though a lifeless dead body is loaded with ornaments it does not shine because of the non-existence of the object of decoration. The body of an ascetic, loaded with ornaments becomes ridiculous because of the inappropriateness of the object of decoration. Not that the body is not fit to be decorated, it is only the soul that deserves decoration for there is the proud feeling that ‘I am decorated’.

Again he quotes a beautiful verse of his own illustrative of Dhvani in several figures of speech. Besides pointing out a principal figure of speech namely अतिशयोक्ति he argues that there are several other figures of speech such as विभावना and तुल्ययोगिता and concludes that in the

1) Dhv. (Tr. p. 158)

same way it is possible to have suggestion in every figure of speech in Sanskrit.¹ He refers, in his commentary, to various authors on poetics like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the author of Candrikā and their works like the Hṛdaya-darpaṇa and others. These illustrations reveal his scholarship and critical acumen. There is no personal animosity in his criticisms.

Thus Abhinavagupta's contribution to Sanskrit Literature as a whole is indeed very great. He is a very prolific and versatile writer. As many as 42 of his works have been traced and most of them are on Kashmir Saivism and are dealt with subsequently. He was a Kashmirian and his name was Abhinavagupta as is clear from the genealogy he gives at the end of one of his works.² Kṣemarāja has stated in his works Netrodyota and Abhinavabodha that 'Gupta' is the name given to

- 1) यथा समैव — केलीकन्दलितस्य विभ्रममधोर्ध्वं वपुस्ते दृशौ
 भंगोभंगुरकामकामुकमिदं अनर्शमक्रमः ।
 आपातेऽपि विकारकारणमहो वक्त्राम्बुजन्मासवः
 सत्यं सुन्दरि वेधसस्त्रिजगतीसारस्वमेकाकृतिः ॥
 ते तु मधुमासमदासवाः त्वयि लोकोत्तरेण वपुषा संभूय स्थिता इत्यति-
 शयोक्तिर्ध्वन्यते । आस्वादनपरम्परक्रियायापि विना विकारात्मनः फलस्य
 सम्पत्तिरिति विभावना ध्वनिरपि विभ्रममधोर्ध्वमिति तुल्ययोगिताध्वनिरपि ।
 एवं सर्वालङ्काराणां ध्वन्यमानत्वम् । (Dhv. p. 117 Locana)

- 2) अन्तर्वेद्यामन्त्रिगुताभिधानः प्राप्योत्पत्तिं प्राविशत्प्राग्र्यजन्मा ।
 श्रीकाश्मीराश्रमचूडावतारैः निस्तंख्याकैः पावितोपास्तभागान् ॥
 तस्यान्ववाये महति प्रसूताद्वराहगुतात्प्रतिलब्धजन्मा ।
 संसारवृत्तान्तपराङ्मुखो यः शिवैकचित्तश्चुखलाभिधानः ॥
 तस्माद्विवेचितपदार्थजाताल्लब्धापि देहपदवीं परमेशपूताम् ।
 प्राप्तामयोऽभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधानः प्रावेशयद्विकसतत्त्वमिदं निगूढम् ॥
 (P. T. V. end)

a group of Brahmins in Kashmir.¹ So he seems to have been popularly called Abhinavagupta. Later on, when the world of scholars received the light from his numerous works, they felt he deserved the greatest honour and added the word 'Pādāh' to his name. Thence-forward he was addressed with great veneration as Abhinavagupta Pādāh or merely Acārya Pādāh placing him on par with Sri Sankarācārya of Sārādāpīṭha. Later writers also refer to him in their works with the same veneration. There are no two opinions regarding the greatness and value of his works. Dr. Krishnamurthy very rightly remarks as follows :—" In this connection we receive immense help from Abhinavagupta whose commentaries on the Dhvanyāloka and the Nāṭyaśāstra are so unlike the ordinary run of commentaries in Sanskrit that they supply us a fund of authentic information on all such matters instead of being merely vague or discursive."² There cannot be a more fitting tribute to him than that paid by Dr. V. S. Narvane³

1) S. K. C. p. 55.

2) J. B. U., Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 45.

3) "Like a drama moving to its climax, aesthetic thought in Kashmir moves to its highest point in the writings of Abhinavagupta. Abhinavagupta was one of those very few individuals who have earned as much reverence for the sublimity of their character as for the magnitude of their intellectual achievements."

(Ind. V. 1. 1) (Kashmir Vol. VI. No. I. of 1/56 p. 4)

RATNĀKARA—(1000-1050) A. D.

Ratnākara is another Kashmirian commentator on the Dhvanyāloka. His commentary is called the Dhvani-gāthāpañjikā which explains the Prakrit verses occurring in the Dhvanyāloka. Whether he is the same person as the author of Haravijaya is not yet decided. There is also another person by the same name who is the author of a work known as the Ratnākara-purāṇa. His identity also is still undecided. If he is identical with the former he would be earlier than Abhinavagupta. But some scholars are of the opinion that he is later than Abhinavagupta. He calls himself as Rājānaka Ratnākara in the Colophon of Haravijaya and contemporary of Bālabhāspati. But in the Colophon of the commentary the author styles himself an Kāśmīrācārya. Taking him as different from the author of Haravijaya he has been placed approximately between 1000 and 1050 A. D.

Dr. Bühler has made the following remarks in this connection and they are worth perusal :— “Ratnākara’s work is a very small one. It contains an explanation of the Prakrit verses in a work called Dhvaniśāstra.¹ The only guarantee for the identity of this Ratnākara with the author of the Haravijaya is the statement of the Kashmirian Pandits and the epithet Kāśmīrācārya given to him in the Colophon”.²

Altogether forty-six Prakrit verses are quoted in the Dhvanyāloka. Of these twenty have not yet been

1) B. K. E., p. 66.

2) Ibid, p. 66 foot note.

traced. They are not found in the work of Ratnākara. In the last verse of his commentary Ratnākara does not even clearly mention Dhvanyāloka but only refers to a Dhvaniśāstra.¹ It is not known whether this Dhvaniśāstra is the same as the Dhvanyāloka or different from it.

VI—MUKULABHAṬṬA (850-900) A. D.

The next Kashmirian writer on Poetics is Mukulabhaṭṭa. He is the son of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa² and the teacher of Pratiharendurāja.³ Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa is referred to by Kalhaṇa as a great savant who along with others came into this world during the reign of Avantivarman in Kashmir (855-884 A. D.) to confer favours on humanity.⁴ Mukulabhaṭṭa refers to the authors Udbhaṭa, Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭamitra, Poetess Vijjikā, Śabarāsvāmī and the works Dhvanyāloka and the Mahābhāṣya. He is frequently quoted by Māṇikyaśandra. So the date of Mukulabhaṭṭa is approximately at the end of the 9th century A. D.⁵

1) गायानां पंजिकां कृत्वा ध्वनिशास्त्रस्य यन्मया ।

पुण्यं रत्नाकरेणापि विबुधः स्यात्ततो जनः ॥

कृतिरियं काश्मीराचार्य रत्नाकरस्य—

2) भट्टकल्लटपुत्रेण मुकुलेन निष्पिता । सूरिवबोधनायै यममिधावृत्तिमातुका ॥

(A. V. II. End.)

3) S. D. Int., p. 56 Foot Note.

4) अनुग्रहाय लोकानां भट्टाः श्रीकल्लटादयः ।

अवन्तिवर्मणः काले सिद्धा भुवमवातरन् ॥

(Rāj V. v 66)

5) P. V. K., p. 209.

His work is known as *Abhidhāvṛttimāṭrkā*. It is a short treatise on Poetics consisting of only fifteen *Kārikās* with *Vṛtti* by himself. It deals with the two senses of words namely मुख्य and लाक्षणिक. It commences with the definition of both the senses with their varieties (four of the first and two of the second) and gives a treatment of *Lakṣaṇā* in detail.¹ Dr. V. S. Narvane's remarks on the merits of this book are worthy of note. They are as follows :—“ Apart from other problems it is interesting to see that this book contains a discussion about the use of words in their various primary and secondary senses, a branch of speculation that has today come for a good deal of emphasis at the hands of European writers on ‘Semantics’.”²

VII—BHAṬṬA NĀYAKA (900-950) A.D.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is the next Kashmirian writer on Poetics. He may be said to be the founder of the Rasa School. But unfortunately no information is available either about his parentage or the times and place in which he lived. There are only a few stray references which help us to determine his date approximately.

- 1) शब्दव्यापारतो यस्य प्रतीतिस्तस्य मुख्यता ।
अर्थावसेर्यस्य पुनर्लक्ष्यमाणत्वमुच्यते ॥
तत्र मुख्या चतुर्भेदा ज्ञेया जाल्यादिभेदतः ।
शुद्धोपचारमिश्रत्वाल्लक्षणा द्विविधा मता ॥

(A V. M. vv. 1 & 2)

- 2) Kashmir Vol. VI. No. 1 for Jan. 56 p. 4.

Sri M. Krishnamacharya says that he was probably a poet in the court of King Avantivarman (855-884 A.D.), and King Sankaravarman of Kashmir.¹ Both Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha quote a verse² under his name which Mahimabhaṭṭa says is from the Hṛdayadarpaṇa which is the name of the work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. Mahimabhaṭṭa, perhaps, his younger contemporary as he says he refuted the Dhvani theory without seeing the Hṛdayadarpaṇa.³ If the Nāyaka referred to by Kalhaṇa⁴ is the same as Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka then he will have to be taken as a contemporary of King Sankaravarman.⁵ Ānandavardhana specifically states in his work that some scholars were of the view that the Dhvani theory did not exist.⁶ But it is not clear whether there is any reference to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in this statement. He is, however, considered as one who lived later than the author of Dhvanyāloka on the ground that he refutes the theory of Dhvani. He lived earlier than Abhinavagupta who frequently refers to him

1) H. S. L. by M. K. p. 741.

2) ध्वनिर्नामापरो योऽसौ व्यापरो व्यंजनात्मकः ।

तस्य सिद्धेऽपि भेदे स्यात्काव्यांशत्वं न रूपता ॥ (Dhv. p. 11 Locana)

3) सहसा यशोऽभिसर्तुं समुद्यतादृष्टदर्पणा मम धीः ।

स्वालङ्कारविकल्पप्रवत्येन वेत्ति कथमिवावद्यम् ॥ (V. V. p. 1)

4) द्विजस्तयोर्नायकाख्यो गौरीशसुरसद्धानोः ।

चातुर्विधः कृतस्तेन वाग्देवीकुलमन्दिरम् ॥ (Rāj. V. v. 59)

5) But Dr. P. V. Kane is of the view that the Nāyaka referred to by Kalhaṇa is not the same as Bhaṭṭa

Nāyaka (P. V. K. p. 215)

6) तस्याभावं जगदुरपरे (Dhv. p. 2)

in his Locana. He may be closer to Abhinavagupta than to Ānandavardhana. His date may, therefore, be placed approximately between 900 and 950 A D ¹

Hṛdayadarpaṇa has not yet been discovered. It is, perhaps, lost to us. It is, however, available only in fragments² in the form of quotations and references in various other works. It looks as though the work was written in prose and verse. If it is made available it would certainly be of great value to the student of Poetics as he would be in possession of the theory of Rasa as expounded by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. From the first verse of his work which is quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī³ it was thought that it was a commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata. It may not be so. Dr. Kane also thinks that "Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was not a regular commentator on Bharata as Udbhaṭa and Śankuka were"⁴

Thus Hṛdayadarpaṇa seems to be primarily a work on Poetics in which the author establishes that Rasa is the essence of good poetry and differs from the Dhvani as explained by Ānandavardhana. He does not appear to believe in the existence of Dhvani, much less in the various forms of it and therefore he has been often criticised by Abhinavagupta. According to him there are three main functions of words in a Poetic composition

1) P. V. K., p. 215.

2) J. O. R. M., Vol. I, pp. 267-276.

3) नमस्तैलौक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः ।

प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाथप्रयोगरसि हो जनः ॥ (N S Vol. I p 5, A.B.)

4) P.V.K. p. 215

namely : अभिधा, भावना and रसचर्चणा. He distinguishes between Sāstra and Ākhyāna on the one hand and Kāvya on the other, stating ultimately that Kāvya depends solely on कविव्यापार. According to him Kāvya gives aesthetic delight to all who read it while Sāstra gives injunction and Ākhyāna supplies information. The principal point on which he seems to differ from the author of the Dhvanyāloka is that he regards Dhvani as transcending definition and as purely स्वस्वेद्य. The basic point in his theory is that Rasa or relish is the soul of poetry and not Dhvani or suggestion. He was, in short, a revivalist. As Dr. V. S. Narvane observes "He could be very modern on occasion".¹

The passages occurring in the Locana where there is a reference to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and his work are collected together and furnished below with a view to get an idea of the direction in which his views on Poetics are running. —

- 1) यद्वृत्ते भट्टनायकेन - अंशत्वं न रूपिता - इति तदुत्सवलङ्कारध्वन्योरेव यदि नामोपालम्भः रसध्वनिस्तु तेनैवात्मतयाङ्गीकृतः ।
(Dhv. p. 15 Locana)
- 2) यत्त्वाह भट्टनायकः - अहमित्यभिनयविशेषणात्मदशावेदनादपि - इति ।
तत्राहमिति शब्दस्य तावन्नाय साक्षादर्थः । काकादिसहायस्य च तावति ध्वननमेव व्यापार इति ध्वनेर्भूषणमेतत् । (Ibid p. 21 Locana)
- 3) एतदेवोक्तं हृदयदर्पणे - यावत्पूर्णं न चैतेन तावन्नैवैवम् । अगम इति च्छान्दसेनाडागमेन । स एवैतैवकारेणेदेमाह - नान्य आत्मेति ।
तेन यदाह भट्टनायकः -

1) Kashmir Vol. VI. No. 1 of Jan. 56 p. 4.

शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थतत्त्वेन युक्तं तु वदन्याख्यानमेतयोः ॥

द्वयोरुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यधीर्भवेत् इति तदपास्तम् ।

(Ibid p. 27 Locana)

4) यदाह भट्टनायकः :—

वाग्धेनुर्दुग्ध एकं हि रसं यद्वाप्तवृण्णाया ।

तेन नास्त्य समः स स्यादुदुह्यते योगिमिहि यः ॥

तदावेशेन विनाश्याक्रान्त्या हि योगिभिर्दुह्यते ॥ (Ibid p. 29 Locana)

5) यस्तु हृदयदर्पण उक्तम् - हृहाहेति । संस्मार्थोऽयं चमत्कारः इति

तथापि संस्म आवेगो विप्रलम्भव्यभिचारीति रसध्वनिस्तावदुपगतः ।

(Ibid p. 63 Locana)

From the above fragments in the Locana we can get an idea of the theory propounded by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and try to rebuild his views on poetics. His contribution to Sanskrit Poetics is his masterly exposition of the Rasapratīti. Abhinavagupta, while agreeing in general with his views on the importance of Rasa, believes that the functions of Bhāvakatva and Bhojakatva can be brought under Dhvanana. He thinks that Rasa is apprehended and to explain it in Druti, Visāra and Vikāsa is inadequate. According to him Rasapratīti is neither Svagata nor Paragata. If, as Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka says, Bhāvakatva is a function of both Śabda and Artha, it would be identical with suggestion and the difference between the two would only be in name. So he concludes that there is no necessity to regard Bhāvanā as one of the Vyāpāras of a Kāvya. He also says that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is not correct in thinking that no moral instruction is possible from a Kāvya. He also criticises his interpretation which is supposed to be based on the tenets of the Mīmāṃsā school of philosophy.

VIII—BHAṬṬA TAUTA (950–980) A. D.

Next in order among Kashmirian Rhetoricians comes Bhaṭṭa Tauta, the preceptor of Abhinavagupta and the author of Kāvya Kautuka on which the latter seems to have written a commentary called the Vivaraṇa. We are utterly in the dark regarding his birth and parentage. Except the fact that he was the teacher of Abhinavagupta nothing more is known. Since it has been stated that Abhinavagupta's literary activity was between 980 and 1020 A.D., his teacher's activity may be placed slightly prior to that. So the date of Bhaṭṭa Tauta may approximately be Placed between 950 and 980 A. D. Even Kṣemendra quotes his definition of Pratibhā in one of his works.

Neither the work of Bhaṭṭa Tauta nor its commentary is available at present. Like the work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka it also exists only in fragments. It seems to have been written entirely in verse dealing with the theory of Poetry in general and Rasa in particular. It also seems to have explained certain relevant passages of the Nāṭya-śāstra. It is evident by the frequent references that Abhinavagupta makes to his teacher in his works, that Bhaṭṭa Tauta exercised a profound influence on his disciple and through him on the theory of Rasa.¹ His definition of Kavi and Kāvya is mentioned by Rāma-

1) तथा चोक्तं भट्टतौतेन — लक्षणांलङ्कृतिगुणा दोषाः शब्दप्रवृत्तयः ।

वृत्तिसंध्यंगसंरम्भः संमारी यः कवेः किल ॥

(N.S. Vol. III, p. 78 A.B.)

candra and quoted by Māṇikya-candra.¹ His estimation of a Poet is excellent and is quoted by Hemacandra in his Kāvyaṇuśāsana while explaining the varieties of a Poetic Composition.² He refuted the theories of Lollaṭa and Sankuka on Rasa. One of his doctrines was that Sāntarasa was at the head of all Rasas as it led to Mokṣa.³ Rasa, according to him, is realised only when the poet is able to make the object described by him stand before the reader's eyes by his wonderful power of delineation. Several verses, some of them mutilated and indecipherable are quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Locana as pertaining to his revered teacher Tauta. He seems to be not against the theory of Dhvani. It may be stated that during his time the opposition to the Dhvani theory began to decline and a positive attitude towards it began to develop.

1) यथोक्तं काव्यकौतुके—प्रज्ञा नवनवोत्प्रेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता ।

तदनुप्राणनाजीवद्वर्णनानिपुणः कविः ॥

तस्य कर्म स्मृतं काव्यम् ।

(H.S.L. by M.K. p. 74 Foot Note)

2) तथा चाह भट्टतौतः—नानृपिः कुरुते काव्यं कविश्च किल दर्शनात् ।

विचित्रभावतत्त्वांशधर्मश्रव्या च दर्शनम् ॥

स तत्त्वदर्शनादेव शास्त्रेषु पठितः कविः ।

दर्शनावर्णनाच्चायं सूहा लोके कविश्रुतिः ॥

तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेर्मुनेः ।

नोदिता कविता लोके यावज्जाता न वर्णना ॥

(Chapter VIII)

3) मोक्षफलरवे चायं शान्तरसः परमपुरुषार्थनिष्ठितत्वात्सर्वरसेभ्यः प्रधानतमः ।

स चायमस्सदुपाध्यायभट्टतौतेन काव्यकौतुके अस्माभिश्च तद्विवरणे ।

(Dhv. p. 178 Locana)

Dr. Narvane has rightly remarked about his influence in the following manner :—"Just as Socrates, although he did not himself work out any systematic philosophy, exerted a profound and enduring influence on human thought through his disciple Plato, similarly Bhaṭṭa Tauta has exercised a good deal of indirect influence on the history of Aesthetics through his great follower Abhinavagupta who missed no opportunity of paying his tribute to the writings of his teacher. Later writers like Kṣemendra and Hemacandra have also quoted Bhaṭṭa Tauta's views with great respect".¹

IX—KUNTALA OR KUNTAKA (975-1025) A.D

Kuntala was probably a younger contemporary of Abhinavagupta : yet it is curious to note that neither mentions the other. As usual no information is available regarding his parentage or genealogy. It is very probable that he is a Kashmirian by the title Rājānaka which is seen attached to his name in the colophon of his work. He looked at Poetics from a peculiar angle of vision with which no one had, perhaps, till then looked at. He is considered as practically the founder of the Vakrokti School of thought in Poetics and the name of his work is Vakrokti Jīvita which contains four or probably five chapters each of which is called an Unmeṣa. It is so named because Vakrokti or Arch-speech is the soul of poetry. His view appears to be in accordance with the following well-known quotation :—

1) Kashmir Vol. VI. No. 1 of Jan. 56 p. 4.

“Straight is the path of duty
Curved is the line of beauty”

The first two chapters of the work were edited with introduction and notes by Dr. S. K. De so far back as 1923, based on a manuscript which is in the Madras Government Library. A transcribed copy of it is in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.¹ It has 211 Folios with 24 lines to a folio and 25 letters to a line. It was transcribed in 1921 from the manuscript available in the Madras Government Library. The entire work has recently been edited (in the year 1955) by Dr. Nagendra with Hindi translation and commentary by Ācārya Viśveśvara Siddhānta Siromaṇi, President Sridhar Anusandhān Vibhāg, Gurukul Viśvavidyālaya, Bṛndāvan and Honourable Member, Hindi Anusandhān Pariṣat, Delhi University. A lengthy introduction and detailed notes are also furnished in it. This edition was noticed only very recently (i.e., in 1958) when this book had almost reached the final stage. The Kārikās and the Vṛtti which are both from the same author are mixed up in the existing manuscript. Besides, there are many gaps also in it. The filling up of these by appropriate words and phrases is a very difficult task. An attempt is, however, made here to give a presentable account of the essential topics discussed in the four chapters of the work with suitable quotations from it wherever necessary to show that it is an important contribution to Sanskrit Poetics. An English translation of the third

1) Ms. No. 114/1924-25 of B.O.R.I. Poona.

Nāṭya and Saṅgīta pp. 300 to 302

Cat. on Alaṅkāra

and fourth chapters has been taken up by me and is being published separately.

It is clear from the colophons occurring at the end of each chapter of the work that the name of the author is Kuntala or Kuntaka or even Kuntalaka sometimes with the title Rājānaka¹. He is generally referred to by later writers as Vakroktijīvitakāra.² But Mahimabhāṭṭa³ and Vidyādhara⁴ mention him by the name Kuntaka in their respective works.

There is not much difficulty in fixing the date of Kuntala. Since he quotes Rājaśekhara and Ānandavardhana (cited as the Dhvanikāra with reference to a Prakrit verse which occurs in the Dhvanyāloka)⁵ and is

- 1) राजानककुन्तलविरचिते वक्रोक्तिजीविते काव्यालंकारे प्रथमोन्मेषः ।
 राजानककुन्तलविरचिते वक्रोक्तिजीविते काव्यालंकारे तृतीयोन्मेषः ।
 (V.J. Ms., Folios 45 & 177)
- 2) वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारेण वक्रतादिभिः समस्तो ध्वनिप्रपञ्चः स्वीकृतः ।
 (A. S. p. 8)
- 3) काव्यकाञ्चनकपाशमणिना कुन्तकेन निजकाठयलक्ष्मणि ।
 यस्य सर्वनिरवशतोदिता इलोक एष स निदर्शितो मया ॥
 (V. V., pp. 37-38)
- 4) एतेन कुन्तकेन भक्त्यन्तर्भावितो ध्वनिस्तदपि प्रत्याख्यातम् ।
 (E. V., p. 51)
- 5) ताता आ अन्ति गुणा जाता दे सहित एडि वेप्पन्ति ।
 रथिकिरणानुगा हि आहि होन्ति कमलाइ कमलाइ ॥
 तदा जायन्ते गुणा यदा ते राह्मदयैर्युह्यन्ते ।
 रविकिरणानुग्रहीतानि भवन्ति कमलानि कमलानि ॥ इति छाया
 (Dhv., p. 62)

quoted by Mahimabhaṭṭa and Vidyādhara as pointed out above, he must be later than the first two and earlier than the last two. Also the very first verse of the Dhvanyāloka is quoted by Kuntala in his work¹ and the Dhvanikāra is often mentioned on various occasions². He quotes from the Bālarāmāyaṇa and the Viddhaśālabhanjikā of Rājasekhara.³ So he might have been well-acquainted with these works and authors. Samudrabandha points out that the Upacāravakratā of Kuntala falls within the province of Lakṣaṇāmūla Dhvani. He quotes a number of authors by name and some of them anonymously. A large number of verses quoted in the Dhvanyāloka are also quoted in his work and discussed from his point of view *Vis-a-Vis* the views of the Dhvanikāra. Between the Kārikās six and seven in chapter I of his work two verses are seen as intervening as they are called Antaraśloka. One of them⁴ is also found in the Kāmadhenu commentary of Gopendra Tippabhūpāla on the Kavyālaṅkārasūtra of Vāmana. The commentator might have taken it from Kuntala. On the basis of these references the date of Kuntala may, in all probability, be about the middle of the 11th century A.D.

1) V. J. (Hindi Tr.) p. 79.

2) V. J. by Dr. S. K. De. p. 34

3) V. J. (Hindi Tr.) pp. 31 and 76

4) कटुकौषधवच्छास्त्रमविद्याव्यधिनाशनम् ।

आह्लाद्यमृतवत्काव्यमविवेकगदापहम् ॥

(K. S. p. 6.)

Kuntala commences his work with an invocation to the Goddess of learning¹ and begins the Vṛtti portion with a bow to God Śiva.² He then gives the definitions of word and sense as applied in a Poetic composition.³ Like Bhāmaha he gives the purpose of a Poetic composition and calls his work Kavyālaṅkāra.⁴

According to him Vakrokti is the soul of Poetry. He was a great believer in originality. Though the idea of Vakrokti was there in Poetics even earlier than Kuntala, the credit of developing it on original lines may be given to him. That is why Dr. V. S. Narvane says "He thought it incumbent upon the artist to deviate from normal modes of expression. The artist must present every theme in a striking manner ; there should be some 'twist' somewhere — Vakratā as he called it."⁵ For, according to Bhāmaha, Vakrokti is the fundamental principle of all figurative expression.⁶ Daṇḍin was apparently in agreement with Bhāmaha and uses Vakrokti in a slightly different sense by calling it as a collective

- 1) वन्दे कवीन्द्रवक्त्रेन्दुलास्यमन्दिरनर्तकीम् ।
देवीं सूक्तिपरिस्पन्दसुन्दराभिनयोज्ज्वलाम् ॥ (V.J. Ms. p. 1)
- 2) जगत्त्रितयवैचित्र्यचित्रकर्मविधायिनम् ।
शिवं शक्तिपरिस्पन्दमालोपकरणं नमः ॥ (V. J. Ms. p. 1)
- 3) शब्दो विवक्षितार्थैकवाचकोऽन्येषु सत्स्वपि ।
अर्थः सहृदयाह्लादकारी स्वस्पन्दसुन्दरः ॥ (V. J. M.s. p. 13)
- 4) शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।
बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥ (Ibid. p. 6)
- 5) Kashmir Vol. VI No. 2 of Feb. 1956 p. 37.
- 6) सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरन्यथा विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥ (K.A. II, v. 85)

name for all figures of speech.¹ Vāmana calls it as a special poetic figure, i. e., an Arthālaṅkāra where the Lakṣaṇa or the indicated sense is based on similarity. Even Rudraṭa uses it as a specific figure of speech. These references make it sufficiently clear that Kuntala got the idea of Vakratā from earlier writers on Poetics and developed it on his own lines in all its aspects in detail. The purpose in writing a fresh treatise, even though the idea of Vakratā was already there, is laid bare by Kuntala at the commencement of his work.² Mere words or ideas do not constitute poetry but only the presence of Vaicitrya due to Vakrokti causes extraordinary charm in poetry. So Kuntala is not prepared to admit Svabhāvokti as a figure of speech as it would result in the inclusion of unadorned expressions in poetry. Śabda and Artha are to be decorated by Vakrokti. He draws a fine line of demarcation between Alaṅkārya and Alaṅkṛti.³ Then he gives a definition of Vakratā.⁴ He

1) इलेपः सर्वासु पुष्पाति प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु श्रियम् ।
द्विधा भिन्नं स्वभावोक्तिर्वक्रोक्तिरिति वाङ्मयम् ॥ (K.B. II, v. 363)

2) लोकोत्तरचमत्कारकारिवैचित्र्यसिद्धये ।
काव्यस्यायमलंकारः कोऽप्यपूर्वो विधीयते ॥ (V. J. I, v. 3)

3) उभावेतावलंकार्यौ तयोः पुनरलंकृतिः ।
वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यमङ्गीभणितिरुच्यते ॥
अलंकारकृतां तेषां स्वभावोक्तिरलंकृतिः ।
अलंकार्यतया तेषां किमन्यदवतिष्ठते ॥
येषामलंकारकृतामलंकारकाराणां स्वभावोक्तिरलंकृतिः ते
सुकुमारमनसत्वाद्भिवेककेशद्वेषिणः ।
(V. J. I. vv. 11 & 12 of p 22 of Ms.)

4) मार्गानुगुण्यसुभगो माधुर्यादिगुणोदयः ।
अलंकरणविन्यासो वक्रतातिशयान्वितः ॥
पदादिवाचपरिस्पन्दसारः साहित्यमुच्यते । (V. J. Ms., p. 23)

rightly asks that if the body itself is the ornament what else remains to be decorated. He says that the shoulder getting up on itself is nowhere to be seen.¹ So it is only *Sālaṅkṛta* *Sabda* and *Artha* that constitute a *Kāvya*. He does not think that it is correct to say that *Alankāras* belong to *Kāvya* as the latter may exist even without the former and quotes an example of such a *Kāvya*.² The varieties of *Vakrokti* are then enumerated as six namely : *Varṇavinyāsa*, *Padapūrvārdha*, *Padaparārdha*, *Vākya*, *Prakarāṇa* and *Prabandha* with numerous examples for each. They are further sub-divided.

Discussing the *Varṇavinyāsavakratā* he observes that the earlier writers called it *Anuprāsa*³. But at the same time he does not recognise the *Yamakālaṅkāra* of the ancients as, according to him it does not add lustre to the *Kāvya*. So he dispenses with it altogether. He subdivides the *Vakratās* mentioned above in minute forms with a sense of precision. A few classifications by way of illustration are as follows :—(1) *Rūḍhivakratā* (2) *Paryāyavakratā* (3) *Vṛttivakratā* (4) *Kriyāvakratā* (5) *Kāraṇavakratā* (6) *Sankhyāvakratā* (7) *Puruṣavakratā* (8) *Upagrahavakratā* and so on. Each one of them is illustrated by quotations culled out from the Poetic compositions of *Mātṛgupta*, *Manjira*, *Kālidāsa*

1) शरीरं चेदलंकारः किमलंकुस्तेऽपरम् ।

आत्मैव नात्मनः स्कन्धं कचिदप्यधिरोहति ॥ (V. J. I. v. 14)

2) ततोऽस्यपरिस्पन्दमन्दीकृतवपुः शशो ।

दध्रे कामपरिक्षामकामिनीगण्डपाण्डुताम् ॥ (V. J., Ms. p. 9)

3) वर्णविन्यासवक्तृत्वं — चिरन्तनेषु अनुप्रास इति प्रसिद्धम् ।

वक्तृतायाः परोऽप्यस्ति प्रकारः प्रत्ययाश्रयः । (Ibid p. 30)

and Sarvasena, which are praised for their natural beauty and elegance.¹

The main factor which contributes for the beauty of a good Poetic composition is the spontaneity with which it is composed and the natural flow of words wonderfully twisted together to convey an extraordinarily charming idea and thereby impress the readers. Then he describes the several varieties of Padapūrvārdha and Rūḍhi Vaicitrya. He illustrates, for instance, the Paryāyavakratā or arch-speech in synonyms in a beautiful manner² and explains that any other synonym of Indra than Vajrī in the illustration would not convey the same charm as that in the context. Another important variety of Vakratā which he describes in detail is the Upacāravakratā in illustration of which he quotes a verse from the Meghadūta.³ Then the Viśeṣaṇa Vakratā and Samvṛti Vakratā are dealt with. Since Vṛtti is five-fold he further sub-divides it into Kṛt, Taddhita, Samāsa, Ekadeśa and Sannanta. The famous

1) यथा मातृगुण मन्जीरप्रभृतीनां सौकुमार्यसंवलितवैचित्र्यपरिस्पन्द-
स्पन्दोनि काव्यानि सम्भवन्ति । एवं सहजसौकुमार्य नि
कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते । (Ibid. p. 43)

2) नाभियोक्त्वमुमृतं त्वमिच्छसे वस्तपस्विविशिखेषु चादरः ।
सन्ति भूभृति हि नः शराः परे ये पराक्रमवसुनि वज्रिणः ॥
(V. J., Hindi Tr., p. 204)

3) गच्छन्तीनां रमणवसतिं योषितां तत्र न क्तं
रुद्रालोके नरपतिपथे सूचिभेद्यैस्तमोभिः ।
सौदामन्या कनकनिकषस्निग्धया दर्शयोर्वी
तोयोत्सर्गस्तनितमुखरो मा स्म भूर्बुध्निवास्ताः ॥ (M. D. I. v. 37)

verse in the Abhijñāna Śākuntala of Kālidāsa¹ is quoted by him as an example of Sankhyāvakratā. These are, in brief, some of the salient points that are described in the first and second chapters of Vakroktijīva.

The third chapter of the work is devoted entirely for a thorough discussion of Vākyavakratā in all its aspects. It is in this and the next chapter that real difficulty arises in separating the Kārikās which are found mixed up with the Vṛttis in the manuscript. They have to be constructed from the Pratīkas that occur in the Vṛtti, after a careful perusal. There are a few Antaraślokaś which may be his own or quotations from other writers whose names have to be traced. The Rasa and Bhāva are discussed at length with copious examples. In his opinion figures of speech of the type of Rasavat, Preyas, Ūrjasvī, Samāhita and Udātta are not at all Alaṅkāras but or fit to be only Alaṅkāryas. For instance he first takes the well-known figure of speech, Svabhāvokti, which has been defined in different ways by the writers on Poetics and which is supposed to generate pleasure in the minds of men of taste. He tries to reply those writers who consider it as a Poetic embellishment. His view is that when there is natural beauty there is no necessity of loading it with ornaments. He argues that the embellishments will only conceal the natural beauty of the Poetic composition. To illustrate his argument he quotes the following verse :—

- 1) चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बहुशो वेपथुभर्ती
 रहस्याख्यायीव स्वनसि मृदु कर्णान्तिकचरः ।
 करौ व्याधुन्वत्याः पिवसि रतिसर्वस्वमभरं
 वयं तत्त्वान्वेषान्मधुकर हतारत्वं खलु कृती ॥ (S. K. I. v. 20)

स्मितं किञ्चिन्मुग्धं तरलमधुरो दृष्टिविभवः

परिस्पन्दो वाचाभिनवविलासोक्तिसरसः ।

गतानामारम्भः किसलयितलीलापरिभलः

स्पृशन्त्यास्तास्य किमिव हि न रम्यं मृगदृशः ॥

and comments on it as follows :—

एवमेवंविधविषये स्वाभाविकसौकुमार्यप्राधान्येन वर्ण्यमानस्य वस्तुनः

सदाच्छादनभयादेव न भूयसां यत्कविभिरलंकरणमुपनिबध्यते । यदि वा

कदाचिन्निबध्यते तदेव स्वाभाविकं सौकुमार्यं सुतरां समुन्मीलयितुं न

पुनरलङ्करणवैचित्र्योपपत्तये— यथा —

धौताञ्जने च नयने स्फटिकाच्छकान्ति—

गण्डस्थली विगतकृत्रिमरागमोष्ठम् ।

अंगानि दन्तिशिशुदन्तविनिर्मलानि

किं यत्र सुन्दरमभूत्तरुणीजनस्य ॥

अत्र दन्तिशिशुदन्तविनिर्मलानि इत्युक्त्वा स्वाभाविकमेव सौन्दर्य—

मुन्मीलितम् ।

(V. J. Hindi Tr. p. 302)

There are, according to him, two kinds of Vākya-vakratā namely ; Sahaja and Āhārya ¹ He incidentally touches upon what he calls Kavivyaāpāra as the supreme creative power of the poet who, by his skill, describes objects in such a manner as to attract the attention of men of taste and quotes the well-known verse which occurs in the Dhvanyāloka. ² In this connection he

1) वक्रसावः प्रकरणे प्रबन्धेऽप्यस्ति यादृशः ।

उच्यते सहजाहार्यसौकुमार्यमनोहरः ॥

(V. J. Ms. p. 33,)

2) अपारे काव्यसंसागे कविरेव प्रजापतिः ।

यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते ।

(Dhv. p. 222)

quotes a verse from Kālidāsa¹ and points out how the poet has therein brought about a fine combination of the two kinds of Vakratā mentioned above.² Then he stresses the all-pervasive nature of Vakratā³ by saying that just as the skill of the painter on canvas is of utmost importance in spite of his well-equipped instruments like the brush, colour etc., so also the skill of the poet predominates in the construction of a charming Poetic composition which delights the heart of a cultured critic⁴

Then Kuntala refutes the Rasavadalaṅkāra as defined by his predecessors in the Science of Poetics and says that Rasa can only be an Alaṅkārya (that which is to be

1) अस्याः सर्गाविधौ प्रजापातरभूचन्द्रो नु कान्तप्रदः

शृङ्गारैकरसः स्वयं नु मदनो मासो नु पुष्पाकरः ।

वेदभ्यासजडः कथं नु विषयव्यावृत्तकौतूहलो

निर्मातुं प्रभवेन्मनोहरमिदं रूपं पुराणो मुनिः ॥ (V. S. I. v. 8.)

2) अत्र सर्वेषां विशेषणानां स्वयमतिसम्बध्यमानमेतदेव सुतरां समुद्दीपयति ।

(V. J. Ms., Folio 94)

3) यथा चित्तस्य किमपि किमपि कलकायुपकरणकलापव्यतिरेकि सकलप्रकृति-
पदार्थजोवितायमानचित्रकारकौशलं पृथक्त्वेन मुख्यतया प्रतिभासते तथैव
वाक्यस्य मार्गादिप्रकृतिपदार्थसार्थव्यतिरेकं कविकौशललक्षणं किमपि
सहृदयहृदयसंवेद्यं सकलप्रस्तुतपदार्थस्फुरितभूतं वक्तव्यमुद्भजते ।

(Ibid Folio 97)

4) वक्रतायाः प्रकाराणामौचित्यगुणशालिनी ।

एतदुत्तेजनायालं स्वस्वन्दमहतामपि ॥

रसस्वभावालंकारा आसंसारमवस्थितिः ।

अनेन वक्रतां याति तद्ब्रह्माह्लादकारिणी ॥ (V. J. Ms., Folio 97)

decorated) and not an Alaṅkāraṇa (that which decorates).¹ He is of the opinion that he is unable to understand the trend of argument in the writings of his predecessors in describing Rasa as an embellishment, as all figures of speech should only go to enhance the sentiment or Rasa in the Poetic composition. He directs his criticism against their views under three broad divisions namely :—रसदर्शित, रससंश्रय रसवद्रसपेशलम् and his argument under each is as follows :—

रसः संश्रयो यस्यासौ रससंश्रयः तस्मात्कारणादयं रसवदलङ्कारः सम्पद्यते ।
तथापि वक्तव्यमेव कोऽसौ रसव्यतिरेकवृत्तिरन्यपदार्थाः काव्यमेवेति
चेत् तदपि पूर्वमेव प्रत्युक्तं तस्य स्वात्मेति क्रियाविरोधादलङ्कार-
त्वानुपपत्तेः । (V. J. Ms. Folio 106)

रसपेशलमिति पाठेन किञ्चिदत्रातिरिच्यते । अथ..... प्रतिपादक-
वाक्योपाख्यपदार्थस्वार्थस्वरूपमलङ्कार्यं रसस्वरूपानुप्रवेशेन विगलित-
परिस्पन्दानां द्रव्याणामिवासः संपा प्यलङ्करणं भवतीत्येतदपि
चिन्त्यमेव । (Ibid Folio 107)

काव्यं करणीयमिति तस्यालंकार इत्याश्रिते सर्वेषामेव रूपकादीनां रसव-
दलंकारत्वमेव न्यायोपपन्नतां प्रतिपद्यते । (Ibid Folio 108)

He rejects the view of the author of the Dhvanyāloka on Rasavadalaṅkāra in the next few pages of this chapter and then criticises the definitions of Preyas and Ūrjasvī given by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa. He does not agree with the division of Dīpaka into three kinds as done by Bhāmaha but agrees with Udbhaṭa.

1) सौकुमार्यरसस्वरूपं वर्णनाविषयस्य वस्तुनः ।

शरीरमेव अलंकार्यतामर्हति न पुनरलंकरणत्वम् । (Ibid Folio 104)

He then dwells upon impropriety and quotes the view of the Dhvanikāra¹ only to agree with him and also quotes a verse of Udbhaṭa in support thereof.² A verse³ which occurs both in Bhāsa and Śūdraka is taken up for discussion. It is stated in the course of argument that if it is an example of Rasavadalaṅkāra, then all figures of speech should be called so. In the same way he has refuted the figures of speech Ūrjasvī, Preyas, Udātta and Samāhita (called Samādhi in some works on Poetics) and has discussed all the Arthalaṅkarās one by one commencing from Rūpaka with appropriate illustrations only to establish that they are after all examples of Vākyavakratā. He calls this Vakratā as the embodiment of all literature as such at the commencement of the fourth chapter.⁴

In the fourth chapter, two very important types of Vakratā namely the Prakaraṇa and the Prabandha are dealt with elaborately. It is here that Kuntala strikes a new note and handles the subject in an original manner

1) अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसमङ्गस्य कारणम् । (V. J Ms., Folio 115)

2) अनौचित्यप्रवृत्तानां कामक्रोधादिकारणात् ।

भावानां च रसानां च बन्ध कथ्यते ॥

(V. J Ms, Folio 115)

3) मृतेति प्रेत्य सङ्गन्तुं यया मे मरणं व्रतम् ।

सैषावन्ती मया लब्धा कथमत्रैव जन्मनि ॥

(Ibid Folio 124)

4) एवं सकलसहि यसर्वस्वकल्याणव्यवक्रताप्रकाशनानन्तरमवसरग्रातां

प्रकरणवक्रतामवतारयति यत्र निर्वन्त्रणोत्साहपरिस्पन्दोपशोभिनी ।

व्यावृत्तिव्यवहर्द्दगां स्वाशयोल्लेखशालिनी ॥

(Ibid Folio 178)

which is his most substantial contribution to Poetics. This aspect of Vakratā does not appear to have been dealt with by any of the earlier writers. To illustrate the Prakaraṇavakratā, Kuntala takes two instances one from Setubandha and the other from the Raghuvamśa.¹ In the case of the latter, the effort of Raghu to proceed on a campaign against Kubera, the God of Wealth, with a view to conquer, considering him as one of his subordinate kings is the Prakaraṇavakratā which does not fail to create a unique pleasure in the minds of the readers. The incident that is described by the Poet is very charming.² He continues to discuss the same incident until Raghu succeeds in getting a heap of gold more than that asked for by Kautsa and points out how the entire situation is a very good example of this type of Vakratā.³ The following is his argument in this connection :—

अत्र दंभेलिदलितक्रांचनाचलपादसादृश्यप्रतीयमानपरिमितस्य तपनीय-
कूटस्य सकलस्यापि वितरणादन्य एव तादृशद्रविणव्यसनवर्तिनो दिलीप-
नन्दनस्य कल्पनाकलंकतदर्थितार्थवितरणानुच्चतरान् कल्पनानपि नमस्कु-
र्वाणः स्वकोशवार्यसीमा समुज्जृम्भते येन भक्तितर्भक्तिगर्वगरीः ग्रन्थेन

1) किं वस्तु विद्वन् गुरवे यावद्यते साधयितुं त्वदर्थम् ॥

(R. Canto V vv. 18-25)

2) कुबेरं प्रति सामन्तसम्भावनया जयाध्यवसायः कामपि सद्दयाहादकारितं
प्रतिपद्यते ।

(V. J. Ms. Folio 179)

3) तं भूपतिर्मासुरहेमगाशिं लब्धं कुबेरादभियाच्यमानात् ।

दिदेश कौत्साय समस्तमेव पादं सुमेरोरिव वज्रभिन्नम् ॥

(Ibid Folio 180)

त्रिथिल्याद्वितीययशःसंदोहदस्य दात्रन्तरासहिष्णोः गुर्वर्थमित्यादेः प्रथमो-
दितस्य वाक्यप्रकाण्डस्य प्राणपरिस्पन्दपोषणमेव ।

(V. J. Ms. Folio. 180)

Raghu is described as one who does not bear even the thought of Kautsa going away with his desire unfulfilled at his hands. The entire heap of gold which he got from Kubera is given away to the sage whole-heartedly.

The argument in the previous paragraph shows that, according to Kuntala, the Prakaraṇavakratā consists of a twist in the incident which has been newly introduced in the story by the Poet in order to enhance the relish or Rasa and the character of the person concerned. The poet, by his creative faculty, creates certain incidents which are not found in the original or the source from which he draws the story-element and adapts them in such a manner as to increase the tension of the situation and generate interest in the minds of the readers or the spectators as the case may be. Kuntala also says that it is not possible for all poets to introduce in their compositions this kind of Vakratā. It requires a rare capacity on the part of the poet to do this. As instances of this Vakratā in Sanskrit Dramas, he mentions the curse of the sage Dūrvāsa in the Abhijñāna Śākuntala and the Citra Phalaka incident in the Uttararāmacarita. The hunting scene in Canto IX of the Raghuvamśa and the Sixth Act of the Muḍrārākṣasa are other examples cited therein. The deviation introduced in the Udāttarāghava wherein Rāma rushes to the rescue of Lakṣmaṇa instead of the latter rushing to the rescue of the former

in the golden deer scene in the Rāmāyaṇa is highly commended as a fine example of this kind of twist in incident.

Kuntala then goes on to mention that the Prakaraṇa vakratā is the life-breath of the entire composition on hand.¹ In order to point out the extreme importance of this type of Vakratā, he tries to examine negatively the whole problem and concludes that the entire story or composition would be insipid if such Vakratā is not introduced at the proper place. So, the words of Poets which are full of Rasa or sentiment do not merely repeat or describe the story but create an opportunity for the reader to enjoy a rare pleasure. This idea is clearly expressed by him in the verses which follow.²

1) इति वृत्तप्रयुक्तेऽपि कथावैचित्र्यवर्मेनि ।

उत्पाद्य लवलावण्यादन्या भवति वक्रता ॥

यथा प्रबन्धस्य सकलस्यापि जीवितं भाति प्रकरणम् ॥

(V. J., Ms. Folio 180)

2) निरन्तररसोद्धारगर्भसन्दर्भनिर्भराः ।

गिरः कवीनां जीवन्ति न कथामात्रमाश्रिताः ॥

प्रबन्धस्यैकदेशानां फलबन्धानुबन्धवान् ।

उपकार्योपकर्तृत्वपरिस्पन्दः परिस्फुरन् ॥

असामान्यसमुल्लेखप्रतिभा प्रतिभासिनः ।

सूते नूतनवक्रत्वरहस्यं कस्यचित्कवेः ॥

प्रतिप्रकरणं प्रौढप्रतिभाभोगयोजितः ।

एक एवाभिधेयात्मा बध्यमानः पुनःपुनः ॥

अन्यूननूतनोल्लेखरसालंकरणोज्ज्वलः ।

बध्नाति वक्रतोद्भेदभङ्गीमुत्पादिताद्भुताम् ॥

(Ibid Folio 184)

Lastly the Prabandhavakratā is elaborately described as that which is mainly responsible not only for enhancing the beauty of the plot of the story but also for magnifying the personality of the hero. It is handled practically in a new way. It generates bliss by its novelty.¹ This type of Vakratā can also be introduced at important turning points in the development of plot in the drama such as Mukha, Sandhi etc. An elaborate treatment of this type of Vakratā which is otherwise known as twist in composition is given in this chapter.²

- 1) इति वृत्तान्यथावृत्तरससम्पदपेक्षया ।
 रसान्तरेण रम्येण यत्र निर्वहणं भवेत् ॥
 तस्या एव कथामूर्तेरामूलोन्मोलितश्रियः ।
 विनेयानन्दनिष्पत्त्यै सा प्रबन्धस्य वक्रता ॥ (Ibid. Folio 293)
- 2) प्रधानवस्तुनिष्पत्त्यै वस्त्वन्तरविचित्रता ।
 यत्रोल्लसति सोल्लेखा सापराप्यस्य वक्रता ॥
 सुखाभिसन्धिसन्ध्यादिसंविधानकबन्धुरम् ।
 पूर्वोत्तरादि संगत्या अंगानां सन्निवेशनम् ॥
 न त्वमार्गग्रहग्रस्तग्रहकाण्डकदर्थितम् ।
 वक्रतोल्लेखलावण्यमुल्लासयति नूतनम् ॥
 वैध्वस्तव्यस्ततानां यन्नायकाभ्युदयावहः ।
 प्रबन्धः प्रतिपाद्योनां प्रतिबन्धाय जायते ॥
 त्रैलोक्याभिनवोल्लेखनायकोत्कर्षपोषिणा ।
 इतिहासैकदेशेन प्रबन्धस्य समापनम् ॥
 तदुत्तरकथावर्ति विरलत्वजिहासया ।
 कुर्वीत यत्र सुकविः सा विचित्रास्य वक्रता ॥
 सातिरेकरसोत्सेककर्मनिर्माणकर्मणे ।
दूरीकरणात्कान्तिः पुष्पाति नायकः ॥
 प्रबन्धस्यानुबन्धाति नवां कामपि वक्रताम् ॥

(V. J. Ms. Folios 197, 200 & 204)

The dramas in which there is this kind of twist are listed by him and they are Ahijñāna Śākuntala, Mudrārākṣasa, Pratimā, Māyāpuṣpaka, Kṛtyarāvaṇa, Chalitārāma and Puṣpadūṣitaka. He also says that such a type of Vakratā does not exist in Poetic compositions like the Hayagrīvavadha, the Śigupālavadha and the Pāṇḍavābhyudaya. Thus he says, in conclusion, that great poets like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bhāravi manifest their imagination in indicating the existence of this type of Vakratā in the very names of their Poetic compositions as for instance, the Pratimā of Bhāsa and the Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi. He actually explains that a poet's extraordinary ability does not merely exist in the description of the plot but also in the very name of his poetic composition.¹ Finally, he concludes that it is the genius or the sparkling intellect of a poet that makes all the difference in the composition of a poem or a drama though the plot may be the same as that in the source from which he draws ²

This, in brief, is what Kuntala has stated in the third and fourth chapters of his work Vakroktijīvitā. His work is really of great value as it is full of originality though Dr. P. V. Kane says that nothing new

1) आस्तां वस्तुषु वैदग्ध्यं कान्ये कामपि वक्रताम् ।

प्रधानसंविधानानां नाम्नापि कुरुते कविः ॥ (V. J., Ms. Folio 208)

2) कथोन्मेषे समानेऽपि वपुर्ग्रीव च निर्गुणैः ।

प्रवन्धाः प्राणिन इव भासन्ते हि पृथक् पृथक् ॥

(Ibid Folio 209)

is put forth by him in his theory.¹ As explained in the foregoing paragraphs it is Vakratā that is the Soul of Poetry and that arises only when the poet is full of Pratibhā or creative faculty. It is his view that, if there is Vakrokti, there is bound to be Rasa, Alaṅkāra or even Dhvani. He completely dispenses with the Guṇas and Alaṅkāras of the previous writers and brings them all under one or the other type of Vakratā. The doctrine of Vakrokti as expounded by Kuntala is not identical with the Bhaktivāda but is only a variety of it. For, he does not deny Dhvani but only gives a second place to it.² Thus the contribution of Kuntala to the Science of Poetics is really of immense value as it is both novel and unique, though for want of a proper support from his successors his theory failed to come to the forefront. This was not acceptable to the later writers on Poetics as, according to them, there exists the implied sense in Poetry even without Vakratā as Dhvani is in essence Pratīyamāna. Kuntala ultimately winds up his work with a verse which clearly indicates what is in his mind.³

1) P. V. K. pp. 224 & 225.

2) ध्वनिकारेण व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावोऽत्र समर्पितः । (V. J. p. 53)

3) वक्रतोलेख वैचित्र्यं — न सामान्येऽवलोक्यते ।

प्रबन्धेषु कवीन्द्राणां कीर्तिकन्देषु किं पुनः ॥

(V. J. Ms. Folio 211)

X—RĀJĀNAKA MAHIMA BHAṬṬA (1000-1050 A.D)

Mahima Bhaṭṭa is the next Kashmirian writer on Poetics. By the title Rājānaka prefixed to his name it may be stated that he was a Kashmirian. He has given the names of his father and his teacher in one of the verses in his work.¹ He was the son of Śridhairya and the pupil of Śyāmala, a great poet who is quoted by Kṣemendra² and the author of Sudhāṣitāvali.³ He had a great desire to attain spotless fame. The means through which he wanted to attain it was by criticising the Dhvani theory of Ānandavardhana as he himself says that he was so eager to become famous that he had no patience even to look into the Darpaṇa meaning thereby the work of Rhaṭṭa Nāyaka⁴

Besides this reference to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka he, perhaps, refers, though anonymously, to Abhinavagupta⁵ who is probably the latest writer that he quotes. The earliest writer who reviews his work is Mammaṭa. So his probable date may be placed between 1000 and 1050 A. D.⁶

1) श्रीधैर्यस्यांगमुवा महाकवेः श्यामलस्य शिष्येण ।

व्यक्तिविवेको विदधे राजानकमहिमकेनायम् ॥ (V. V. III. v 36)

2) A. V. C. v. 16; S. T. vv. 2, 31 and 35.

3) Subh. Ed. by Peterson p. 131

4) सहसा यशोऽभिसर्तुं समुद्यतादृष्टदर्पणा मम धीः । (V. V. p. 1)

5) केचिद्विद्वन्मानिनो यदाहुः ।

6) P. V. K. p. 245

Vyaktiviveka is the name of the work which Mahima Bhaṭṭa wrote. It is also called Kāvyaālāṅkāra¹ and is divided into three parts called Vimarśas. It is literally an enquiry into Vyakti or Exposition. In the first part he criticises the definition of Dhvani as given by Ānandavarāhana *Verbatim et literatim*. In the second part he takes up other theories such as that of Kuntala and refutes the doctrines that are expounded therein. He also considers impropriety and says that it is of two kinds namely शब्दविषय and अर्थविषय. In the third part he takes about forty examples cited by the Dhvanikāra in his work and shows that they are all instances based on Anumāna. He quotes from the Dhvanyāloka with such a minuteness as to indicate the keenness with which he studied it in order to criticise it.

According to Mahima Bhaṭṭa Vyakti is Dhvani. It is the manifestation of that which is desired to be manifested and it manifests itself along with the manifesting agent. For example a vessel in a dark room becomes visible along with the light that makes it visible. He claims for himself originality and absence of slavish imitation. The arguments in his work follow in logical sequence which can be appreciated only by a study of it. It looks as though he was a very good dialectician. To him all the world is Anumāna or inference. He could reduce any idea into a syllogism as is clear from one of

1) व्यक्तिविवेकाख्ये काव्यालंकारे ।

(H. S. L. bp M. K. P. 753) (Foot Note)

his verses.¹ He did not care whether it was approbation or reprobation as his aim was not to sink into oblivion in the literary world.² Dr. P. V. Kane says:- "His work is one of the master-pieces on the Alankāra Literature and deserves to be saved from the unmerited oblivion into which it has fallen."³

In the course of his Anumāna theory Mahima Bhaṭṭa has particularly dealt with the aspect of Rasa or sentiment. He says that all Rasas fall within the scope of inference and very characteristically sums up by saying that the entire Dhvani aspect is submerged in Anumāna.⁴ He seems to have followed Sankuka in regarding even Rasa as an aspect of Anumāna.⁵ It cannot, however, be stated here what exactly his relation was with Sankuka as the work of the latter on Poetics, if any, has not yet been discovered. The views of Mahima Bhaṭṭa on the Rasa aspect are also subjected to severe criticism by the author

1) अनुमानेऽतर्भावं सर्वस्यैव ध्वनेः प्रकाशयितुम् ।

व्यक्तिविवेकं कुरुते प्रणम्य महिमा परां वाचम् ॥ (V. V. I. v. 1.)

2) अन्यैरनुल्लिखितपूर्वमिदं ब्रुवाणो नूनं स्मृतेर्विप्रयतां विदुषामुपेयाम् ।

हासैककारणगवेणया नवार्थतत्त्वावमर्शपरितोषसमीक्षया वा ॥

(V. V. III. v. 38.)

3) (P. V. K. p. 243,)

4) तदेवं सर्वस्यैव ध्वनेरनुमानान्तर्भावाभ्युपगमः श्रेयानिति । (V. V. p. 137)

5) श्री ऋकुलमतानुयायिनां व्यक्तिविवेककारादीनां मतं दूषयति ।

(S. D. Com., P. 262)

of Sāhityadarpaṇa.¹ Besides his Vyaktiviveka Mahimabhaṭṭa seems to have written another work on Poetics called Tattvoktikośa to which he specifically refers ²

There are two commentaries on the Vyaktiviveka namely the Vyaktivivekavicāra and Tilakaratna. The author of the former is identified by some scholars with Ruyyaka, the author of Alaṅkārasarvasva and that of the latter with Cāmunḍasimha, a king of that name. The name of the commentator is not mentioned anywhere in the case of the former but it is supposed to be Ruyyaka. The commentary is, no doubt, delightful and dignified but is incomplete as it is only on the first two Vimarśas. Even the commentator does not seem to agree with the views of Mahima Bhaṭṭa and sometimes criticises him rather unsympathetically.

XI—KṢEMENDRA (1025–1075) A. D.

The widest contribution from Kashmir to Poetics and to Poetry is, probably by Kṣemendra (except perhaps Abhinavagupta), a writer of great eminence of the XI century A. D. His works embrace a large number of

1) व्यक्तिविवेककारेण हि—यापि विभावादिभ्यो रसादोनां प्रतीतिः

सानुमानस्वान्तर्भवितुमर्हति । विभावानुः । अव्यभिचारिप्रतीतिर्हि

रसादिप्रतीतेः साधनमिष्यते इति यदुक्तं तत्र प्रष्टव्यम्— किं

शब्दाभिनयसमर्पित — इत्यादि.....(S. D. pp. 263-265)

2) इत्यादि प्रतिभातत्त्वमस्माभिरुपपादितम् ।

शास्त्रे तत्त्वोक्तिः श्रेयाख्ये इति नेह प्रपञ्चिम् ॥ (V. V. II. v. 119)

subjects and cover the entire field of Sanskrit Literature. He has altogether written about 40 works of which only 20 have so far been printed. Each one of them reveals the depth of learning and command over the Sanskrit language of the writer.

Attention in this chapter is confined only to his contribution to Poetics. His other works are discussed in the respective sections. He has written two works on Poetics namely the *Kavikanṭhābharāṇa* (also called *Kaviśikṣā*) and the *Aucityavicāracarcā*. In the former the possibilities of becoming a poet are discussed at length and a valuable advice is given to a beginner in this behalf ; in the latter the theme of propriety is discussed at length. Though earlier writers on Poetics have written widely on propriety in a Poetic composition looking at it from different angles of vision, Kṣemendra's treatment of it is quite original. He has, therefore, to be considered as a great literary critic, perhaps, on par with the founders or representatives of independent Schools of thought in Poetics.

Kṣemendra has not left to posterity any regular account of his personal history. But still some information can be gathered about it from his various works. In this respect we are in a better position than in the case of other poets or Rhetoricians. For instance, a short account of his ancestry is available in his *Daśāvatāra-parita*. From this we gather that he was the son of *Prakāśendra* who was the son of *Sindhu*. In the *Kavi-*

kanṭhābharāṇa also he mentions the name of Cakrapāla.¹ Whether it is the name of his brother or that of Mukṭākāṇa whose verse is quoted immediately prior to that of Cakrapāla is a matter which is still undecided. Somendra, the son of Kṣemendra, gives a more detailed account of the pedigree in his introduction² to the Avadānakalpalata. Though some of the names that appear in the genealogy also occur in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī there does not appear to be any identity between them. Sufficient evidence is not forthcoming in any of his works to establish the identity of his forefathers with these personalities mentioned in the History of Kashmir

1) यथा चैतद्भ्रातृश्वक्रपालस्य :—

सरस्यामेतस्यामुदरवलिबीचीविलुलितं

यथा लावण्याम्भो जघनपुल्लिनोहलङ्घनकरम् ।

यथा लक्ष्यश्चायं चलनयनमीतव्यतिकर-

स्तथा मन्ये ममः प्रकटकुचकुम्भः सरगजः ॥ (K. K. II)

2)

Narendra

(Minister to King Jayāpīḍa)

|
Bhogendra

|
Sindhu

|
Prakāśendra

|
Kṣemendra

|
Cakrapāla

|
Somendra

(Kṣemendra studies p. 10)

Kṣemendra seems to have hailed from a very well-to-do family. For, while mentioning about his father, he speaks invariably of his opulence and munificence ! Still he was free from pride and arrogance when he says that he was सर्वमनीषिदिष्यः. He was the disciple of Abhinavagupta under whom he studied Rhetorics. The author of Vidyāvivṛti, Gaṅgaka and Somapāda (a believer in the Bhagavatī faith) were also his teachers who taught him other branches of Literature. He too seems to have had a large number of pupils for whose immediate requirements and edification he wrote his works on Poetics in as simple and elegant a manner as possible. There were a few princes also among his pupils. He mentions the names of quite a good number of his friends and students some of whose verses he quotes in the Kavikanṭhābharāṇa. One of them is a verse composed by his student Rājānaka or Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇāditya.²

1) सूर्यग्रहे त्रिभिर्लक्षैर्दत्त्वा कृष्णाजिनत्रयम् ।

अल्पप्रदोऽस्मीत्यभवत्स लज्जानतकन्धरः ॥

स्वयंभूनिर्लये श्रीमान् यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य देवता ।

दत्त्वा कोटिचतुर्भागं देवद्विजमठादिषु ॥

पूजयित्वा स्वयं शम्भुं प्रसरद्वाष्पनिर्भरः ।

गाढं दोर्भ्यां समालिङ्ग्य यस्तत्रैव व्यपद्यत ॥

(B. M. XIX vv. 33-35)

आसीत्प्रकाशेन्द्र इति प्रकाशः कश्मिरदेशे त्रिदशेश्वरश्रीः ।

अभूद्ग्रहे यस्य पवित्रतत्रमच्छिन्नभद्रासनमग्रजानाम् ॥

यः श्रीस्वयंभूभवने विचित्रे लेप्यप्रतिष्ठापितमातुचक्रः ।

गोभूमिकृष्णाजिनवेश्मदाता तत्रैव काले तनुमुत्सर्ज ॥

(A. V. C. Con.)

2) विवेकपरिचयो यथा मच्चिष्यराजपुत्रलक्ष्मणादित्यस्यः —

(K. K. V. Sandhi)

Though he was a born Śaiva and was taught by such a great Śaivite as Abhinavagupta himself, he seems to have become a Vaiṣṇavite when he came under the influence of Somapāda, one of his teachers. Even Buddhism seems to have had some influence upon him. He calls himself Vyāsādāsa. He wrote many of his works at the instance of one Rāmayaśas.

The date of Kṣemendra can be determined fairly accurately. He gives the name of the contemporary ruling king in Kashmir as Ananta in some of his works,¹ namely Kavikanṭhābharāṇa and Samayamāṭrkā. According to Kalhaṇa, King Ananta ruled Kashmir from 1028 to 1063 A.D.² The date of composition of his Daśāvātāracarita is 1066 A.D. and it is stated to have been written during the reign of Kalaśa, the son and successor of Ananta.³ Dr. Bühler has fixed the period of his literary activity in the second and third quarters of the 11th century A.D. Dr. Kane agrees with his view.⁴ The

1) काश्मोरेषु पृथुप्रतापसवितुः कीर्त्यशुतारापतेः

प्रौढारातिवनानलस्य धनदस्येन्द्रस्य भूमण्डले ।

विश्वाकारवतः पुनः कलियुगे विष्णोरिवोत्साहिनो

राज्ये श्रीमदनन्तराजन्पतेः काव्योदयोऽयं कृतः ॥

(K. K. Colophon)

वीरस्यार्तदयाविधेयमनसः शोलव्रतालङ्कृतेः

निस्त्रिंशः परदारदृजयविधौ यस्यैककार्यः सुहृत् ।

तस्यानन्तमहोपतेर्विरजसः प्राज्याधिराज्योदये ।

क्षेमेन्द्रेण सुमापितं कृतमिदं सत्पक्षरक्षाक्षमम् ॥

(S. M. VIII v-4 after the end)

2) स च भोजनपेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।

सूरी तस्मिन् क्षणे तुल्यं द्वावास्तां कविवान्धवौ ॥ (Rāj. VII v. 259)

3) एकाधि ऋद्धे विहितचत्वारिंशे सकार्तिके ।

राज्ये कलशभूमर्तुः काश्मोरेष्वच्युतस्तवः ॥ (D. C. p. 164 v. 5)

4) P. V. K., p. 254.

data mentioned above also arrive at the same date. Kṣemendra has given the dates on which a few of his works were composed on the basis of the Laukika Era as in the case of his *Daśāvatāracarita* referred to above. Besides, Dr. V. P. Mahajan believes that his life might have extended from 990 to 1070 A.C.¹ On the basis of all these evidences, his date may be conveniently placed in the 11th century A. D. preferably in the first half of it.

On an examination of his works on Poetics it can be shown that the *Aucityavicāracarcā* was written prior to his *Kavikanṭhābharāṇa*. He himself states that he wrote the former in the 34th year of the Laukikr Era on the 8th day of the first half of Jyestha to teach Udayasimha, son of Ratnasimha.² This year corresponds to 1059 A.D. The latter work also mentions the name of his student Udayasimha with the title *Mahāśri* and as the author of two works namely *Lalita* and *Bhaktibhava*.³ Udaya-

1) N. K. Int., pp. i-iji

2) संवत्सरे चतुस्त्रिंशे ज्येष्ठे शुक्लेऽष्टमेऽहनि ।

काव्यौचित्यविचारोऽयं शिष्यव्युत्पत्तये कृतः ॥ (A. V. C. End.)

3) अचेतनचेतनाध्यारोपपरिचयो यथा मच्छिष्यमहाश्रीभट्टोदयसिंहस्य

ललिताभिधानं महाकाव्ये :—

इह विकसदशोकः स्तोकपुष्पोपहारैरयमतिशयरक्तः सक्तसुस्निग्धभावः ।

त्रिभुवनजयसजः प्राज्यसाम्राज्यभाजः प्रथयति पृथुमैत्रीं पुष्पचापस्य चैत्रः ॥

भक्तिपरिचयो यथास्यैव भक्तिभवनाग्नि महाकाव्ये :—

बाल्यादेव निर्गलप्रणयिनी भक्तिभवनीपतौ

जन्माभ्यासविकासवासितमनःसंवाससंदायिनी ।

प्रायः प्राक्तनकर्मनिर्मितमहामोहप्ररोहपहा

भव्यानां भवमोतिभंजनसखो संजायते सन्मतिः ॥

(K. K. V. Sandhi)

simha might have written these two works after his study of the Aucityavicāracarcā and after having become a Mahāśrī. This indicates that Kavikanṭhābharaṇa was written later than the Aucityavicāracarcā. The matter discussed in these two works will now be dealt with briefly in the same order.

The view of Kṣemendra as expressed in the first work is that Aucitya or propriety is the essence of Rasa.¹ He illustrates it with respect to Pada, Vākya, Artha, Guṇa, Alaṅkāra, Rasa and such other essentials of Poetics. It may be stated here that Kṣemendra develops, in this little book, what the Dhvanyāloka has already stated with regard to the part played by propriety in a Poetic composition.² The propriety of sense is stated to be of utmost importance in a Kāvya as it adds beauty and charm to it.³

The beginnings of propriety are to be found, perhaps, in Daṇḍin, though not explicitly. Ānandavardhana then mentions the term Aucitya and deals with it more seriously and in a rather detailed manner. Later on Kuntala mentions it only as a Guṇa. Finally it

- 1) औचित्यस्य चमत्कारकारिणश्चास्त्वर्चणे ।
रसजीवितभूतस्य विचारं कुरुतेऽधुना ॥
उचितं ग्राहुराचार्याः सदृशं किल यस्य यत् ।
उचितस्य च यो भावस्तदौचित्यं प्रचक्षते ॥ (A. V. C. vv. 3 & 7)
- 2) अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसभङ्गस्य कारणम् ।
प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत्परा ॥ (Dhv. p. 145)
- 3) अर्थौचित्यवता सूक्तिरलङ्कारेण शोभते ।
पीनस्तनस्थितेनेव हारेण हरिणक्षणा ॥ (A. V. C., v. 11)

fell to the lot of Kṣemendra to give an exhaustive and exclusive treatment to this Theory of propriety and its importance in Poetic compositions. Dr. Suryakanth rightly observes as follows :—"The introduction of this doctrine revolutionises all standards of criticism. It is extremely practical in character. The critic can definitely point out the defective part by just seeing where the impropriety lies. In this respect it is more useful than even 'Rasa' theory which is purely subjective. The propriety theory renders useless the lengthy, intricate and often confused classification of Guṇa and Doṣa. The only standard of judging the two, according to this doctrine is 'Propriety'-.¹

The Kavikanṭhābharāṇa is divided into five Sandhis whose names are given by Kṣemendra almost at the commencement.² There are altogether 55 Kārlikās in it. He speaks of ten kinds of skill on the part of the poet. He refers to a number of his other works in it. The special feature of this work is that the author attempts to explain a particular division called 'charm' saying that it is essential for a poet to be charming. This book affords a firm training ground for the apprentice who wants to become a poet and serves as a good guide for him. It also sets up a relation between the mind, the body and

1) Kṣemendra Studies, p. 78.

2) अत्राकवेः कवित्वं तिः शिक्षा प्राप्तिरिति कवेः ।

चमत्कृतिश्च शिक्षासौ गुणदोषोद्भूतिस्ततः ॥

(पश्चात्परिचयप्रतिरिच्येते पञ्च सन्धयः ।

(K. K. I., vv. 3 & 4)

the practice in versification.¹ He rightly says that a person who is not destined to become a poet cannot compose poetry in spite of receiving the best training.² He is also of the opinion that only those persons who have a good record of past merits can become charming poets by the Grace of the Goddess of Learning.³

These two works of Kṣemendra on Poetics, besides being valuable guides to those who want to become poets and dealing with new topics in poetry such as Propriety and charm, have an additional importance which cannot be lost sight of. Names of great poets and their works are mentioned in them while illustrating some definitions in Poetics or criticising some technicalities of Poetic compositions. The names of a few of his own works like the *Lalitaratnamālā*, *Citrabhārata*⁴ and *Kanaka-*

- 1) इति बहुतरशिक्षालक्षणक्षीणदोषः
 प्रभवति गतनिद्रे प्रातिभे सुप्रभाते ।
 कविरविरविलुप्तव्याप्तिभिः सूक्तपादै-
 नेत्यति नवनवरत्वं भावभावस्वभावम् ॥ (K.K. II. v. 23)
- 2) न तस्य वक्तृत्वसमुद्भवः स्याच्छिक्षाविशेषैरपि सुप्रयुक्तैः ।
 न गर्दभो गायति शिक्षितोऽपि सन्दर्शित पश्यति नार्कमन्धः ॥ (Ibid I., v. 23)
- 3) इति तत्सुकृतानां प्राक्तनानां विपाके भवति शुभमतीनां मन्त्रसिद्धं कवित्वम् ।
 तदनु पुरुषयत्नेर्धामतामभ्युदेति स्फुरति जडधियां श्रीशारदा साधनेन ॥ (K. K. I., v. 24)
- 4) यथा वा चित्रभारते नाटके—
 नदोवृन्दोद्दामप्रसरसलिलापूरिततनुः—
 स्फुरत्स्फीतज्वालानिविडवडवाग्निक्षतजलः ।
 न दर्पं नो दैन्यं स्पृशति बहुसत्वः पतिरपा—
 मवस्थानां भेदाद्भवति विकृतिर्नैव महताम् ॥ (A. V. C., vv. 21 & 31)

jānakī¹ are also mentioned. Parimala, Kālidāsa, Bhallaṭa, Bhaṭṭa Tauta and Bhaṭṭa Gaṅgaka are frequently quoted. The authorship of a new work called Kuntaleśvaradautya is ascribed to Kālidāsa. He refers to another work of his on Poetics by name Kavikarṇikā² which has not yet been discovered. It may not be the same as his Kavikanṭhābharaṇa as the latter was written after he wrote the Aucityavicāracarcā. He is a fearless critic as he does not spare even such great poets as Kālidāsa and Bhaṭṭendurāja.

Dr. P. V. Kane observes as follows :— “Kṣemendra’s contribution to Poetics was meagre and did not exert any appreciable influence over the Alaṅkāraśāstra ”³ Still as the founder of a new school of thought namely the Aucitya School he stands aloof and distinguished and has his share of credit and contribution however meagre it may be. Later writers like Bhoja, Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha have also dealt with this Propriety in their works even though they have given a secondary importance to it subordinate to other essential elements in Poetics.

1) रसगतो यथा मम कनकजानक्याम्—

अत्रार्यैः खरदूषणत्रिशिरसां नादानुबन्धोद्यमे

मन्थाने भुवनं त्वया चकितया योद्धा निरुद्धः क्षणम् ।

सस्नेहाः सरसाः सहासरमसाः सभ्रूभ्रमाः सस्पृहाः

सोत्साहास्त्वयि तद्वले च निदधे दोलायमाना दृशः ॥

(K. K. III., p. 131)

2) कृत्वापि काव्यालङ्कारां क्षेमेन्द्रः कविकर्णिकाम् ।

तत्कलङ्कविवेकं च विधाय विबुधप्रियम् ॥

कस्यचित्क्षेमेन्द्रकृतग्रन्थस्यैव नाम इति भाति । (A. V. C., v. 2)

3) P. V. K. p. 253.

XII - MAMMAṬA (1050-1100 A. D.)

The study of Poetics cannot be perfect and complete without a mention of the Kāvya prakāśa of Rājānaka Mammaṭa which occupies a unique position in it. That it is both popular and erudite is clear by the numerous references to it by later writers. For instance, Maheśvara in his Bhāvārthacintāmaṇi refers to its unfathomable depth.¹ The credit again goes to Kashmir for contributing such a fine specimen of compilation to Poetics in Sanskrit Literature.

Very little is known about the personal history of Mammaṭa. Some information is, however, available in a few of the commentaries on his work. It is gathered from that, that he was born in Kashmir and educated in Banaras. Some think that he was the son of Jayyaṭa (probably the joint author of the Kāśikāvṛtti along with Vāmana). There is a tradition in Kashmir which says that he was the brother of Kayyaṭa, the grammarian (author of Mahābhāṣyapradīpa) and Uvvaṭa, the Vedic glossator. Bhīmasena, in his commentary called the Sudhāsāgara on the Kāvya prakāśa, refers clearly to this tradition.² But Vāmanācārya, in the introduction to his

1) काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे टीका तथाप्येष तथैव दुर्गमः ।

सुखेन विज्ञातुमिं य ईहते धीरः स एतां निपुणं विलोकताम् ॥

(H. S. L. by M. K. p. 754) Foot Note

2) अयं मम्मटः काश्मीरदेशोऽयः कैयटपुत्रः वारणसीमागत्याधीतशास्त्रः ।

अस्य च मम्मटस्य पतञ्जलिप्रणीतव्याकरणमहाभाष्यटीकाकतां कैयटः

वेदचतुष्टयभाष्यकर्ता औवटश्चेति द्वावपि कनिष्ठौ भ्रातरौ । अयं खलु

मम्मटोऽवगतसर्वशास्त्रद्वयोऽपि मुख्यतया वैयाकरणः । व्याकरण-

शास्त्रस्यैव पुच्छभूतमिदमलङ्कारशास्त्रम् ।

(K. P. Int. p. 8)

edition of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*, says that *Uvvaṭa* calls himself, in his *Bhāṣya*, the son of *Vajraṭa* and says that his *Bhāṣya* was composed when *Bhoja* was the ruling king.¹ So he thinks that the tradition referred to above may not be true. He is also of the opinion that *Mammaṭa* is later than *Bhoja*. This question has been discussed at length in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*² to the effect that *Mammaṭa* might have been a contemporary of *Bhoja* and perhaps had a personal knowledge of the King's court, administration, greatness and generosity of which he clearly and specifically mentions in his *Kāvyaaprakāśa* while defining³ and illustrating *Udāttālaṅkāra*.⁴ This shows that *Mammaṭa*, *Kaṣyaṭa* and *Uvvaṭa* were all contemporaries of *Bhoja* and possibly they were all brothers. Whether they were all the sons of *Jayaṭa* is a point which has yet to be settled. It may not be improbable that he was the brother of *Uvvaṭa* in which case his relationship with *Kaṣyaṭa* remains in doubt.

Mammaṭa was a staunch devotee of Lord *Śiva*. He was a great grammarian and followed the views of

- 1) आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवज्रटाख्यस्य सनुना ।
मन्त्रभाष्यमिदं कलुप्तं भोजे पृथ्वीं प्रशासति ॥ (K. P. Int. p. 9)
- 2) J. R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland 1908
pp. 68-69.
- 3) उदात्तं वस्तुनः संपत् महतां चोपलक्षणम् । (K.P., pp. 831 & 833)
- 4) मुक्ताः केलिविसृजहारगलिताः संमार्जनीभिर्दृताः
प्रातः प्राङ्गणसीम्नि मन्थरचलद्वालां त्रिलाक्षारणाः ।
दूराद्दण्डिमगोजशङ्कितधियः कर्षन्ति केलीशुकाः
यद्विद्वद्भवनेषु भोजनपतेस्तस्यागलीलायितम् ॥
(K. P. X., v. 505)

grammarians in the course of his arguments. He often writes in the *Vṛtti* with the authority and accuracy of a grammarian. There are many indications of his erudition in grammar.¹ The Kashmirian Pandits also say that he was the maternal uncle of Śriharṣa, the author of *Naiṣadhakāvya*.²

There is no difficulty in fixing the date of Mammaṭa. He quotes, in his work, Abhinavagupta and Navasāha-sāṅkacarita. The earliest commentary on *Kāvya-prakāśa* was written by the Jain scholar and critic Māṇikya-candra in 1160 A. D., according to his own statement.³ Thus giving a margin of about 50 years for the commentary, Mammaṭa may be safely assigned to the latter half of the 11th century A. D.⁴ That he was a contemporary of Bhoja, King of Mālava has already been stated. This Bhoja and Ananta, King of Kashmir, were contemporaries according to Kalhaṇa.⁵ It is known from other sources that king Ananta ruled in Kashmir from 1028 A. D. It is also well-known that Bhoja ruled from 996 to 1051 A. D. A gift deed dated 1022 A. D. signed by King Bhoja himself giving a piece of land to a brahmin Dhanapatibhaṭṭa son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, has also been discovered by Pandit Durga Prasad. In

1) अपवादविषयपरिहारेणोत्सर्गस्य व्यवस्थितेः। (K. P. pp. 798 & 871)

2) B. K. R., p. 68

3) रसवत्कप्रहाधीशवत्सरे मासि माघवे ।

काव्ये काव्यप्रकाशस्य सङ्केतोऽयं समर्थितः ॥

(K.P. Sanketa p. 470, v. 12)

4) P. V. K., p. 233

5) Rāj. VII, v. 259.

addition to these, there are a few internal evidences which show that Mammaṭa was either a contemporary of Bhoja or slightly later than him. For instance, Māṇikyacandra states at the end of his commentary that those six pramāṇas mentioned by Bhoja have not been referred to in the Kāvya prakāśa.¹ Jayantabhaṭṭa, another commentator, says that the verse commencing from अत्युच्चाः in the fifth Ullāsa was composed by a poet by name Pañcākṣarī in praise of Bhoja.² Bhīmasena says that in the Pratīka हृदिः, the name of Bhoja is implied. On the basis of all these evidences, both external and internal, the date of Mammaṭa can be fixed fairly accurately in the latter half of the 11th century A. D.

Mammaṭa wrote his Kāvya prakāśa in ten chapters each of which is called an Ullāsa and shows that he is an excellent compiler. He begins the work by an invocation to the Goddess of Learning.³ The work consists of two parts namely the Kārikās and the Vṛtti. It covers the entire field of Rhetorics beginning from the definition and purpose of a Kāvya.⁴ It is carefully planned and systematically worked out. All topics of Poetics except Dramaturgy are explained and elucidated. Each chapter of the work is given a name which indicates, in brief,

- 1) श्रीभोजेन जैमिन्युक्तप्रमाणानि सम्भवश्चालंकारतयोक्तानि तानि
नात्र - काव्यप्रकाशे - प्रतिपादितानि । (K. P. Sanketa, p. 470)
- 2) पंचाक्षरी नामा कविरत्नेन श्लोकेन भोजराजं स्तुतवान् । (K. P. Int. p. 6)
- 3) नियतिकृतनियमरहितां ह्यादैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्राम् ।
नवरसहचरां निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्जयति ॥ (K. P. I. v. 1)
- 4) काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते व्यवहारविदे शिवेतरक्षतये ।
सद्यः परनिर्वृतये कान्तासंमिततयोपदेशयुजे ॥ (K. P. I., v. 2)

the subject-matter dealt with in it. Thus, in the first chapter the nature and purpose of a Poetic composition are explained. In the second the nature of words and sense is discussed, while in the third the importance of sense is explained. In the fourth the nature of Rasa and the varieties of Dhvani are dealt with in detail. The number of the different varieties of Dhvani is actually calculated and shown to be 10,455.¹ Similarly in the fifth chapter the varieties of a Poetic composition in which Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya is predominant are calculated to be 4,51,584. The sixth chapter contains skilful construction of words and sense. The seventh chapter is a very important one because it deals with errors in a Poetic composition. He classifies these errors under four broad heads namely Pada, Vākya, Artha and Rasa. There are altogether seventy such errors, sixteen under the first, twenty-one under the second, twenty-three under the third and ten under the last. The eighth chapter deals with Guṇas in general. The ninth deals with Śabdālaṅkāras and the tenth with Arthālaṅkāras. This is in general the form and content of his work. Altogether 620 verses are quoted from other writers and poets to illustrate his explanations of the various essential topics in Poetics.

According to him real poetry is that which is free from faults and is full of merits.² Even though he is

1) भेदास्तदेकपञ्चाशत्तेषां चान्योन्ययोजने ।

संकरेण त्रिरूपेण संसृष्ट्या चैकरूपया ॥

वेदखान्निधिवियञ्चन्द्राः शरेषुयुगलेन्दवः ॥

(K. P. IV, p. 223)

2) तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलंकृती पुनः कापि ।

(K. P. I., v. 4)

principally a compiler he is not without independent judgement and critical faculty. He upholds the Dhvani theory and criticises Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Vāmana and sometimes even Bhāmaha. For instance he differs from the view of Vāmana in the definition of Guṇas in general.¹ According to Vāmana the number of Guṇas is ten whereas Mammaṭa has condensed them into three stating that the remaining seven could be merged within one or the other of these three and that the same rule could be applied to the case of Śabdaguṇas and Arthaguṇas as well.² Even so he refutes the views of Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa.³ In the same manner, while elucidating the Samuccayālaṅkāra he differs from Rudraṭa,⁴ He criticises the view held by some writers on Poetics to the effect that there cannot be Sankara among Śabdā-
laṅkāra and quotes a verse from the Haravijaya of

1) वामनः—वर्णादीनामेव धर्मा गुणाः ।

मम्मटः—आत्मन एव हि यथा शौर्यादयः नाकारस्य

तथा रसरस्यैव माधुर्यादयो गुणाः न वर्णानाम् ॥

(K. P. VIII. p. 561)

2) माधुर्यैजः प्रसादाख्यास्त्रयस्ते न पुनर्दश ।

केचिदन्तर्भवन्त्येषु दोषत्यागात्परे स्थिताः ॥

अन्ये भजन्ति दोषत्वं कुत्रचिन्न ततो दश ॥

(Ibid pp. 573 & 578)

3) यथा किन्तु निश्चयगर्भ इव नात्र निश्चयः प्रतीयमान इति उपेक्षितो

मट्टोद्धटेन ।

(Ibid pp. 573 & 578)

4) रुद्रादिभिः सद्योगसमुच्चयः, असद्योगसमुच्चयः, सदसद्योगसमुच्चयः

इति ते पृथग्लक्षिताः तदयुक्तम् ।

(K. P. X. p. 835. Com.)

Ratnākara in support of his view,¹ While discussing the aspect and importance of Rasa² in Poetics Mammaṭa quotes the views of a number of Kashmirian writers like Lollaṭa,³ Sankuka,⁴ and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka⁵ whose works have not yet been discovered and criticises some of them. He frequently refers to Abhinavagupta also with great respect.⁶

Mammaṭa altogether deals with sixty-one figures of speech of sense excluding six Śabdālāṅkāras. The number was only four in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata.⁷ It rose to five later on as stated by Bhāmaha⁸ who himself

1) राजति ततीयमभिहत - दानव - रसातिपाति - सारावनदा ।

गजता च यूथमविरत - दान - वरा - सातिपातिसारा - वनदा ॥

(K. P. X., p. 923)

2) विभावा अनुभावास्तत् कथ्यन्ते व्यभिचारिणः ।

व्यक्तः स तैर्विभावाधैः स्थायीभावो रसः स्मृतः ॥ (Ibid IV. v. 28)

3) विभावैर्लैनोद्यानादिभिरालम्बनोद्दीपनकारणैः रत्यादिको भावो जनितः

अनुभावैः कटाक्षभुजाक्षेपप्रभृतिभिः कार्यैः प्रतीतियोग्यः कृतः व्यभिचारिभि-
निर्वेदादिभिः सहकारिभिरुपचितो मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादावनुकार्यै

तद्वरूपानुसन्धानान्तर्गतैः प्रतीयमानो रसः — भट्टोल्लोहटप्रभृतयः

(Ibid p. 102)

4) सामाजिकानां वासनया चर्व्यमाणो रस इति श्रीशंकुः ।

(Ibid p. 105)

5) भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानः स्थायी सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयसंविद्धि-
श्रान्तिसतत्त्वेन भोगेन भुज्यत इति भट्टनायकः ।

(Ibid. p. 106)

6) उभयभावस्वरूपस्य चोभयात्मकत्वमपि पूर्ववल्लोकोत्तरतामेव गमयति न

विरोधमिति श्रीमदाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादाः ।

(Ibid. p. 111)

7) उपमा दीपकं चैव रूपकं यमकं तथा ।

अलङ्कारास्तु विज्ञेयाश्चत्वारो नाट्यश्रयाः ॥

(N.S. v. 206)

8) अनुप्रासः सयमको रूपकं दीपकोपमे ।

इति वाचामलङ्काराः पञ्चैवान्यैरुदाहृताः ॥

(K.A.I. v. 8)

mentions as many as 39 figures Udbhaṭa increased it to forty-one while Vāmana reduced it to thirty-three. Rudraṭa mentions fifty-five figures of speech while Mammaṭa has brought it up to sixty-one ultimately. He did not merely increase the number of figures of speech but analysed and classified them in a scientific manner. The credit of analysing them in this manner may be given to Mammaṭa only.

There is a view prevalent among some scholars and commentators that the Kārlikās of the Kāvyaaprakāśa are from Bharata on the ground that some of them are identical with the verses of the Nāṭyaśāstra and the Vṛtti only is from Mammaṭa. It is also stated by them that the Vṛtti on the first Kārlikā of the Kāvyaaprakāśa uses the third person.¹ But these are not sufficiently strong grounds. The author of the commentary Vivaraṇa² and the author of Sāhityakaumudī (i. e., Vidyābhūṣaṇa) are both of the view that the Kārlikās are written by Bharata. This view does not seem to be tenable as only very few out of 142 Kārlikās in the work are identical with those of the Nāṭyaśāstra. Even those that are identical are only those on Rasa and it is possible that Mammaṭa might have found it more convenient to reproduce them from Bharata than to compose fresh ones. As regards the third person that is used in the Vṛtti on the first Kārlikā it may be stated that it is usual with Sanskrit authors perhaps by way of humility.

1) ग्रन्थारम्भे विघ्नविधाताय समुचितेष्टदेवतां ग्रन्थकृत्परामृशति ।

2) भरतमुनिप्रणीता या कारिका सा अलङ्कारसूत्रनाम्ना व्यवहियते ।

मम्मटप्रणीता तु वृत्तिः सैव काव्यप्रकाशनामभाक् ॥

That the Kārlikās and the Vṛtti of the Kāvyaṣa are by Mammaṭa only can be shown by several clear factors. If the kārlikās had been composed by another person Mammaṭa would have indicated it somewhere in the Vṛtti. But there is no such indication anywhere in it. There is no separate Maṅgalaśloka for the Vṛtti portion of the work. There are such specific statements as उक्तं हि भरतेन etc.,¹ If the Kārlikās had actually been written by Bharata, such statements would not have occurred in the Vṛtti. None of the early commentators on the Kāvyaṣa like Māṇikyacandra, Jayanta and Sarasvatīṭīrtha, makes any distinction between the author of the Kārlikās and the author of the Vṛtti. They, including a few later commentators, all ascribe the authorship of both the portions to Mammaṭa only. The Pratāparudrīya, Citramīmāṃsā and Rasagaṅgādhara all speak of the author of the Kārlikās as Mammaṭa and not Bharata. From these clear evidences it may be stated that Mammaṭa is the author of both the Kārlikās and the Vṛtti of the Kāvyaṣa.

There is also a view prevailing amongst scholars that the Kāvyaṣa was not written by Mammaṭa only. Two more writers seem to have assisted him in the compilation of this work. They are Alaka or Alaṭa and Rucaka or Ruyyaka. If the name of the former is Alaka it is similar to Kuntaka, Śankuka, Laṅkaka and Maṅkhaka. If it is Alaṭa, it is similar to

1) तत्र रसस्वरूपमाह - कारणान्यथ कार्याणि सहकारीणि यानि च ।

रत्यादेः स्यायिनो लोके तानि चेन्नाद्यकाव्ययोः ॥

(K. P. IV. v. 27 & p. 100)

Rudraṭa, Mammaṭa, Kallaṭa and Bhallaṭa. In either case he appears to be a Kashmirian, judging by the nature of the name. There is a person by name Alakadatta (who was a Sāndhivigrahaṭṭa according to Jonarāja) who seems to have taught Poetics to Kalyāṇa (perhaps Kalhaṇa) as stated by Maṇḍika¹. It is not possible to say whether he is the same as Alaka or Alaṭa, referred to here as the joint author of Kāvya-Prakāśa.

The joint authorship of the Kāvya-prakāśa may be substantiated by several facts and references. Ruyyaka specifically mentions it in his commentary on it.² Another commentator Ānanda by name states that Mammaṭa wrote his work up to the figure of speech called Parikara and the rest of it was written by Alaṭa³. But Panditarāja Jagannātha, author of Rasagaṅgādhara, does not seem to refer to this joint authorship. A careful perusal of the work itself, however, seems to reveal that Alaka had a hand both in the seventh chapter and the tenth chapter of it. It may also be noted in this connection that Alaka is the commentator of Ruyyaka who, in turn, is the commentator of Mammaṭa. Mammaṭa himself appears to make an indirect reference to this joint authorship in the last verse of the tenth Ullāsa

1) S. C. XV. vv. 78-80

2) इति श्रीमद्राजानकालकमम्मटरुचकविरचिते निजग्रन्थकाव्यप्रकाशसंकेते
प्रथम उल्लासः । कृती राजानकमम्मटालकरुचकानाम् - इति दशमोल्लासः ।
(K. P. Saṅketa Colophon)

3) कृतः श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यैः परिकरावधिः ।

प्रबन्धः पूरितः शेषो विधायालटसूरिणा ॥ (K.P. p. 852 Comm.)

wherein he says that several conflicting opinions on the art of poetry have been brought together in the work.¹ The commentary of Ruyyaka on this verse clears the doubt in this behalf.² A few other commentators also subscribe to this view of Ruyyaka. For instance the view of Arjunavarman may be quoted in support of this statement.³ This Alaṭa (or Allaṭa according to some) is probably the son of Rājānaka Jayānaka and the commentator of Haravijaya written by Ratnākara.⁴ On the basis of all these factors it may not be possible to altogether deny the joint authorship. On the other hand it may be stated that they favour to a large extent the possibility of the joint authorship of the Kāvya-prakāśa.

The extent to which the Kāvya-prakāśa is held in reverence even to day is indicated by the large number of commentaries (about 75 in all) that are written on it.⁵

- 1) इत्येष मार्गो विदुषां विभिन्नोऽप्यभिन्नरूपः प्रातिभासते यत् ।
न तद्विचित्रं यदमुत्र सम्यग्विनिर्मिता संघटनैव हेतुः ॥ (K.P. X. p. 962)
- 2) एष ग्रन्थो ग्रन्थकृतानेन कथमप्यसमासत्वादपरेण च पूरितावशेषत्वाद्
द्विखण्डोऽप्यखण्डतया यदवभासते तत्र संघटनैव हेतुः ।
(K. P. Sanketa Comm.)
- 3) यथोदाहृतं दोषनिर्णये मम्मटालकाभ्यां – किन्तु वरलब्धप्रसादौ
काव्यप्रकाशकारौ प्रायेण दोषदृष्टी येनैवविधेयपि परमार्थसहृदयानन्द-
पदेषु सरसकविसन्दर्भेषु दोषमेव साक्षादकुस्ताम् । (A. Sa. Comm.)
- 4) अयमल्लटोऽपि राजानकजयानकसूनुः रत्नाकरकविप्रणीतस्य हरविजयाख्यस्य
टिप्पणकर्तेति ज्ञायते । (K. P. Int., p. 9)
- 5) काव्यप्रकाशे टिप्पण्यः सहस्रं सन्ति यद्यपि ।
ताभ्यगत्वस्या विशेषो यः पण्डितैः सोऽवधार्यताम् ॥
(H. S. L. by M. K. p. 754) Kamalākara

Some of these are by Kashmirians. The most famous of them are those of Rājānaka Ānanda and Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha. A few of the well-known commentaries are listed below with the names of the commentators.

Sl. No.	Name of the Commentator	Name of the Commentary	Date
1)	Māṇikyacandra	Saṅketa	1160 A. D.
2)	Narahari (Sarasvatīrtha)	Bālacittānuranjinī	1242 A. D.
3)	Jayantabhaṭṭa	Dīpika	1294 A. D.
4)	Someśvara	Ādarśa	
5)	Śrīdhara	Viveka	
6)	Vīśvanātha	Darpaṇa	
7)	Rājānaka Ānanda	Nidarśana	
8)	Rājānaka Ratnakantha	Sārasamuccaya	
9)	Bhīmasena	Sudhāsāgara	
10)	Vāmanācārya	Bālabodhinī	

It can be seen from the above list that the commentary of the Jain Commentator Māṇikyacandra is the earliest as there is no reference in it either to any other commentary or commentator by name. The Kashmirian commentator Ratnakanṭha refers significantly to the merits of his own commentary.¹ Every later writer of repute considered it an edification of his own learning either to expound or discuss the views of Mammaṭa on

1) जयन्तीमुख्यटीकाभ्यः सारमुद्धृत्य यत्नतः ।

निर्मिता रत्नकण्ठेन टीका सारसमुच्चयः ॥

(Colophon of the Comm)

Poetics. Dr. P. V Kane rightly observes as follows :—
 “Except the Bhagavadgītā there is hardly any other work in classical Sanskrit that has so many commentaries on it”¹ The Kāvya prakāśa has been translated into English by Prof Ganganath Jha. It is translated into Kannada (the Regional language of Mysore) by Dr. K. Krishnamurthy²

Mammaṭa seems to have written another small hand-book on Poetics called the Śabdavyāpārarcā which is a dissertation on the derivation and function of words in general. This is somewhat similar to the Abhidhāvṛttimātrkā of Mukulabhaṭṭa which has already been referred to.³ In this work Mammaṭa discusses the two qualities of words namely Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇā. The work is not yet printed. A manuscript copy of it however, exists in the Dacca University Library. The reverence with which Mammaṭa is held by scholars all over India and the popularity and interest with which his work is studied throughout the country is indicated by the verse of an anonymous author.⁴

1) P. V. K. p. 263

2) The translation is printed in the Prabuddha
 Kārṇāṭaka, a journal of the Mysore University.

3) See page 57 of this book.

4) काव्यप्रकाश इह कोऽपि निबन्धकृद्भ्यां

द्वाभ्यां कृतेऽपि कृतिनां रसतत्त्वलाभः ।

लोकैः स्ति विश्रुतमिदं नितरां रसालं

बन्धप्रकाररचितस्य तरोः फलं यत् ॥

(K. P. X., p. 963)

XIII—RUYYAKA (1129-1175 A. D.)

Ruyyaka is the Kashmirian writer on Poetics who gave one major standard work on figures of speech and a few minor works on other topics of interest connected therewith. He is, like Mammaṭa, a very strong advocate of the Dhvani theory who briefly summarises the views of earlier writers on Poetics. He defines about 75 figures of speech in all (more than those dealt with by Mammaṭa) and is more elaborate in certain respects. His works seem to have influenced and inspired later writers like Viśvanātha, the author of *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, a very popular work on Poetics. He quotes Mammaṭa several times in his works and sometimes criticises him.

Ruyyaka was the son of Rājānaka Tilaka. He lived in Kashmir and was the teacher of Maṅkha, the author of *Śrīkanṭhacarita*, who was attached to the court of king Jayasimha (1129-1150 A. D.). He is referred to with great respect by his pupil Maṅkha.¹ He may be identical with Rucaka who, according to Dr. Bühler, is the author of both *Alaṅkārasarvasva* and *Kāvya-prakāśaṅketa*.² Vidyācakravartin, another commentator on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, also calls him Rucaka. Jayaratha refers to him as the author of *Śaṅketa* only. Pischel refers to his father as a commentator on *Udbhaṭa*. The commentary on *Udbhaṭa*'s work is called *Udbhaṭaviveka* by Jayaratha.

- 1) तं श्रीरुय्यकमालोक्य स यियं गुरुमग्रहीत् ।
सौहार्दप्रश्रयसरस्रोतस्संभेदमजनम् ॥
- 2) ज्ञात्वा श्रीतिलकात्सर्वालंकारो निप्रक्तमम् ।
काव्यप्रकाशसंज्ञो रुचयेनेह लिख्यते ॥

(J. O. R. M., 1958 p 51)

The date of Ruyyaka can be determined with a fair amount of accuracy. He quotes from the *Vikramāṅka-devacarita* of Bilhaṇa and criticises the *Vyaktivivēka* and *Kāvyaaprakāśa*. So he might be later than 1100 A. D. As he was the teacher of the Poet Maṅkha who states that his elder brother Laṅkaka held a meeting of learned men in which his *Kāvya* was read out to an assembly of 30 scholars among whom were the ambassadors from Kanuj and Koṅkaṇa,¹ he might be a contemporary of Maṅkha. It is known that Maṅkha's work was composed between 1135 and 1145 A. D. It is possible that Ruyyaka might have composed his work either about the same time or slightly earlier. Ruyyaka's literary activity may, therefore, be conveniently placed during the second and third quarters of the 12th century A. D.²

Alaṅkārasarvasva is the name of the major work of Ruyyaka. As usual it consists of two parts namely the *Kārikās* and the *Vṛtti*. A keen controversy is going on even now as to the common authorship of these two parts. Three different views are prevalent amongst scholars.

The first view is that the *sūtra* or the *Kārikā* portion is by Ruyyaka and the *Vṛtti* is by his pupil Maṅkha on the following grounds. The introductory line in some of the ancient palm-leaf manuscripts shows that Maṅkha was the author of the *Vṛtti* only.³ The commentator

1) S. C. XXV., v. 15

2) P. V. K., p. 73

3) गुर्वलङ्कारसूत्राणां वृत्त्या तात्पर्यमुच्यते ।

Samudrabandha is of the view that Ruyyaka is the author of the Sūtras and calls the original work as Alaṅkārasūtra and opines that Alaṅkārasarvasva is only a gloss on this work by Maṅkha. This was the view put forth by Dr T. Ganapathi Sastry.¹ Late Prof S. Kuppuswamy Sastry also seems to have held this view as correct.

The second view is that both the Kārikās and the Vṛtti are by Maṅkha himself as pointed out by Pt. K. Sambasiva Sastry on the following grounds.² Maṅkha clearly says at the end of the work that he is the author of Alaṅkārasarvasva.³ The introductory line occurring in some of the manuscripts referred to in the previous paragraph is sometimes read by substituting निज for गुरु. Also the word गुरु is stated to have been used not in the sense of a preceptor but only to show the necessity of interpreting the Sūtras.⁴ This is the explanation given, if the original reading of the introductory line is retained. There are clear passages in the commentary of Samudrabandha to show that Maṅkha is the author of both the

1) A. S. T. S. S., No. 40 (1st Edn.) Int.

2) A. S. T. S. S., No. 40 (2nd Edn.) Preface

3) इति मंखुको वितेने काश्मोरकक्षितिपालसाम्बिविग्रहिकः ।

सुकवि मुक्तालङ्कारं तदिदमलङ्कारसर्वस्वम् ॥ (A. S. Colophon)

4) गुर्वित्यनेन विवक्षितस्य तात्पर्यस्यावश्यकतां दर्शयति ।

(J. O. R. M., 1958, pp. 40-42)

parts.¹ The Sūtra sometimes presupposes the Vṛtti. For instance in the fourth Sūtra², the word पूर्व is explained as व्यंजनमात्राश्रितम् occurring in the previous sūtra. Later writers like Vidyānātha, Mallinātha, Kumārasvāmin and Jagannātha referred to the work as the Alaṅkārasarvasva and the author as Alaṅkārasarvasvakāra. Some manuscripts also name the sūtras as Alaṅkārasarvasva.

The third view is that Ruyyaka is the author of both the Sūtras and Vṛtti. The reasons for this are as follows : In the Nirṇayasāgara Edition of the work with the commentary Vimarśinī of Jayaratha, it is given that Ruyyaka is the author of the work without assigning any reason.³ The colophon of Sahṛdayalīlā, another work of Ruyyaka, clearly mentions that he is the author of Alaṅkārasarvasva.⁴ While illustrating the figure of speech called पुनरुक्तवदामास there is a statement which gives room for the doubt that Maṅkha might not have been the author of the Vṛtti.⁵ This statement is sometimes

1) कदाचिन्मंखुकोपज्ञं काव्यालङ्कारलक्षणम् ।
प्रदर्श्य रविवर्मणां प्रार्थयन्ति विपश्चितः ॥
गम्भोरं नस्तितीर्षूणां मंखुकग्रन्थसागरम् ।
नौरस्तु भवतः प्रज्ञा स्थेयसी यदुनन्दन ॥
बुधपरिषदलंकारो व्याख्यदलंकारसर्वस्वम् ।
मंखुकनिबन्धविद्युतौ विहितायामिह समुद्रबन्धेन ॥ (A. S. p. 228)

2) संख्यानियमे पूर्वं छेकानुप्रासः । (A. S. Sūtrā 4)

3) समुद्रस्यालंकारसर्वस्वस्य कर्तृकतया ल्ययक एव सर्वसम्मत आसीत् । (Int.)

4) समाप्तेयं सहृदयचमत्कारिणी सहृदयलीला कृतिः श्रीमद्विर्पाश्चर्यराजानक
श्रीमदालंकारिकसमाजग्रन्थश्रीराजानकरय्यकस्य राजानकरचकापर-
नाम्नोऽलंकारसर्वस्वकृतः ॥ (K. M. S., p. 187 Foot Note)

5) उदाहरणं मंखोये श्रीकण्ठस्तवे । (p. 15 of A. S. T. S. S. 40)

read substituting मदीये for मङ्खीये by some writers like Jayaratha. The observation of Sri S. Venkatasubramonia Iyer on this statement runs as follows :— “ But apart from the uncertainty whether it is Ruyyaka or Maṅkhaka that is the author of Śrīkanṭhastava, the reading मदीये may be the correct one here as suggested by Pt. K. Sambasiva Sastry because Ruyyaka is not likely to quote from his disciple's work and Maṅkhaka is not likely to refer to his own work as मङ्खीये rather than as मदीये.”¹ This observation does not appear to be quite convincing. For, if the pupil is really celebrated nothing prevents him from quoting from his work. Even Kṣemendra quotes his disciple several times in his works on Poetics as already mentioned before.² Dr. Raghavan rightly observes in this connection as follows :—“Of these two works Śrīkanṭhacarita and Śrīkanṭhastava, the former alone is decisively known as Maṅkhaka's work. There is nothing preventing an author citing illustrative verses from the work of a celebrated pupil of his, who was besides a minister.”³

It can thus be seen that no definite conclusion can be arrived at in this behalf in view of the three prevalent views each of which is supported by fairly strong grounds. The generally accepted view amongst scholars is that Ruyyaka is the author of the work in entirety or that it might be a joint work of the preceptor and the pupil. It is possible to say that the pupil, out of veneration for

1) J. O. R. M. 1958 p. 52

2) Cf. p. 91

3) J. O. R. M. 1958 p. 54

his teacher, might have improved upon his work by writing his own *Vṛtti*.

The *Alaṅkārasarvasva* may be stated to be a work of a dignified calibre. In the elucidation of *Arthālaṅkāra* it is believed to surpass even the *Kāvya prakāśa* of *Mammaṭa*. It is in the nature of a *Bhāṣya* and as such it attempts to classify *Alaṅkāras* with criticisms. It criticises some of the views of *Mammaṭa*. The *Dhvani* Theory and the *Vyañjanā* are upheld in this work. The definition of the several figures of speech are identical both in this work and in the work of *Mammaṭa*. Even some of the illustrations are the same in both. It is, on the whole, a useful work on poetics in Sanskrit Literature as could be seen by the large number of references to it by later writers.

Ruyyaka seems to have written many other works on the various topics in Sanskrit Poetics including a few commentaries. They are (1) *Alaṅkāraṇusārīṇī*, (2) *Kāvya prakāśasanketa*, (3) *Nāṭakamīmāṃsā*, (4) *Vyakti-vivekavicāra*, (5) *Sahṛdayalīlā*, (6) *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* and (7) *Harṣacaritavārtika*. Of these, the last two are mentioned in the *Alaṅkārasarvasva* while explaining the figure of speech *Utprekṣā* with illustrations.¹ The two works (Nos. 2 and 4) are commentaries of which the latter is referred to by *Jayaratha* who is himself a learned Kashmirian. The *Sahṛdayalīlā* is printed in the *Kāvya-*

1) हर्षचरितवार्तिके साहित्यमीमांसायां च तेषु प्रदेशेषु
उदाहृतेति इह तु ग्रन्थविस्तरभयान्न प्रपञ्चिता ।

(A. S. T. S. S. 40., p. 62)

mālā series.¹ The Nāṭaka and Sāhityamīmāṃsās are also referred to as the works of Ruṃyaka by Jayaratha. These are fairly authoritative as regards the authorship of the works.

The Sāhityamīmāṃsā consists of eight chapters dealing with the various topics of Sāhitya such as Vācya, Vācaka, Vṛtti, Doṣa, Guṇa, Alaṅkāra, Rasa and the qualities of a good poet and his equipment. Akṣapāda, Kālidāsa, Jaimini, Dhanadatta, Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti are the names of some of the authors that are mentioned in this work. The Vyañjanā is not spoken of in this work whereas it is upheld in the Alaṅkārasarvasva. This omission may probably be, as Dr. Kane says, due to the former having been written while he was young and the latter at an age when his mind was sufficiently ripe to admire and understand the Dhvani Theory. This omission need not, however, go against his authorship of the Alaṅkārasarvasva. The Tātparyavṛtti which gives rise to the realisation of Rasa is dealt with at length in this work. It also treats of a few Arthālankāras and includes peculiarly enough such figures as Samāsokti and Sahokti under Vakratva.

The Sahṛdayalīlā consists of four parts. The first is called Guṇollekha as it deals with Guṇas. The second is called Alaṅkārolekha and deals with figures of speech. The third and the fourth parts are called Jīvitollekha and Parikarollekha respectively.

To the list of works cited above Dr. De adds two more.² They are (1) Alaṅkāraṃanjarī referred to by

1) K. M. No. 5, pp. 150 to 160

2) H. S. P. Vol. I

himself and (2) Alaṅkāravārtika referred to by Jayaratha. The Alaṅkāraṇusāriṇī (No. 1 of the list) is, in the opinion of some Western Scholars like Peterson, Aufrecht and Jacobi, supposed to be a commentary on Jalhana's Somapālavilāsa.

The chief commentary on the Alaṅkārasarvasva is the Vimarśiṇī of Jayaratha. It is learned and popular. It is frequently quoted and criticised by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, the author of Rasagaṅgādhara. According to a very interesting pedigree Jayaratha's great grandfather's brother Sivaratha was a minister of Uccala who ruled Kashmir from 1101 to 1111 A. D. The Vimarśiṇī is mentioned by Jayaratha at the end of his own work on Poetics.¹ Another commentary on the Alaṅkārasarvasva is the Alaṅkārasaṅgīvinī of Vidyācakravartin who has also written a commentary on the Kāvya prakāśa of Mammaṭa. The reason he gives for writing commentaries on both the works is significant.² It indicates how valuable these two works are in Sanskrit Poetics and how much we are indebted to Kashmir in this behalf. Ruyyaka is referred to as Rucaka and as a Sāndhivigrahika in this commentary of Vidyācakravartin. There is also another commentary on the Alaṅkārasarvasva. It is written by Samudrabandha who was a Poet at the Court of King

- 1) प्रतिशामात्रमेवैतदित्युपेक्षं विचक्षणैः ।
अलंकारविमर्शिन्यां युक्तिरुक्तिचरात्र यत् ॥
अलंकारोदाहरणम् (End)
- 2) काव्यप्रकाशेऽलंकारसर्वस्वे च विपश्चिताम् ।
अत्यादरो जगत्सिन् व्याख्यातमुभयं ततः ॥
अलंकारोदाहरणम् (End)

Sangrāmadhīra or Ravivarma of Quilon (Kolamba). Scholars feel that this commentary is not so good as the other two. It may be stated that the Alaṅkārasarvasva is, perhaps, the last original work contributed by Kashmir to Sanskrit Poetics, with a very few exceptions which are now dealt with.

XIV—JAYARATHA (1200-1250 A. D.)

Jayaratha, the chief commentator on the Alaṅkārasarvasva, is also an original writer on Poetics. The name of his original work is Alaṅkārodāharaṇa in the last verse of which there is a reference to his Vimarśinī as already mentioned. There is a manuscript of it in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.¹ Some information is available about his parentage in the last two verses which occur at the end of his Vimarśinī. He has mentioned therein that he was the son of Śṛṅgārāratha who was a minister of Rājārāja or Rājadeva of Kashmir.² He had a brother by name Jayadratha who is the author of Haracaritacintāmaṇi, a Mahākāvya in thirty-two cantos. He learnt from his teacher Śankadhara and got the initiation by Subhaṭa-

2) Ms. 240/1875-76 of Govt. Collections. B.O.R.I. Poona.

1) शुक्राधिकश्रियस्तस्य श्रीशृङ्गार इति श्रुतः ।

गुणातिक्रान्तधिषणो मन्त्रिणामग्रणीरभूत् ॥

राजराज इति भूभुजामभूदग्रणीगुणगणाश्रयः परम् ।

तां सतीसरसि राजहंसतामातनोत्कलिघनागमेऽपि यः ॥ (Vimarśinī End)

datta.¹ He is also the well-known commentator of the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta.

The date of Jayaratha can be definitely determined. Since his father was a minister at the court of King Rājārāja (probably Jayasimha who ruled Kashmir about 1200 A. D.) he may be placed in the first half of the 13th century A. D. without much difficulty. This also agrees with the date that can be arrived at from that of his great grand-uncle Śivaratha who was a minister of King Uccala of Kashmir (1101 to 1111 A. D.) as already mentioned before.² He is, thus, a comparatively recent writer of Kashmir on Sanskrit Poetics.

XV—ŚOBHĀKARAMITRA (1500–1575 A. D.)

After Jayaratha there does not appear to be any original writer on Poetics in Kashmir for nearly two to three centuries. It is only in the early part of the 16th century A. D. that we come across another writer on Poetics, probably from Kashmir. He is Śobhākaramitra, the son of Trayīśvaramitra, as is clear from the colophon of his work.³ No other information than this is available about his parentage.

- 1) श्रीविश्वदत्तपौत्रस्त्रिभुवनदत्तात्मजः कुलक्रमागतः ।
श्रीसुमटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुर्यो ममाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥

2) Cf. p. 116. (T. A. Ahn. 37 Ms. Com)

- 3) सप्तमोऽयमलङ्काररत्नाकरः । वृत्तिर्महोपाध्यायमहेश्री-
त्रयीधरमित्रपुत्रस्य तत्रभवतः पण्डितमहेश्रीशोभाकर
मित्रस्य श्रीश्रीधर्मपुत्रेण प्रज्ञालववता मया रत्नाकराभिधः
पौषेऽलङ्कारे लिखितः शुभः ॥

The date of this author is not known. But from the definition of the figures of speech given in his work it looks as though he is a comparatively recent writer considerably later than Ruyyaka and Jayaratha. He is also quoted by Jagannātha¹ and presumably by Appayya-dīkṣita. So his date may be placed at the end of the 16th century A. D.

The name of his work is *Alaṅkāraratnākara*, a manuscript of which in *Sāradā* character exists in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.² It begins with a bow to *Siva*, *Sarasvatī* and *Ganeśa*.³ Dr. De also refers to this work and its author.⁴ It is mentioned in the introduction to *Sāhityadarpaṇa* that the author is a Kashmirian.⁵ Peterson says that the Kashmirian Poet *Yaśaskara* extracted some *sūtras* on *Alaṅkāra* from the *Alaṅkararatnākara* of *Śobhākaramitra* and illustrated them in his *Devīstotra* by composing verses in praise of the Divine Mother as the opening

-
- 1) एवं प्रसिद्धगुणेनोपमानेनाप्रसिद्धगुणस्योपमेयस्य
सादृश्युपमा — इत्यालङ्काररत्नाकरोक्तमपि न भाव्यम् ।
सविता विधवति इत्यादि रत्नाकरेणोदाहारि ।
(R. G. pp. 163 & 202.)
- 2) Ms. 227 & 227A/1875-76 of B. O. R. I. Poona
- 3) ओं नमः शिवाय । ओं नमः सरस्वत्यै । श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
सुरासुरशिरोरत्नमरीचिखचितान्त्रये ।
विघ्नान्धकारसूर्याय गणाधिपतये नमः ।
- 4) H. S. P., Vol. I., pp. 270, 279 & 318.
- 5) S.D., Int. p. 57.

verse of his prayer-poem indicates.¹ The commentary on this verse explains the purpose with which the poem is composed.²

The colophon in Dr. Bühler's Manuscript of the *Alaṅkāratnākara* reads त्रयीश्वरमन्त्रपुत्रस्य for मित्रपुत्रस्य. The work of Yaśaskara is, for this reason, called by Dr. M. A. Stein as *Alaṅkārodāharaṇa—Sannibaddha Devīstotra*. The original is also called *Alaṅkāratnodāharaṇa* of *Sobhākaramitra*. There is also another manuscript in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona which is called *Alaṅkārasūtra*,³ which has the same beginning as the work of *Sobhākaramitra*, but which gives in the end the date of the composition.⁴ There is also a manuscript of the *Devīstotra* in the Institute.⁵

XVI—MINOR RHETORICIANS INCLUDING COMMENTATORS ON THE NĀṬYASĀSTRA AND ALAṅKĀRA ŚĀSTRA

Sobhākaramitra is, perhaps, the last original writer on Poetics from Kashmir, though he is not a writer of either great repute or originality. The works that were written by Kashmirians who came after Ruyyaka, on Poetics were, either repetitions of what had already been

- 1) रत्नाकराभ्यन्तरतो गृहीत्वालङ्कारसूत्राणि यथाक्रमेण ।
बन्दीव देव्या गिरिराजपुत्र्याः करोमि शंसन् श्रुतिगोचराणि ॥
- 2) श्रीत्रयीश्वरमित्रात्मजश्रीशोभाकरमित्रविरचितेऽलङ्काररत्नाकरेऽलङ्कारसूत्राणि ॥
- 3) Ms. 228/1875-76 of B. O. R. I. Poona.
- 4) अलङ्कारसूत्राणि समाप्तानि । संवत् १५ श्रावति अष्टम्यां शनिवासरे समापितम् ॥
- 5) Ms. 241/1875-76 of B. O. R. I. Poona.

propounded by great writers like Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and others all of whom were from Kashmir, or glosses or commentaries on their works. Even among these commentators there are many Kashmirians who paved the way for later commentators to come up in other parts of India. It may, therefore, be stated that the foundation for the various Schools of thought in Poetics was laid by Kashmirians. They also explain the exact import of the various theories enunciated by them so that their intellectual glory is fresh even to day long after they lived.

For various reasons the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata is regarded as the oldest existing work on the theory of Sanskrit Poetics. The Rasa theory is dealt with in it for the first time and many topics pertaining to the Alaṅkāra śāstra are contained in it. The actual text of the Nāṭyaśāstra, its authorship and date will remain puzzles and matters of conjecture till the earlier works such as those of Kohala, Nandikeśvara and the commentaries of Udbhaṭa and others are discovered. It is a work which is mostly encyclopaedic in character. There is, in it, an elaborate analysis of the sources of the aesthetic pleasure that one derives by seeing a performance on a stage and the details connected with the theatre and its architecture.

The whole work consists of 37 chapters out of which 7 are in the first volume published by the Gaekwad Oriental Series in 1925. Volume II containing chapters 8 to 18 and volume III containing chapters 19 to 27 were published by the same agency in 1933 and 1954

respectively. Volume IV consisting of the remaining chapters is still in print. Chapter 7 in volume I and chapter 8 in Volume II are printed without the commentary as it has not been possible to find it. The work, in general, deals with rules relating to theatrical performances—in fact the science of the stage—and is a guide at once to the Poet and the player. The author of this work is Bharata who is often referred to as merely Muni or the Sage.¹ It is popularly known as “Sūtra” as it sets out rules precisely and concisely. It is also known as Ṣaṭsahasrī (six thousand verses) which appears to be an epitome of an earlier work called Dvādaśasahasrī (twelve thousand verses or Granthas) which is now available only in parts. Both these works seem to have been based on a much earlier work called the Nāṭyaveda, one of the four Upavedas consisting of over 36,000 verses supposed to have been composed by Brahma himself. According to the view held by Abhinavagupta in his commentary, it represents three different Schools of opinion originating from Brahma, Sadāśiva and Bharata respectively. In fact, the Dvādaśasahasrī is in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī and is called Ādibharata. The Brahmabharata and Sadāśiva-bharata are available now only in fragments.

The Bharatasūtra, as the Nāṭyasūtra is popularly called, originally consisted of only 36 chapters.² But Abhinavagupta seems to have extended it by one more chapter. The number of chapters corresponds to the

1) तण्डुमुनिशब्दौ नन्दिभरतयोरपरनामनी ।

2) षट्त्रिंशकं भरतसूत्रमिदम् ।

number of Śivatattvas in Kashmir Śaivism. In fact the commentator begins each chapter with a verse in praise of each one of the Śivatattvas in order while the 37th chapter begins with a verse indicating अनुत्तरः (nothing beyond), a doctrine propounded by his Paramaguru, Utpala. Thus the reason for extending the number of chapters by one has a significance and a purpose attached to it.

Bharata is an authority on the Nāṭyaśāstra which consists of Gīta, Nṛtya, Dhruvāgama and Pūrvaraṅga-vidhi (the last two being auxiliaries to Nāṭya). He has not dealt with Rāgas but only with Jātis.¹ He has condemned the Āṅikābhinaya for the people of the superior class. So he has rejected the technical side of Saṅgīta and Nṛtya. The School of Nandikeśvara is older than that of Bharata and seems to have dealt with the conventional side. Kohala and Mataṅga mainly follow Bharata whose work is very comprehensive.

It is not possible to say definitely to which part of India Bharata belonged. But several valuable commentaries on his Nāṭyaśāstra are written by Kashmirians. Brief biographical sketches of these Kashmirian commentators on the Nāṭyaśāstra and on original works written by Kashmirians and others are collected together and furnished in the following pages along with their works and their importance in Poetics, wherever possible. The commentators on the work of Bharata appear to be mostly Kashmirians according to the statement of

1) यत्किञ्चिद्दीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जातिषु स्थितम् ।

Sāṅgadeva, occurring in his work Saṅgītaratnākara.¹ They are Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa, Śankuka, Kīrtidhara and Abhinavagupta. These names suggest that they are all Kashmirians with, perhaps, the exception of Kīrtidhara.

1—UDBHAṬA (750-800 A. D.)

Just as Udbhaṭa is the first known Kashmirian who wrote a systematic treatise on Alaṅkāraśāstra, he is also the first known commentator from Kashmir on Bharata. His date has already been discussed in an earlier section of this chapter.² He seems to have followed a shorter version of the Nāṭyaśāstra unlike his successors. His views are quoted by Abhinavagupta while commenting on a verse in the Nāṭyaśāstra.³ Abhinavagupta says that Lollaṭa did not accept those views. That Udbhaṭa read a verse in the Nāṭyaśāstra differently is also mentioned by Abhinavagupta.⁴ Udbhaṭa seems to have criticised the four Vṛttis of Bharata namely Bhāratī, Sātvatī, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. According to him there are only three Vṛttis.⁵ One of his verses is also quoted by Abhinavagupta who says that certain followers of a writer by name Sakalīgarbha held that there were five Vṛttis (the four of Bharata mentioned above and the last one of Udbhaṭa) and that Lollaṭa refuted these views

1) व्याख्यातारो भारतीये लोल्लटोद्भटशङ्कुकाः ।

भट्टाभिनवगुप्तश्च श्रीमत्कीर्तिधरोऽपरः ॥

(S. R. I., p. 19)

2) Cf. p. 19.

3) N. S. Chap. VI., v. 10.

4) N. S. Chap. XVIII., v. 76 नैव प्रयोज्यानि for तानि प्रयोज्यानि ।

5) न्यायचेष्टावृत्ति—अन्यायचेष्टावृत्ति—फलसंविच्चिद्वृत्ति ।

of Udbhaṭa and Śaṅkarabha. His exposition of the fourth sandhi in a drama is also referred to and refuted by Abhinavagupta on the ground that there is no absolute necessity for its appearance.

It has been stated before that Udbhaṭa wrote a commentary called the Vivaraṇa on the work of Bhāmaha on Poetics. There is a reference to it by Pratiharendu-rāja in his commentary on the work of Udbhaṭa on Poetics. Also Gopāla in his Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi, a commentary on the Kāvya-prakāśa, seems to refer to this commentary of Udbhaṭa.¹ Thus Udbhaṭa is at once a poet, a critic and a commentator. This may be the reason which prompted King Jayapīḍa of Kashmir to pay him such a fabulous salary as one lakh gold coins per day according to the version of Kalhaṇa.²

2.—LOLLAṬA (850-925 A. D.)

Lollaṭa may be slightly later than Udbhaṭa (if not his contemporary) as Abhinavagupta says that his views differ from those of his predecessor. He is a Kashmirian as the name seems to indicate. He is known only in name by the numerous references made to him in the works of several writers on Poetics. Even such learned critics as Abhinavagupta and Mammaṭa quote him in their works not only frequently but also with great

1) उद्भटेनापि नम्रेण नायकेनोपललितः ।

हृद्यो माम् इव स्त्रीणामल्पारम्भोऽपि वामनः ॥

(H. S. L. by M. K., pp. 741 & 742 Foot Note)

2) Rāj. IV. v. 495.

respect. But unfortunately nothing is known either about his work or his parentage. He appears to have advanced his arguments on the basis of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā, following the longer version of the older recensions of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

It is believed that he wrote a commentary at least on most of the chapters of the Nāṭyaśāstra particularly the sixth, thirteenth, the eighteenth, the twentyfirst etc. Two of his verses are quoted by Hemacandra in his Kāvyaānuśāsana. Māṇikyacandra, in his commentary on the Kāvyaaprakāśa, says that the details of the Rasa theory should be learnt from the Rasavivarṇa of Lollaṭa. He clearly states that when it is not possible for such a scholar as Lollaṭa to measure the depth of the ocean of the Rasa theory, it is clear that his successors like Sankuka and Nāyaka were not able to understand the secrets of it.¹ From these references it may be inferred that Lollaṭa enunciated certain original views on the Rasa theory. He starts with the view that Rasas are numerous and tries to explain how the state of relish is attained by the spectators in a drama. The remarks of Dr. K. C. Pandey in this connection are worthy of perusal. They are as follows :— “Thus, an aesthetic object, according to Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, is the unity of Sthāyibhāva in the multiplicity of Vibhāvas etc., when it is supported, strengthened, intensified or brought to

1) न वेत्ति यस्य गाम्भीर्यं गिरितुङ्गोऽपि लोल्लटः ।

तत्तस्य रसपाथोदधेः कथं जानातु शंकुकः ॥

भोगरत्यादिभावानां भोगं स्वस्योचितं ब्रुवन् ।

सर्वथा रससर्वस्वमर्मास्त्राक्षीन् नायकः ॥

predominance by these very constituents of multiplicity. This is the traditional view of Rasa (aesthetic object). There is nothing original of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa in it.”¹

Lollaṭa seems to have written a short Śrāddha-prakarāṇa in which the views of Medhātithi in verse are frequently cited. There is a copy of this work in the Ānandāśrama Collection of manuscripts in Poona.² The reference by Lollaṭa is probably to the Smṛti Viveka of Medhātithi which is mentioned by him in the Manu-bhāṣya. It may be that the author of the Śrāddhaprakarāṇa is the same as the commentator on the Nāṭyaśāstra who expressed his views on Rasa.³ Lollaṭa seems to have had a large number of followers of whom Vemabhūpāla is one who is mentioned by M. R. Kavi who points out the reading of the text adopted by him for purposes of comment and criticism and also the way in which it differs from the readings adopted by other commentators.⁴ It may be stated, in conclusion, that Lollaṭa was one of the few earlier commentators from Kashmir on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata.

3.—VALLABHADEVA (875 – 925 A. D.)

It would appear that there are at least two Vallabha-devas. One of them is the commentator and the other

1) C. A. Vol. I, p. 31.

2) A. N. S. Coll. No. 3175.

3) भट्टलोल्लटादयस्तु—रसस्य व्यंग्यत्वमेवाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति ।

(S. D. Int., p. 53, S. D. p. 80)

4) नारी तु नरवेषेण ललितं यत्र संस्कृतम् ।

पठेत्सखीविनोदाय सा भवेत्पुष्पगण्डिका ॥

(N. S. XIX, v. 126)

the compiler of the anthology by name Subhāṣitāvali. The commentator may be the older writer as he is referred to by Mallinātha of the 14th century A. D.¹ and by Rāyamukuṭa whose commentary on the Amara-koṣa is known to have been written during 1353 Śaka Era which corresponds to about 1432 A. D. Of the compiler, it may be stated that he might not have lived before King Zain-ul-Abidin who ruled Kashmir during the period 1417-1467 A. D. Both these Vallabhadevas may be Kashmirians. The Kayyaṭa who, in 977 A. D., wrote a commentary on the Devīśataka of Ānandavardhana says that he was the son of Candrāditya and the grandson of Vallabhadeva.² This gives the date of the earlier Vallabhadeva as the end of the 9th Century or the commencement of the 10th century A. D. So the period of his literary activity may be placed between 875 and 925 A. D.

As a commentator Vallabhadeva is looked upon by Kashmirians with great respect.³ He wrote a commentary on the work of Rudraṭa which is now lost. He seems to have written commentaries on Meghadūta, Raghuvamśa and the Śiṣupālavadha. His commentary on the Śiṣupālavadha or Māgha is called Sandehaviṣaṣadha which appears to have been popular and respected

1) एवं चाक्रियावचनत्वान्नियतलिङ्गत्वाद्भिरोध इति बलभोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ।

(S. V. II, v. 44)

2) बलभदेवायनितश्चन्द्रादित्यादवाप्तजन्मेमाम् ।

कैयटनामारचयद्विवृतिं देवीशतकस्तोत्रे ॥

(D. S. Col.)

3) काश्मीरकैस्तु बलभदेवकृतटीकैवोपयुज्यते ॥

(S. V. Int., p. 6)

in Kashmir. The colophon at the end of the commentaries on the works of Kālidāsa mentioned above indicates that he was the son of Ānanda.¹ There seems to be an indirect reference to Rudraṭa² in his commentary on the work of Māgha by which it is believed that he wrote a commentary on the Kāvya-lāṅkāra of Rudraṭa. This much is available about the commentator Vallabha-deva. The compiler of the same name will be dealt with later in the appropriate place.

4.—BHAṬṬA NĀYAKA (900-950 A. D.)

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who is supposed to be the founder of the Rasa School in Poetics and the author of Hṛdaya-darpaṇa might have written a commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra as he is frequently quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on it. His work on Poetics exists at least in name and in fragments. But even the name of the commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra is not available. There is only an indication of its existence by the references made to it by later writers in their commentaries on the work of Bharata. From the quotations that are available in the Abhinava Bhāratī it looks as though Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was the first to say that रसस्वाद was akin to परब्रह्मसाक्षात्कार and that the spectator or the

1) एवं कृतिरानन्ददेवात्मजपरमार्थचिह्नापरनाम्नो बृहद्भवेवस्य ॥

(Mss. 82 & 83/1883-84 of B. O. R. I. Poona)

2) शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् उक्तं च शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् इति ॥

(S. V. II. vv. 1 & 88)

reader enjoys supreme bliss.¹ He also gave some definite views on the enjoyment of Rasa in reading a Poetic composition or witnessing a drama on a stage. But still Dr. K. C. Pandey observes as follows :— “He failed to explain the essential nature of the subjective and objective aspects of the aesthetic experience and to account for the essential nature of the experience for the obvious reasons that the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta systems do not supply the necessary principles, points of view and mechanism of Psychological analysis as is necessary to explain the aesthetic experience in all its details.”²

Bhaṭṭa Nayaka might have had something to do with the work of Bhāmaha on Poetics as the verse of Gopāla already quoted in connection with Udbhaṭa indicates.³ It cannot be specifically stated that he wrote a commentary on Bhāmaha's work. For want of sufficient material we have to rest contented only with this much of information as regards his work on Poetics and his commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra.

1) तस्मात्काव्ये दोषाभावगुणालङ्कारमयलक्षणेन नाट्ये चतुर्विधा-

भिनयरूपेण निविडनिजमोहसंकटतानिवारणकारिणा

विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना अभिधातो द्वितीयेनांशेन

भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानो रसानुभवस्मृत्यादि विलक्षणेन

रजस्तमोनुवेशवैचित्र्यवशाद् हृदि विस्तारविकासलक्षणेन

सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयनिजसंविद्विश्रान्तिलक्षणेन

परब्रह्मास्वादसविदेन भोगेन परं युज्यत इति ॥

(N. S. Vol. I. pp. 278-279)

2) C. A. Vol. I. p. 71

3) Cf. p. 125 Foot Note.

5.—SAṆKUKA (925-975 A. D.)

Saṅkuka is, perhaps, the next Kashmirian commentator after Lollaṭa. He criticises the theory of Rasa propounded by Lollaṭa in his commentary. He seems to have pointed out the difference between Rasa as an Aesthetic object on the stage and Rasa as an Aesthetic representation in the spectator's consciousness. His theory of art refers to the basic mental state only. In the words of Dr. K. C. Pandey "Sri Saṅkuka is the first exponent in India of a theory of art on the basis of a system of philosophy like Plato."¹ He continues to observe as follows :— "By his criticism, howsoever unacceptable, he made a very important contribution to Aesthetics in as much as he gave a new point of view for the study of the Aesthetic problems. He may, therefore, be regarded as the founder of Aesthetics, which reached its culminating point in the writings of Abhinava."² These observations lead us to think that Saṅkuka might have made a substantial contribution to the conception of Rasa in the enjoyment of a Poetic composition.

As regards the date of Saṅkuka he may be placed immediately after Lollaṭa if not his younger contemporary. Thus it may fall during the second and third quarters of the 10th century A. D. Many later writers including Abhinavagupta very frequently refer to the views of Saṅkuka in their works. For instance, Abhinavagupta says that, according to him, there are as many

1) C. A. Vol. I. p. 11

2) C. A. Vol. I. p. 37

as forty thousand different kinds of Abhinaya.¹ He might have commented on the whole of Nāṭyaśāstra. But there are references to his commentary on chapters 3 to 29 of the work. Like Abhinavagupta he seems to have used the later recension of the text. He has different readings for some of the verses on which he comments. For instance, M. R. Kavi, in his introduction to the Nāṭyaśāstra, points out certain differences in the readings adopted by Abhinavagupta and Saṅkuka on the definitions of a few technical terms in Abhinaya.² Even later writers on Poetics and Dramaturgy freely quote Saṅkuka in their works. But so far no commentary of his on the Nāṭyaśāstra as such has been discovered.

6.—GHANṬAKA (925-975 A. D.)

Ghanṭaka might be a contemporary of Saṅkuka or he might have lived slightly later than him. His name is seen frequently associated with that of Saṅkuka. It looks as though he was primarily a writer on some branch of Poetics or Dramaturgy. By the reference that Abhinavagupta makes to him in his Abhinavabhāratī, we are led to believe that he wrote a treatise on Drama-

1) ननु यथा श्रीशङ्कुकेनोक्तं चत्वारिंशत्सहस्राणीत्यादि ।

2) अभिनवः— वृत्तानि विविधानि स्युर्गेयं गाने च संसृतम् ।
चेष्टाभिश्चाश्रयः पुंसां यत्र सा पुष्पगण्डिका ॥

शङ्कुः— वृत्तानि विविधानि स्युर्गेयं चातोद्यसंश्रितम् ।

चेष्टा च विविधा पुंसां यत्र सा पुष्पगण्डिका

(N. S. XIX. v. 126)

turgy.¹ Besides such references, some verses are ascribed to him in the Anthology. One of them, for instance, is extremely nice.² His name suggests that he too might be a Kashmirian. But no work of his, as far as I know, either original or commentary, has yet been discovered. Dr. Kane is also of the same opinion.³

7.—KĪRTIDHARA (925-975 A. D.)

Kīrtidhara may be a Kashmīrian. Since his name is associated with those of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Abhinavagupta as already mentioned before, it is possible that he too was a contemporary Kashmirian. There is not enough material to substantiate this inference. He too seems to have had something to do with the Nāṭya-śāstra of Bharata as there are clear referenees to him in the Abhinavabhāratī. He seems to have followed the views of Nandikeśvara.⁴ Also M. R. Kavi points out

- 1) श्रीशङ्कुस्तु अयुक्तमेतदित्यभिधाय अष्टधेति व्याचष्टे । तथा देवी कन्या
ख्याता अख्याता भेदेन चतुर्धा । कन्या तु अन्तःपुरसंगीतकभेदेन द्विधेति ।
घण्टकादयस्त्वाहुः— नायको नृपतिरित्येतावन्मात्रम् । नाटकादा-
वुपजीवितं न तु प्रख्यातत्वमपि तद्भेदोदयादन्ये षोडशभेदाः इति ॥
(H. S. L. by M. K. p. 739)

- 2) धनुर्माळा मौर्वी ववणदलिकुलं लक्ष्यमबला
मनो भेद्यं शब्दप्रभृतय इमे पंच विशिखाः ।
इयान् जेतुं यस्य त्रिभुवनमदेहस्य विभवः
स कामः कामान् वो दिशतु दयितापाङ्गवसतिः ॥ (Subh. v. 82)
- 3) P. V. K. p. 52.
- 4) यत्कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरमतमन्नागमित्वेन दर्शितं तदस्माभिः
साक्षान्न दृष्टम् । तत्प्रत्ययात्तु लिख्यते संक्षेपतः—

(N. S. Chap. 29)

certain differences in the readings of the text adopted by Abhinavagupta and Kīrtidhara on the definitions of Niṣadha.¹ This suggests that they both followed different recensions of the text. Kīrtidhara seems to have followed the longest of the later recensions while Ghaṇṭaka seems to have used the shortest. The name of his work is not yet made available.

8.—TĪKĀKĀRA (925-975 A. D.)

A certain author is frequently referred to anonymously by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhāratī under the name Tīkākāra. There are references to others also along with him. They are to such writers as Bhaṭṭa-yantra, Priyātithi, Bhaṭṭasumanas, Bhaṭṭagopāla, Rudraṭa Bhaṭṭaśaṅkara and Ghaṇṭaka. The title Bhaṭṭa suggests that at least some of them might be Kashmirians. But it is not possible to say with the materials on hand whether they wrote independent works or commentaries on the Nāṭyaśāstra. They must have had something to do with it as there are frequent references to them. It is also not possible to identify the Tīkākāra who is often referred to. They might have lived in or about Kashmir sometime prior to Abhinavagupta. So the date of this Tīkākāra may be placed during the last three quarters of the 10th century A. D.

- 1) अभिनवः— मुकुलं तु यदा हस्तं कपित्थः परिवेष्टयेत् ।
 स मन्तव्यस्तदा हस्तो निषधो नाम नामतः ॥
 कीर्तिधरः— शिखरस्तु यदा हस्तो मृगशोर्षेण पीडितः ।
 निषधो नाम विज्ञेयः स भवार्ते विधीयते ॥

(N. S. IX. v. 141)

Even so Bhaṭṭa Tauta, the teacher of Abhinavagupta, Utpaladeva, his teacher's teacher and Mātṛgupta are also referred to frequently in the Abhinavabhāratī. But the nature and content of their contributions to Nāṭyaśāstra are not known. They might have written independent treatises or commentaries. Kalhaṇa and Sāgaranandin refer to Mātṛgupta as a poet. The nature of the quotation given by Abhinavagupta on Puṣpa¹ (a technical term for a particular way of playing on the vīṇā) suggests his connection with the technique of the drama. Even Rāghava Bhaṭṭa in his commentary, on the Abhijñānaśākuntala of Kālidāsa, quotes profusely from Mātṛgupta in support of his definitions of the technicalities of the drama.

9.—BHATTENDURĀJA (930-980 A. D.)

Bhattendurāja was the son of Bhūtirāja and grandson of Saucuka of the Kāśyapagotra. He was one of the teachers of Abhinavagupta. He is referred to with great respect by his pupil who places him on par with Vālmīki, Vyāsa and Kālidāsa, in his Abhinavabhāratī.² At the commencement of his commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, Abhinavagupta again mentions the name of his guru with deep veneration.³ On the basis of these references he

1) यथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन - पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितः ।

(H. S. L. by M. K. p. 819)

2) अनुभावप्राधान्यं यथा - शुद्ध सारस्वतप्रवाहपवित्रसकलमहार्णवपूर्ण-
सम्पादनं द्विजराजस्येन्दुराजस्य । न हि सर्वो वाल्मिकिर्व्यासः कालिदासो
भट्टेन्दुराजो वा ॥ (N. S. A. B. Vol. I. p. 287 Vol. II. p. 293)

3) भट्टेन्दुराजादाम्नायं विविच्य च चिरं धिया ।

कृतोऽभिनवगुप्तेन सोऽयं गीतार्थसंग्रहः ॥

may be placed slightly prior to Abhinavagupta. So his date will be somewhere between 930 and 980 A. D. approximately.

There does not appear to be any work as such of Bhaṭṭendurāja either on Poetics or on Dramaturgy, though he is referred to as a great poet and a rhetorician. There are, however, many verses of Bhaṭṭendurāja quoted by later writers like Kṣemendra. One of the verses quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* illustrates *Apanutidhvani*.¹ He might have written a Poetic composition. The name of his work is not mentioned even by his pupil who quotes him so freely and frequently. Because he is the revered teacher of Abhinavagupta it is highly probable that he is a Kashmirian.

10.—PRATIHĀRENDURĀJA (930-980 A. D.)

Pratihārendurāja was a native of Konkaṇa as he calls himself कोंकणः श्रीन्दुराजः. He seems to have migrated to Kashmir later on for higher studies and remained there permanently ever afterwards. He may be a contemporary of Bhaṭṭendurāja but he is certainly different

1) अपन्हुतिध्वनिर्विथासदुपाध्यायमट्टेन्दुराजस्यः —

यः कालागुरुपत्रमन्त्रा रचनावाचैकसारायते

गौरांगीकुचकुम्भभूरिसुमगाभोगे सुधाधामनि ।

विच्छेदामलदीपितोत्कविनिताचेतोऽधिवासोद्भवं

सन्तापं विनिनीयुरेष विततैरंगैर्नानांगि स्मरः ॥

अत्र चन्द्रमण्डलमध्यवर्तिनो लक्ष्मणो वियोगाग्निपरिचितवनिता-

हृदयोदितप्लोपमलीमसच्छवि मन्मथाकारतयापहवो ध्वन्यते ।

ससन्देहध्वनिरप्यत्रैव ।

(Dhv. Chap. II. p. 116)

from him. For, information about his parentage is not available whereas it has been stated that Bhaṭṭendurāja was the son of Bhūtirāja and grandson of Saucuka. He was a Kashmirian by domicile whereas Bhaṭṭendurāja seems to be a Kashmirian by birth. The title Pratihāra indicates that he held a high office in administration; whereas Bhaṭṭa is a title given for learning. So Pratihārendurāja must have been a high officer in Kashmir while Bhaṭṭendurāja was a well-known scholar. Both seem to be proficient in Poetics and also contemporaries. Thus the two persons are different from each other. Since they both were contemporaries, the date of Pratihārendurāja may be taken as almost identical with that of Bhaṭṭendurāja.

Pratihārendurāja was a student of Mukulabhaṭṭa according to his own statement at the commencement of his commentary on the work of Udbhaṭa on Poetics.¹ This commentary appears to be one of the oldest on the works on Poetics. He bestows high praise on his teacher who is stated to be an expert in logic, philosophy, grammar and literature. As the date of Mukula has been placed between 900 and 925 A. D. that of his pupil must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of the middle of the 10th century A. D. which agrees with that already mentioned in the previous paragraph.

A verse taken from his commentary is quoted by Abhinavagupta while discussing the particular type of

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- 1) विद्वद्ग्यान्मुकुलादधिगम्य विविच्यते ।
प्रतीहारेन्दुराजेन काव्यालङ्कारसङ्ग्रहः ॥

Dhvani called असंलक्ष्यक्रमोद्योत under विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्य¹ which reveals that he is a poet of no mean order. But the name of his poetical work as such is not available anywhere. His only known work is the Kavyālaṅkārasāra-Laghuvṛtti.

11.—HARṢAṬA (930-980 A. D.)

Harṣaṭa was the son of Mukulabhaṭṭa. It is therefore clear that he must be contemporary with Pratīhārendurāja who was his father's pupil. So his date is the same as that of Pratīhārendurāja namely 930-980 A.D. He must have received a very good training under his learned father. He seems to have written a gloss on Jayadevachandas. He is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in the Abhinavabhāratī. Nothing more is known about him than that he was a Kashmirian commentator. He may not be the same as Harṣa, the Vārtikākāra who is also referred to in the Abhinavabhāratī as he has been identified with Śrī Harṣa of Kanuj.

12.—ABHINAVAGUPTA (950-1020 A. D.)

The Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta is a very scholarly commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata. A fairly detailed account of the ancestry of Abhinavagupta has already been furnished before.² It is next in

1) प्रतीहारेन्दुराजेन काव्यालङ्कारसंग्रहव्याख्यानेऽयं श्लोको दृष्टः—

याते गोत्रविपर्यये श्रुतिपथं शय्यामनुप्राप्तया

निध्यातं परिवर्तनं पुनरपि प्रारब्धमङ्गीकृतम् ।

भूयस्तत्प्रकृतं कृतं च शिथिलक्षिप्तैकदर्शित्वया

तन्वङ्गया न तु पारितः स्तनभरः कण्ठं प्रियस्योरसः ॥

रसादिरर्थो हि सहैव वाच्येनावभासते । स चाङ्गित्वेनावभासमानो ध्वनेरात्मा ॥

2) Cf. pp. 46 to 47.

importance and popularity to the Locana. It gives a good exposition of the dramatic art, besides being authoritative. No complete manuscript of the commentary seems to be available at present in India. It is also called the Nāṭyavedavivṛti which might have been composed between 1000 and 1020 A. D. Three volumes consisting of the first 27 chapters have been printed in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. The remaining chapters (i. e., from the 28th to the 31st only) are available in manuscript in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.¹ It is corrupt and incomplete. Still it throws ample light on the commentaries that were written on the Nāṭyaśāstra prior to Abhinavagupta and furnishes some information about a few writers on the histrionic art.

Abhinavagupta, in his commentary, criticises the previous commentators in the light of his own theories whenever he thought they went beyond limits. His own conception of Nāṭya is very liberal and aesthetic. He rejects all musical dramas. His text, therefore, differs from that of others. The later recension is generally favoured by Abhinavagupta because his aim is to base the work of Bharata mainly on the principle of Rasa. While differing from the views of previous writers on the fundamental concepts of Rasa he does not fail to appropriate the good in them.² Whenever there is a gap in the commentary due to the illegibility of the manuscript, it has been found almost impossible to fill it up

1) Ms. 41 of B. O. R. I. Poona.

2) गदतो मे इत्यनादरो ब्रष्टी येन मदुचनमेवात्र न केवलं
प्रमाणं यावत्कश्यपमुनिप्रभृतिभिरपि यन्निरूपितं तदपि शिवम् ।

(N. S. Chap. XVIII end)

with suitable words. That is why M. R. Kavi remarks as follows :— “The commentary unfortunately being incomplete, chapter 7 in this volume and chapter 8 in the next one had to be printed without it.”¹ The same editor observes while discussing the merits of Abhinavabhāratī as follows :— “The chief merit in Abhinavagupta is that he never slips over difficult passages.”²

The Abhinavabhāratī is very useful not only in helping us to properly understand the various implications of the technical terms used in the drama and in the setting up of the stage but also gives a fairly long list of writers who had something to do with the Nāṭyaśāstra and its exposition. The views of various writers like Lollaṭa, Saṅkuka, Nāyaka, Ghaṇṭaka and Haṛṣa on such an important topic as Rasa are quoted and explained with his own comments wherever they were found necessary. Whenever Abhinavagupta agrees with the views of any particular writer he never hesitates to say so and to quote them in support of his own views. For instance he seems to agree with the views of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka on Rasa³. Even though the commentaries of the writers mentioned above have not been discovered as yet, the fame of the Nāṭyaśāstra has been held sufficiently high even to day by the single commentary of Abhinavagupta. No better proof appears to be necessary to show the

1) N. S. Vol. I. Preface, p. 1.

2) Andhra His. Res. Society Journal Vol. III

(Parts 2, 3 & 4) p. 200.

3) रसो न प्रतीयते नोत्पद्यते नाभिव्यज्यते च—इति भट्टनायकस्त्वाह ।

(N. S. Vol. I., p. 278)

depth of learning and clear exposition of such complicated topics as are dealt with in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

13.—RĀJĀNAKA TILAKA (1100-1125 A. D.)

The next Kashmirian commentator is Rājānaka Tilaka. The title Rājānaka which means a king's equal suggests that he is a Kashmirian. His date might be somewhere during the first quarter of the 12th Century A. D. as he is supposed to be a younger contemporary of Mammaṭa.

He seems to have written a commentary on the work of Udbhaṭa on Poetics. It is called Udbhaṭaviveka and is published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Jayaratha refers to it in the Vimarśinī, his commentary on the Alaṅkārasarvasva. It is brief, lucid and accurate. Pratiḥarendurāja is often referred to in it and some of his views are criticised. The frequent reference that Jayaratha makes to it in his commentary indicates that he follows in the foot-steps of Rājānaka Tilaka.¹

14.—ĀNANDARĀJĀNAKA (1650-1700 A. D.)

Ānandarājānaka was a native of Kashmir and a staunch devotee of Lord Śiva. He was the son of Lakṣmaṇa as the colophon at the end of his work reveals.² He wrote a commentary called the Nidarśana on the Kāvyaaprakāśa of Mammaṭa in 1665 A. D.³ There is a manuscript copy of it in the Bhandarkar Institute,

1) एतदेव राजानकतिलकेनाप्युक्तम्—

2) सहस्रक्षणनन्दनेन राजानकानन्दकेन रचितं

काव्यप्रकाशनिदर्शनं समाप्तम् ।

etc.,

3) H. S. L. by M. K., p. 758.

Poona.¹ The period of his literary activity may be placed in the latter half of the 17th century A. D.

The Nidarṣana is also called शितिकण्ठनिबोधन which means that it is the perception of Śiva. The reason which he gives for calling it so is that it is his endeavour to interpret the work of Mammaṭa as having, besides its ordinary meaning, a mystical sense relating to the worship of God Śiva. This is revealed by his own statement with reference to the maṅgalaśloka of Mammata's work.² Ānanda also refers to the commentaries of Vidyācakravartin and Subuddhimiśra on the Kāyaprakāśa in his Nidarṣana. He is still remembered in the tradition of the Kashmirian Pandits as the contemporary and friend of Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha who is now dealt with.

15.—RĀJĀNAKA RATNAKANṬHA (1675-1725 A. D.)

With Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha we come almost to modern times. He was the son of Sankarakanṭha of Dhaumyāyanagotra. He gives a detailed account of his commentary on the Stutikusumāñjali of Jagaddhara.³

1) Ms. 246/1875-76 of Govt. Collections of Mss.

B. O. R. I. Poona.

2) राजानककुलतिलको मम्मटनामा देशिकवरः लौकिकस्य
काव्यप्रकाशने प्रवृत्तोऽपि अन्यतरस्य काव्यस्य शिवतत्त्वस्य
प्रकाशिकाममेदप्रयोत्थापिकां शुद्धविद्यां दर्शयति ॥

3) वसुगन्यत्यष्टमिवैर्मिते (१७३८) विक्रमभूपतेः ।
अवरङ्गमहीपाले कृत्स्नां शासति मेदिनीम् ॥

बालानां सुखबोधाय हर्षाय विदुषां कृता ।
जगद्धरकवेः काव्ये तेनैवा लघुपंजिका ॥

इति श्रीराजानकशंकरकण्ठात्मजरत्नकण्ठविरचितया लघुपंजिकया
समेतं काश्मीरकमहाकवि—

The date of his composition is also given there. On the basis of this his date may be placed between the last quarter of the 17th century and the first quarter of the 18th century A. D.

Ratnakanṭha was born in an illustrious family of poets commencing from Ānanda who is different from his contemporary of the same name mentioned before. He was an excellent scribe of the Śārādā script as several manuscripts written by him seem to have been preserved even now in Kashmir. He is a poet and a Rhetorician. He has written a commentary called the Śārasamuccaya on the Kāvya prakāśa of Mammaṭa. It contains a resume of Jayantī and other earlier commentaries on Mammaṭa's work. He seems to have written several other commentaries on various Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit Literature.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We may now be in a position broadly to lay down chronologically the vicissitudes of the Science of Poetics handled by Kashmirian writers beginning with Bhāmaha and ending with Ratnakanṭha. The Literature that existed prior to Bhāmaha on the subject appears to be scattered and fragmentary. The period from Bhāmaha to Ānandavardhana was very busy and fruitful as it was during this period that several new theories, based on the fundamental concepts enunciated in Bharata, were propounded. To this period alone belong all the major original works on Poetics all of which are written most probably by Kashmirians. This may be called the creative period. The next period from the middle of the 9th century to

the middle of the 11th century A. D. i. e., from Ānandavardhana to Mammāta during which the Dhvani theory asserted its superiority over other theories and took firm root in the searching minds of scholars of the type of Abhinavagupta, may be called the definitive period. The Dhvani theory established itself so firmly and so definitely that none of the rival schools, though started by original thinkers like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Kuntala and Mahima Bhaṭṭa, could not gain a following or support from the scholars in general. The last period from the middle of the 11th century A. D. right up to the modern times in which Rhetoricians all over India merely followed in the path chalked out by Kashmirians, explaining in simpler terms what they had stated, may be called the scholastic period.

The Dhvani theory has taken such a strong hold of the scholars that we may as well divide the entire period into three broad groups namely :— the pre-Dhvani period, the Dhvani period and the Post-Dhvani period. Some critics group the various systems of Poetics into different schools of thought such as the Alaṅkāra School, the Rīti School, the Dhvani School, the Rasa School and so on. It may be stated that the contribution of Kashmir to Poetics in Sanskrit Literature is substantial both in respect of original works and commentaries. Taking all aspects into consideration, the first place among original writers can be assigned to Ānandavardhana and that among commentators to Abhinavagupta.

CHAPTER II

A FEW CONCEPTS IN SANSKRIT POETICS RECONSIDERED

ANALYSIS

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A FEW CONCEPTS IN SANSKRIT POETICS

RECONSIDERED

CHAPTER II

A few Concepts in Sanskrit Poetics Reconsidered

ANALYSIS

Preliminary remarks — The several schools of thought in Poetics — The fascination for the Dhvani theory — Vakrokti and its place in Poetics — Vakrokti as dealt with by Kashmirian Rhetoricians — Its wide implication — Dhvani and Vakrokti — Their mutual relationship — Kuntala's conception of Poetry as a work of art — His masterly treatment of Vakrokti in all its aspects — Subjective and Objective elements in Poetry — Vakrokti as the life-breath of poetry — The approach of Ānandavardhana to the problem — General agreement between Dhvani and Vakrokti — Rasa and Bhāva — The Vehicle of Rasa — Aucitya allied to Dhvani and Vakrokti — Aucitya as the soul of poetry, untenable — Kuntala's theory well-balanced — Conclusion.

CHAPTER — TWO

A few Concepts in Sanskrit Poetics Reconsidered

A deeper discussion of a few more important concepts in Sanskrit Poetics is now intended. It is known only too well that most of the schools of thought in Sanskrit Poetics are named after these concepts. Hence they are styled as 'Rīti School', 'Dhvani School', 'Aucitya School' etc. In the foregoing pages I have dealt with these only in a general manner, following the foot-steps of some of the celebrated writers on the subject. I have also considered several writers as the followers or representatives of these schools. All this treatment, however, of the concepts and the writers, was very general. In a broad classification of writers as followers of certain schools, no particular concept could be discussed in its entirety ; nor is such a discussion of all concepts possible in the limited scope of this Book. But in a deeper discussion of a concept, the fact, that the terms, by which these concepts are styled, are sometimes misleading, cannot be lost sight of. Even eminent theorists seem to have been beguiled into incorrect notions about them. In the polemics in which these theorists have often indulged, we come across certain criticisms on the rival schools of thought. At times these criticisms are directed against concepts, understood in their narrow significance, and hence do not appeal to the discerning mind.

We have seen how Alaṅkāra was once considered as the most essential thing in a Poetic Composition. Some other concepts also, like Rīti and Rasa took the place of Alaṅkāra while Ānandavardhana declared that Dhvani alone can be considered as the soul of Poetry.¹ He considers all concepts other than Dhvani as of secondary importance. He specifically states what part Alaṅkāras etc., play with respect to Dhvani and Rasa.² When, however, the Dhvanikāra thus does question the claim of Alaṅkāra as the essence of good poetry, he does so, perhaps, with the narrow sense of the term in his mind. In the same manner, such an eminent writer as Viśvanātha disposes off Vakrokti, another concept, taking it to be just one individual Poetic figure of speech.³ These two instances are given to show how comprehension of a term misleads not only laymen but even scholars who, as a result of it, are not able to evaluate properly the real implication and import of terms which have been used as the symbols of concepts.

- 1) काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यस्समाम्नातपूर्व-
स्तस्याभावं जगदुरपरे भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये ।
केचिद्वाचां स्थितमविषये तत्त्वमूचुस्तदीयं
तेन ब्रूमः सहृदयमनःप्रीत्ये तत्स्वरूपम् ॥ (Dhv. I. v. 1)
- 2) ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृंगारे समीक्ष्य विनिवेशितः ।
रूपकादिरलङ्कारवर्गमेति यथार्थताम् ॥ (Ibid II. v. 18)
- 3) अन्यस्यान्यार्थकं वाक्यमन्यथा योजयेच्च दि ।
अन्यः श्लेषेण काका वा सा वक्रोक्तिस्ततो द्विधा ॥
(S. D. X. v. 9, p. 483)

To some extent, these incorrect views may be due to the compelling fascination for the Dhvani theory which was felt by a large number of writers on Poetics. Even now the sway of Dhvani, as has already been mentioned, stands unchallenged in Sanskrit Poetics. I too have no mind to deprive it of the reputation it has won. However, I wish to point out if any concept other than Dhvani would try just to assert its own position. It will be hasty either to view it in contradiction with Dhvani or to completely dispense with it, thinking it to be not so comprehensive as Dhvani.

In Sanskrit Poetics, as in other speculative Sciences both terms and concepts have been susceptible to change. It has happened that concepts have undergone a considerable change though their symbolic terms continue to be the same. Even after the advent of the Dhvani theory, some writers on Poetics were courageous enough to assert that the soul of Poetry was something other than or different from Dhvani. They call it by a name already current in Sanskrit poetics, but with a changed significance. The symbolic term Vakrokti is one such instance on hand. Critics, in their zeal to uphold Dhvani, have not, in my opinion, sufficiently noted the change. In the case of Vakrokti as explained by Kuntala, it may be pointed out that the wide scope of the concept which its upholder has enunciated has not sufficiently been taken into account. Vakrokti literally means "Crooked expression" or "an artistic turn of speech" or "an expression with twist" or some such thing. But in Kuntala it has taken a very wide meaning and is used with a purpose and significance. Its course

is, no doubt, in Bhāmaha's utterance.¹ He says that "crooked expression" gives some extraordinary or transcendental meaning which cannot ordinarily be conveyed in their common usage. The sense of a poem is, according to him, revealed in an appealing manner (विभाव्यते) by Vakrokti. He also points out that every poetic Composition consists of Vakrokti.² This explanation of Bhāmaha is sufficient to indicate, how difficult it is to dispose off Vakrokti as one individual poetic figure of speech. When we actually go through the exposition of Vakrokti in all its aspects by Kuntala in his work, we realise that the line "अनयार्थो विभाव्यते" is full of deep meaning.

A few other writers on Poetics who came after Bhāmaha but before Kuntala have also given, either directly or indirectly, recognition to this concept of Vakrokti. We may, in this connection, quote Daṇḍin, Vāmana and Ānandavardhana by way of illustration. Daṇḍin is of the view that Śleṣa or 'double entendre' enhances the beauty in all words where there is this artistic turn of speech or twist. In fact, he says that the entire world of speech is divided broadly into two divisions namely Svabhāvokti and Vakrokti i. e., straight (natural unadorned speech) and crooked (ornamented speech).³

1) सैषा सर्वेव वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते ।

यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥ (K. A. II. v. 85)

2) युक्तं वक्रस्वभावोक्तया सर्वमेवैवदिष्यते । (K. A. p. 4)

3) श्लेषः सर्वासु पुष्पाति प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु श्रियम् ।

द्विधा भिन्नं स्वभावोक्तिवक्रोक्तिरिति वाङ्मयम् ॥ (K. D. II. v. 363)

That the implication of Vakrokti was sufficiently wide can also be shown by some more facts. For instance Abhinavagupta, perhaps, the strongest upholder of Ānandavardhana, while dealing with the Lakṣaṇas of Bharata identifies kāvya-lakṣaṇa with kāvya-bandha, and further on with Gūṇa, Bhaṇiti, Vakrokti and Kavi-vyāpāra etc. He also adds a remark to the effect that Poetic figures are not necessary constituents of poetry.¹ This means that the Lakṣaṇas of Bharata according to Abhinavagupta are not merely embellishing elements but constitute factors of a Kāvya. The scope of these Lakṣaṇas is as wide as Kāvya-bandha or Poetic expression itself. Even the Alaṅkāras are enlivened by the presence of Lakṣaṇas. The Vaicitrya or strikingness needed for an Alaṅkāra is provided by Lakṣaṇas.² Whether Bharata really held this view about Lakṣaṇas is not the point here. But Abhinavagupta's treatment of Bharata's Lakṣaṇa does not fail to strikingly remind us of Kuntala's utterances.³ This shows that Abhinavagupta was conversant with the ideology, if not the work of Kuntala, and also indicates that in the view of Abhinavagupta Kuntala's thought was by no means superficial. There

1) बन्धो गुम्फो भणितिर्वक्रोक्तिः कविव्यापार इति हि
पर्यायात् लक्षणं त्वलङ्कारश्चन्यमपि न निरर्थकम् ॥ (A. B. Chap. XV.)
Cf. Also 'The concept of Lakṣaṇa in Bharata'.

(J. O. R. M. Vol. 61. pp. 54-82)

2) उपाध्यायमानं तु लक्षणबलदलङ्काराणां वैचित्र्यमावहति ।

3) शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।

बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥

वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यमङ्गीभणितिरुच्यते ।

(V. J. I. vv. 7 & 10)

are also clear indications of Abhinavagupta going far deeper into this concept in poetics. To cite an example in this behalf Abhinavagupta, while commenting on a verse¹ of the Dhvanikāra which deals with the position of Vācyālankāra in relation to the implied sense, explains Vakratā in such terms as Kuntala too has used in his Vakroktijivita.²

Dr. S. K. De in his learned introduction to his edition of the Vakroktijivita of Kuntala (first two chapters) has rather elaborately shown how the words Vakrokti, Vakratā, Vicchitti, Vaicitrya, Vaidagdhya etc., used by different writers in different contexts in their works are all synonymous to one another. Vakrokti, therefore, is a term which conveys a deeper significance than what is contained in its literal meaning.

Even though Kuntala is considered as a representative of one of the rival schools of the Post-Dhvani period he does not appear to be antagonistic to the Dhvani theory of Ānandavardhana. On the other hand he seems to have recognised Dhvani as one of the most essential factors of his vicitra mārga. This is the opinion expressed by some of the well-known writers on Poetics. For instance, Ruyyaka says that in his extensive treatment of Vakratā, Kuntala has included all the essentials

- 1) वाच्यलङ्कारवर्गोऽयं व्यङ्ग्यांशानुगमे सति ।
प्रायेणेव परां छायां बिभ्रलक्ष्ये निरीक्ष्यते ॥ (Dhv. III v. 37)
- 2) शब्दस्य हि वक्रता अभिव्येयस्य च वक्रता लोकोत्तीर्णेन
रयेणावस्थानमित्ययमेवासावलङ्कारस्यालङ्कारान्तरायः ।
लोकोत्तरेण चैवातिशयः । तेनातिशयोक्तिः सर्वालङ्कारसामान्यम् ॥
(Dhv. III. v. 37 & pp. 208 to 210)

of Dhvani.¹ Apart from this, even Kuntala, while dealing with the manifold varieties of Vakrokti, cites, in some places, the very examples that have been cited by Ānandavardhana to illustrate the several kinds of Dhvani. For example the verse quoted by Kuntala to illustrate रुढिवैचित्र्यवक्रता is the same as that given by Ānandavardhana to illustrate अर्थान्तरसंक्रमितवाच्यध्वनि.² A verse from Śākuntala of Kālidāsa³ is quoted by Kuntala in support of निपातवक्रता and by Ānandavardhana to illustrate निपातध्वनि. Many more such instances can be quoted. It is, perhaps, this similarity that has led Mahimabhaṭṭa to remark that possibly Vakrokti is just a new appellation given to Dhvani.⁴ It, therefore, shows, as pointed out by Dr. V. Raghavan, that there is a close relation between Dhvani, Vakrokti and Aucitya.⁵

This is sufficient to indicate that the emphasis on Vakrokti by Kuntala was not for disregarding Dhvani. Can it be—as has been suggested by Mahimabhaṭṭa—an attempt to win reputation by just giving a different

- 1) वक्रोक्तिर्जीवितकारेण वक्रतादिभिः समासतो सर्वोऽपि
ध्वनिप्रपञ्चः स्वीकृतः ॥ (A. S. p. 8)
- 2) ताता आअन्ति गुणा जाता दे सहित एहि घेर्पान्त ।
रङ्गिकरणानुगा हि आइ होन्ति कमलाइ कमलाइ ॥ (Dhv. II. p. 62)
- 3) मुहुर्गुलिसंवृताधरोष्ठं प्रतिषेधाक्षरविक्रवाभिरामम् ।
मुखसंसविवर्ति पक्ष्मलाक्ष्याः कथमुन्नमितं न चुम्बिते तु ॥ (S. K. III. v. 22)
- 4) ध्वनेरेवेदं लक्षणं मङ्गयमिहितं भवति अभिन्नत्वाद्वस्तुनः ।
(V. V. I. p. 28)
- 5) "Some concepts of Alaṅkāraśāstra" 1942 p. 241.

name to an already established theory? Or did Kuntala have something in his mind which included Dhvani as an important factor that aspired to include something more also? These are the two questions that possibly arise as a result of the illustrations and the facts furnished in the foregoing paragraphs. They may be further analysed as follows. Kuntala flourished after the establishment of the Dhvani theory and it is highly improbable that so ingenious a Rhetorician as Kuntala should not realise its importance. To say that Kuntala raised his voice against Dhvani for self-laudation and opened a back-gate for it, would attribute bad motive to him. In order, therefore, to find a solution for this problem it is thought worthwhile considering the back-ground of Kuntala's thought.

As has just been pointed out, Kuntala has been audacious enough to challenge even reputed theories. He thought that, till then, no theorist had even the faintest idea about the inherent quality of poetry as he himself states :—

न पुनरेतस्य कविकर्मकौशलकाष्ठाधिरुदिरमणीयस्याद्यापि कश्चिदपि
विपश्चिदयमस्य परमार्थ इति मनङ्गमात्रमपि विचारपदवीमवतीर्णः ॥¹

This contention of Kuntala appears, at first sight, to insult some of the eminent writers on poetics that lived before him. But after careful scrutiny we find that it is true at least partially. None, except Kuntala, seems to be more intensely conscious of the fact that poetry is a work of art which is more the manifestation of the aesthetic instinct than of discriminating reason. Kuntala, in

1) V. J. I. p. 16

very clear terms, tells us that the Poetic composition cannot thrive merely on facts as they are.¹ A poet has an aesthetic vision which is concentrated on the most appealing and beautiful aspects of fact that forms the subject of his composition. This fact will, in his vision, be turned into an ideal and will be presented in such an artistic manner that a reader with sufficient aesthetic sense and appreciation is bound to derive pleasure in the manner as he does by listening to delightful music. This pleasure issues out neither directly from the words nor from their sense but from the artistic manner in which they are expressed or presented.²

Art creates the world which is enjoyable only by those who live an aesthetic life. It brings beauty within the apprehension of man. Facts form its raw material, skill is required in making the choice out of them and forming a new ideal pattern. Thus the office of art — which is to oppose transcendental pleasure — complete, is fulfilled. Poetic art is different from the art of sculpture or painting. For, unlike these, it has words as its material. Words are not lifeless matter like lime, mortar, or dust. They represent ideas, thoughts and even ideologies. Mr. Henry Thomas has beautifully expressed this as follows :—"The writer is an artist in

- 1) निन्तररसोद्धारगर्भेसंदर्भनिर्भराः ।
गिरः क्रयोनां जीवन्ति न कथामात्रमाश्रिताः ॥ (V. J. IV. v. 11)
- 2) उपर्यालोचितेऽप्यर्थे बन्धसौन्दर्यसम्पदा ।
गीतवद् हृदयाह्लादं तद्विदां विदधाति यत् ।
वाच्यावबोधनिष्पत्तौ पदवाक्यार्थवर्जितम् ।
यत्किमप्यर्थमत्यन्तः पानकास्वादवत् सताम् ॥ (Ibid I. vv. 17 & 18)

words just as the musician is an artist in tones and the painter in colours and lines. Words however are more difficult to use than tones and colours.....Yet, inspite of this drawback, the artist in words has a decided advantage over his fellow-artists in other fields. For, a word produces not only a song but an image and a thought. The skilful artist in words can thus be a musician and a painter and a writer in one. A good poem sings and paints and philosophises.”¹

- 1) “The living world of Philosophy” by Henry Thomas p. 209.

The same idea is also expressed by Mr. Samuel Alexander while speaking of the production of poetry :— “The Artist’s work proceeds not from a finished imaginative experience to which the work of art corresponds, but from passionate excitement of the subject-matter..... The poet’s poem is wrung from him by the subject which excites him.”

(Art as Experience by John Dewey, p. 64)

Mr. William Knight’s views are also similar :— “Poetry makes use of the medium of the language, painting that of pigments of all sorts, music that of sound, sculpture that of marble, metal or clay, an architecture that of stone, wood etc. The results arising from the use of language are more intellectual than those which arise in any other art. Poetry requires no other medium than language and rhythmic utterance.”

(Philosophy of the Beautiful by William Knight, p. 69)

How wonderfully these remarks agree with the utterances of Kuntala. Kuntala says that a fine poem gives ecstatic delight like music (Gītavat). He actually means more than what he says. A fine song gives pleasure by arrangements of the words, their sense, their rhyme and rhythm etc. But apart from that it creates an ecstasy in the mind of the listener. By comparing the effect of a poem with that of a song Kuntala implies that all this is true of poetry also. A talented person becomes restless by aesthetic experience and its expression becomes almost natural to him. In the case of a musician it is in the form of tunes. But in the case of a poet it is in the form of poetry, a particular form of language or words. Both these expressions are equally spontaneous. In view of what is to be markedly pointed out hereafter, this aspect of spontaneity is very important.

It is a well-acknowledged fact that a work of art and particularly poetry is a spontaneous expression.¹ Now, expression necessarily refers to a person other than the poet himself; while spontaneity is essentially subjective in its nature. Spontaneity also implies that there is no wilful effort in it; while expression does imply something of a conscious effort. The term spontaneous "expression" may thus seem to be an illustration of what is called व्याघात in Sanskrit. Nevertheless, Poetry is a spontaneous expression. There is no disagreement on this point. The expression of a poet is spontaneous. In it there is no conscious effort to express so that

- 1) कविता वनिता चैव स्वयमेवागता वरा ।
बलात्कारगृहीता चेत्सरसा विरसा भवेत् ॥

others should be impressed by it. It is also proved that such expression is not only most impressive but also effective. An effortless expression is bound to appeal to the hearts of cultured critics who are aesthetically sensitive. That is what Kuntala, perhaps, thinks when he writes, "Compositions of great poets are filled with the nectar oozing out of the lotus-like heart of Goddess Sāraṣvatī and hence they please persons with aesthetic taste, who are as good as bees."¹ Being fully under the sway of aesthetic charge a poet is not conscious of what he has to express in a way that would suit the palate of the readers. This is also specifically stated by Kuntala.² We do see that the subjective element plays a very cardinal part in the construction of a Poetic composition of the best type.

What, then, about the objective elements? Can the readers of a poem remain totally out of the picture? The answer to this question is simple as no Poetic composition can be considered without the part played by the reader in its appreciation. Every one has to agree with this statement. For it can safely be stated that if a poem does not appeal to a reader gifted with a high degree of aesthetic sense, it is a bad poem or no poem at all. Here we find that the test for a good poem is objective. The fact is that subject and object are interrelated terms. A subject cannot be a subject unless it has

- 1) सरस्वतीहृदयारविन्दमकरन्दविन्दुसन्दोहसुन्दराणां
सत्कविवचसां अन्तरामोदमनोहरत्वेन परिस्फुरद्— (V. J. I., p. 16)
- 2) अचेतनानामपि भावः स्वभावसंवादिभावान्तरसन्निधानमाहात्म्याद्
अभिव्यक्तिमासाद्यति यथा चन्द्रकान्तमणयश्चन्द्रमसः
करपरामर्शवशेन स्यन्दमानसहजरसप्रसाराः सम्पद्यन्ते । (Ibid, p. 24)

reference to an object ; again, an object without being related to a subject is no object at all. We, therefore, have to say that the subjective and the objective elements are inextricably interrelated in poetry. While analysing the elements of a Kāvya thus, we must bear in mind two facts namely (a) Poetry is a work of art, (b) the two elements of poetry viz., subjective and objective cannot be demarcated with precision.

With this view-point, when we look at the grand works of the writers on poetics in Sanskrit and their wonderful analysis of a Kāvya and its different aspects, we find that no author except Kuntala is sufficiently conscious of the two facts mentioned in the previous paragraphs. Kuntala points out, in very clear terms, that a precise analysis of Poetic compositions is not possible. According to him there can only be broad divisions.¹ This is the utmost point to which a writer on Poetics can go in respect of the classification of Poetic compositions. His scope is thus limited. Poetry is a work of art and a work of art is always the manifestation of the aesthetic instinct. It is not the manifestation of reason. Where reason tries to analyse it, it must realise its own limits.

The tests which reason would apply to analyse are objective. It is too much to expect that the significance

- 1) न च विशिष्टरीतियुक्तत्वेन काव्यकरणं मातुलेयभगिनीविवाहवद्
देशधर्मतया व्यवस्थापयितुं शक्यम् ।.....कविस्वभावभेद-
निबन्धनत्वेन काव्यप्रस्थानभेदः समंजसतां गाहते ।..... यद्यपि
कविस्वभावभेदनिबन्धनत्वादनन्तभेदभिन्नत्वमनिवार्यं तथापि
परिसंस्थातुमशक्यत्वाद् सामान्येन वैविध्यमेवोपपद्यते ॥ (V. J. I., p. 24)

of the subjective elements also, in full measure, can be revealed in such analysis. The success of many a Sanskrit writer on Poetics in this regard is indeed remarkable. But we have to say that Kuntala alone has categorically pointed out this fact and has laid stress on the point that poetry must be considered as a work of art.

His assertion that Vakrokti is the life-breath of Poetry should also be viewed in this context, remembering at the same time that he identifies it with Vakratā Vicchitti etc. His definition of Vakrokti is well-known¹ in the prose portion that follows, Kuntala says that Vakrokti is a mode of expression to which stirringness² is imparted by the sublime creative faculty or fancy of the poet's mind. Here again better understanding of this definition necessitates a glance at Kuntala's discussion of Alaṅkāṛti, Alaṅkārya etc. His illuminating remarks in this regard are worthy of perusal.³

The purport of Kuntala's utterance can thus be explained. A worldly object becomes the subject-matter of a poet's imagination. It may be a scene from nature or an incident that has happened. The poet first observes and begins to describe after he gets inspiration from the

1) उभावेतावल्कार्यौ तयोः पुनरलंकृतिः ।

वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यमङ्गीभणितिरुच्यते ॥

2) वैदग्ध्यं विदग्धभावः कविकर्मकौशलं तस्य मङ्गीविच्छित्तिः तथा भणितिः ।

(V. J. I., v. 11)

3) सर्वथा यस्य कस्यचित्पदार्थजातस्य कविव्यापारविषयत्वेन वर्णनापदवी-
मवतरतः स्वभाव एव सहृदयहृदयाह्लादकारी कान्यशरीरत्वेन
वर्णनीयतां प्रतिपद्यते ॥

(V. J. I., v. 15)

object, incident or happening. When its verbal picture appears, there is no such thing as its appearance first in crude form and then its embellishment later on. When it emerges from the heart of the poet spontaneously, it comes out fully charged with all the poetic beauty which at once appeals directly to a reader who is gifted with an aesthetic frame of mind and a sense of appreciation. Words that exude from the heart of the poet thus come out intrinsically with the charm of poetic imagination and inspiration. This charm need not be explained always by the speculative technicalities enumerated by well-known writers on poetics. The term *Vaidagdhya* implies all this. Further ornamentation or decoration of the poetic composition becomes quite secondary, if not unnecessary. The striking mode of expression or *Vakrokti* in Kuntala's parlance is such a spontaneous out-pour of the poet's heart and not an articulate form of speech. In fact he actually says that the word which has to be used in a particular context with a particular sense flashes to the poet's mind in such a beautiful manner that it affords immense delight to the mind of the man of taste or the cultured critic. There may be many words which express the same meaning but that particular word flashes to him spontaneously.¹ This is what Kuntala means by saying that there is a twist somewhere in the word or the sense or the sentence as the case may be. The beauty of a poem that gives supreme and sublime pleasure to the heart of

1) शब्दो विवक्षितार्थैकवाचकोऽन्येषु सत्स्वपि ।

सर्वः सहृदयाह्लादिकारी स्वसन्दसुन्दरः ॥

a reader is thus created by this super-normal attributes of imagination as a result of the inspiration.

The approach of Ānandavardhana to this problem can easily be seen to be very similar to that of Kuntala. He uses two expressions in his *Dhvanyāloka* which show that what appeals most in poetry is a thing "quite different"¹ and that "which is not to be found in the normal world."² From this we can have a hazy picture of what is actually going on in the mind of the great poetician of Kashmir, even though the picture is not sufficiently illumined. His idea seems to be that a poetic composition though constructed with all qualities like *Guṇa*, *Alaṅkāra*, *Rīti*, *Rasa* etc., will not create delight if it does not contain something which is quite different from what is conveyed by all these qualities put together. With these ideas he proceeds to explain what is exactly in his mind. But in his concluding remarks on the first *Uddyota* (flash) of his famous work we feel that the picture which he is attempting to present before his readers is made more hazy than before. The gist of his remarks is as follows :—"Those who say that the nature of *Dhvani* remains indefinable, say so without sufficient cogitation. Even after such a general deliberation and precise analysis of *Dhvani* — which is given so far and will be given hereafter — its indefinability is still to be maintained, then each and everything will remain

- 1) प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम् ।
यत्तत्प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लवण्यमिवाङ्गनाम् ॥ (Dhv. I., v. 4)
- 2) सरस्वती स्वादु तदर्थवस्तु निःष्यन्दमाना महतां कवीनाम् ।
अलोकसामान्यमभिव्यनक्ति प्रतिस्फुरन्तं प्रतिभाविशेषम् ॥ (Ibid. v. 6)

indefinable.”¹ Further on, Ānandavardhana accedes that if this indescribability of Dhvani is ascertained to show — by exaggeration — its superiority over other types of Kāvya, then the assertion too may be justifiable.² This is, in general, the trend of his thoughts. It can be seen from this that this great writer on poetics thinks that numerous divisions and sub-divisions of Dhvani given by him, should easily convince anybody, that the extraordinary beauty of Dhvani can be dissected; its indefinability is only figurative. He seems to rely too much on his analytical capacities. But that has made the concept of Dhvani “too ponderous” as Dr. Hariappa has pointed out.³ Kuntala’s work is also replete with the analysis of the different aspects of a Kāvya. A comparison of certain varieties of Vakratā with those of Dhvani will manifest that the scheme of analysis in the works of both these writers on poetics is almost similar.

Marking of this general agreement between Dhvani and Vakrokti will also help us in the consideration of these two together. Let us therefore turn to that. It is a plain fact that neither Dhvanikāra nor Vakroktikāra

1) कस्यचिद् ध्वनिभेदस्य सा तु स्यादुपलक्षणम् ।

लक्षणेऽन्यैः कृते चास्य पक्षसंसिद्धिरेव नः ॥

येऽपि सहृदयदृढयसंवेद्यमनास्थेयमेव ध्वनेरात्मानमाप्तासिषुस्तेऽपि

न परीक्ष्यवादिनः । यत उक्त्या नीत्या वक्ष्यमाणया च ध्वनेः सामान्यविशेष

लक्षणे प्रतिपादितेऽपि यदानास्थेयत्वं तत्सर्वेषामेव वस्तूनां प्रसक्तम् ॥

(Dhv. I. v. 29 & Vṛtti)

2) यदि पुनर्ध्वनिरतिशयोक्त्यानया काव्यान्तरातिशायि तैः स्वरूपमाख्यायते

तत्तेऽपि युक्ताभिधायिन एव ।

(Ibid)

3) “Kṣemendra Studies” by Dr. Suryakanta Int. p. viii

accepts either *Rasa* or *Alaṅkāra* as the soul of poetry as some of the earlier writers on Poetics have done. We need not enter into the discussion whether they are justified in their views are not.

Starting with the point that *Rasa* is not the soul of Poetry the argument that has been advanced by the *Dhvanikāra* for his views may now be broadly stated thus. *Rasa* is the outcome of the harmonious blending of sentiments or emotions (*Bhāvas*) called *Vibhāva*, *Anubhāva* and *Vyabhicāribhāva*, as stated by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*.¹ It can be understood from this that what is narrated in a *Kāvya* or a poetic composition is not *Rasa* but the *Bhāvas*. *Rasa* can never be narrated. It is a thing to be felt or enjoyed on seeing a performance on the stage or listening to a poetic composition. In fact narration of *Rasa* is considered as a fault or a *doṣa* in a *Kāvya* by critics. As *Viśvanātha* has suggested *Rasa* is to be felt by becoming one with it.² While feeling the *Rasa*, the state of mind of the feeler is entirely different from that when he apprehends the literal meaning of a poem.

According to *Ānandavardhana* *Dhvani* is not identical with *Rasa*. It may be called the vehicle of *Rasa*. So it ultimately amounts to this, namely, that the vehicle of *Rasa* is the soul of poetry according to him. The function of poetry is to impart aesthetic pleasure. That

1) विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः । (N. S. VI. p. 274)

2) लोकोत्तरचमत्कारप्राणः कैश्चित्प्रमातृभिः ।
स्वाकारवदभिलषत्वेनायमाख्यायते रसः ॥ (S. D. III. v. 3)

which imparts aesthetic pleasure is thus the essence of poetry. The experience of the pleasure is different from its vehicle. That experience is just like tasting the most delicious thing.¹ The upholders of the Dhvani theory and Kuntala describe it more or less in the same way. They seem to agree on the point that the essence of poetry should be considered as the vehicle of Rasa. That Vehicle is Dhvani according to Ānandavardhana and Vakrokti according to Kuntala.

Dr. S. K. De observes well on this idea of Kuntala.² The definition of Dhvani as given by the Dhvanikāra can be summarised in these words :— Where the conventional sense having subordinated itself or the word having subordinated its conventional sense suggests that (implied) meaning, that kind of poetry is called

- 1) यत्किमप्यर्थवत्यन्तः पानकास्वादवत्सताम् ॥ (V. J. I., v. 18)
स्वसंविदानन्दचर्वणव्यापाररसनीयाख्यो रसः । (Dhv. I., v. 4)

- 2) "From the prominence given to the analysis of Alaṅkāra it will be clear that Kuntala could not put enough emphasis on Rasa and Bhāva as elements of poetry. The Rasa is dealt with topically in connection with the poetic figures or the different mārgas in which it is involved, as also in the treatment of Prakaraṇa - Prabandha - Vakratā. Kuntala admits the necessity of Rasa, but regards its delineation apparently as a special kind of realising Vakratā in composition. He quotes with approval an Antaraśloka which lays down :—

निरन्तररसोद्धारगर्भसन्दर्भनिर्भराः ।

गिरः कवीनां जीवन्ति न कथामात्रमाश्रिताः ॥ (V. J. IV., v. 11)

Dhvani.”¹ The expressions “that implied meaning” or “some abnormal thing” etc., easily show, how difficult it is to define Dhvani, the soul of poetry. In spite of such implied submissions here and there, Ānandavardhana, as we have seen, has proudly expressed success in analysing Dhvani. It should, however, be remembered that the identity of Dhvani had to be established not positively but negatively i.e., by pointing out what it was not and not by clearly stating what it was.² The vehicle of Rasa itself is very nebulous. Several varieties of Dhvani are pointed out by various modes of expression; but while knowing Dhvani itself one has to be content with this indistinct view.

Let us recall here, the statement made before that two factors namely (1) Poetry is a work of art and (2) Its two elements — the subjective and the objective— cannot be marked out precisely, have to be remembered

He admits that it is not the mere matter or plot but the beauty imparted to it by the continuous development of Rasa which can make the words of a poet live, and in this he follows the dictum of Ānandavardhana; but as he has already the essentiality of Vakrokti, the Rasa could be comprehended only as an element of Vakrokti”.

(V. J. by Dr. De Int. pp. xxxv to xxxvi)

- 1) यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थो ।

व्यङ्क्तः काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति सुरभिः कथितः ॥

(Dhv. I. v. p. 13)

- 2) बोद्धृस्वरूपसंख्यानिमित्तकार्यप्रतीतिकालासाम् ।

आश्रयविषयादीनां मेदाद्भिन्नोऽभिधेयतो व्यङ्ग्यः ॥ (S. D. V., v. 2)

while analysing poetry. These facts or rather factors have been realised by writers on poetics ; but, as it has been shown, Kuntala has boldly accepted them and expressed them as they are. The scheme of analysis given by the Dhvanikāra is noteworthy and hence imitated by Kuntala also. But when he says that Vakrokti is the essence of poetry he points both to the the subjective and the objective elements in it. Vakratā like Dhvani, is the subjective element and remains nebulous. But when added with Ukti—the objective element — the whole concept becomes more comprehensive, tangible and concrete. Therefore I feel that Vakrokti, as the essence of poetry, is a concept which appears to be better than that of Dhvani. Several modes of Dhvani are, in fact, several modes of expression in which the suggested sense exists or appears. Will it not, then, be more appropriate to call them as the modes of Vakrokti ? Kuntala has not denied Ānandavardhana's ingenuity in classifying these modes.¹ But he shuns too much emphasis on the subjective elements alone. He combines both the subjective and the objective aspects together and gives a new concept. The soul of poetry is after all not Rasa even according to the Dhvanikāra. It is a vehicle to carry Rasa, that vehicle certainly has an objective purpose to serve. It can most suitably be served by expressions. Thus the expression full of strikingness (Vakratā) or twist can very well be considered as the essence of poetry as asserted by Kuntala. This view therefore appears to be more balanced.

1) वाच्योऽर्थो वाचकः शब्दः प्रसिद्धमिति यद्यपि ।

तथापि काव्यमार्गेऽस्मिन् परमार्थोऽयमेतयोः ॥ (V.J.I. v. 8 Vṛtti)

There is one more interesting concept in poetics which is closely related to Dhvani and Vakrokti. That is Aucitya which is upheld by Kṣemendra. It implies propriety or appropriateness of words and expressions used in a particular context. Kṣemendra fully discusses this concept in his work on poetics called the Aucitya-vacārarcā. It can be seen therefrom that the writer is not unmindful of the nature of indefinable elements in poetry which are to be subjectively felt rather than objectively described or analysed.¹

The definition of Aucitya is given by him in the following manner :—“The great masters have called that to be proper or appropriate which is verily suited to a certain thing. The abstract idea of being proper goes by the name propriety.² Further on he explains the importance of Aucitya in a good poetic composition and discusses its place in it. According to him, just as ornaments misplaced cease to beautify the limbs of a person so also Guṇas and Alaṅkāras misplaced make poetry

- 1) काव्यं हृदयसंवादि सत्यप्रत्ययनिश्चयात् ।
तत्त्वोचिताभिधानेन यात्युपादेयतां कवेः ॥
चमत्कारं करोत्येव वचः सत्त्वोचितं कवेः ।
विचाररुचिरोदारचरितं सुमतेरिव ॥
अकदर्थनया सूक्तमभिप्रायसमर्पकम् ।
चित्तमावर्जयत्येव सतां स्वस्थमिवार्जवम् ॥
स्वभावौचित्यमाभाति सूक्तीनां चारुभूषणम् ।
अकृत्रिममसामान्यं लावण्यमिव योचिताम् ॥ (A.V.C. vv. 30-33)
- 2) उचितं प्राहुराचार्याः सहशं किल यस्य यत् ।
उचितस्य च यो भावस्तदौचित्यं प्रचक्षते ॥ (Ibid v. 7)

ludicrous.¹ He quotes anonymously a verse² in the *vṛtti* to bring home the idea which he wants to convey.

Now, to mark out what is suited to what, requires an objective frame of mind. When the reader of a poem attunes himself with the feelings and emotions of the poet, we cannot expect him to be very discriminative. When, however, one becomes discriminative, we cannot expect that one would put one's heart into that of the poet. Reasoned discrimination would be able to concentrate mostly on the outward or external form of poetry. It is allright to show that propriety can be seen to exist in appropriate words, predicates, verbs, prepositions, particles, sentiments and such other parts of a poetic composition. This is clearly explained by Kṣemendra himself in the course of his treatment of propriety in a *Kāvya* ³

- 1) उचितस्थानविन्यासादलंकृतिरलंकृतिः ।
औचित्यादच्युता नित्यं गुणा एव गुणाः सदा ॥
(A. V. C. vv. 30 6 & Vṛtti)
- 2) यदाह—कण्ठे मेखलया नीतम्बफलके तारेण हारेण वा
पाणौ नूपुरबन्धनेन चरणे केयूरपाशेन वा ।
शौच्येण प्रणते रिपौ कलुषया नायान्ति के हास्यता-
मौचित्येन विना रुचिं प्रतनुते नालंकृतिर्नो गुणाः ॥ (Ibid)
- 3) पदे वाक्ये प्रबन्धार्थे गुणेऽलंकरणे रसे ।
क्रियायां कारके लिंगे वचने च विशेषणे ॥
उपसर्गे निपाते च काले देशे कुले व्रते ।
तत्त्वे सत्त्वेऽप्यभिप्राये स्वभावे सारसंग्रहे ॥
प्रतिभायामवस्थायां विचारे नाम्न्यथाशिषि ।
काव्यस्यांगेषु च प्रादुरौचित्यं व्यापि जीवितम् ॥
(A.V.C. vv. 8 to 10)

But we cannot, at the same time, overlook the fact that the objective frame of mind which is necessary for finding out or locating Aucitya in the various limbs of poetry takes a reader away from its flavour and beauty. A beautiful poem cannot be enjoyed to the maximum extent in this way. It may be that Aucitya is all-pervasive. But on that score alone it is not possible to say that it can be the essence of poetry. It may embellish poetry or make it more beautiful and attractive in many ways as shown by Kṣemendra. For instance, when he is discussing the place of a figure of speech full of the propriety of sense he says that good poetry shines with beauty in the same manner as a young lady who has a garland over her rich bosom.¹

Here we may say that Kṣemendra has followed Dhvanikāra. Kuntala and Kṣemendra are thus indebted to the Dhvanikāra in this respect. Both of them try to apply their theories from the innermost and basic principles of a Kāvya to its grossest form, making it all-pervading. The extension of their theory takes after the manner of Ānandavardhana. The subjective element in poetry is analysed by Ānandavardhana in an objective way. Kṣemendra goes to the other extreme of trying to establish Aucitya or suitability or propriety as the soul of poetry. This is hardly convincing. It is true that by applying the test of Aucitya a reader can easily find out the defects of a Kāvya.² But then the reader

- 1) अर्थोचित्यवता सूक्तिरलङ्कारेण शोभते ।
पीनस्तनस्थितेनेव हारेण हरिणेष्वना ॥ (A. V. C. v. 15)
- 2) "Kṣemendra Studies" by Dr. Suryakanta p. 78.

has to take the attitude of a critic. Aesthetic pleasure can hardly be attained by such an approach towards the study and enjoyment of poetry.

The subjective feeling of a poet presented in a poem is received by the objective reader into his own "soul". There is thus the attunement or the subjective and objective elements of poetry which indeed is the real consummation of a Kāvya. The element of Rasa in a poetic composition is a thing which has to be tasted and enjoyed by the reader. It is, as Dr. De points out, a mental state in which the person who enjoys and the actual enjoyment become identical. "The Rasa being a mental state, a subjective experience of the reader, in which enjoyment (Āsvāda or carvaṇa) is essential and in which the enjoyer and enjoyment become identical, the reader receives the represented feeling into his own soul and thereby enjoys it."¹ The aesthetic expression of a poet's heart, for a reader with aesthetic taste is the essence of poetry, in Kuntala's parlance. His theory thus appears to be more balanced and comprehensive than those of Dhvani and Aucitya.

1) H.S.P. Vol. II p. 327.

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J. H.S.P. Vol. II, p. 327.

CHAPTER III POETS OF KASHMIR

ANALYSIS

PART I—MAJOR POETS

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CHAPTER III

POETS OF KASHMIR

ANALYSIS

PART 1.—MAJOR POETS

Preliminary remarks — Candraka — Menṭha — Bhūmaka — Udbhaṭa — Sankuka — Ratnākara — Anandavardhana — Abhinanda — Sivasvāmī — Syāmala — Kṣemendra — Somadeva — Vāsudevakavi — Sambhu — Mankha — Jalhaṇa — Jayānaka — Jayadratha — Srivara — Vallabhadeva.

PART 2.—ROYAL POETS

Gopāditya — Gonanda — Mātṛgupta — Harṣa (Vikramāditya) — Dharmāśoka — Raṇāditya — Pravara-sena — Mukṭāpīḍa — Jayāpīḍa — Avantivarman — Kalaśa — Kanaka (Kankaṇa).

PART 3.—MINOR POETS

Mukṭākāṇa — Cakrapāla — Bhallaṭa — Kaiyyaṭa — Vallāṭa — Pāṇḍudāsa — Kalhaṇa — Jinduka — Alaṅkāra — Loṣṭadeva — Yaśaka — Laulika — Amṛta-datta — Jagaddhara — Baka — Śitikanṭha — Ānanda — Avatāra — Kamalākara — Vijayapāla — Hallāṭa — Ralhaṇa — Argāṭa.

CHAPTER—THREE

POETS OF KASHMIR

It need not be said that expression in Sanskrit language is at its best in Religious, Philosophic and Poetic Compositions. The Literary History of Sanskrit may fall into two broad periods namely. (1) The Vedic period and (2) The classic period. Not much is known about the former. On reading some of the specimens in the Samhitas and other literature, we come across certain beautifully-worded poetic utterances. Some of the Vedic Hymns might have been composed in Kashmir.¹ For, there is a clear reference to the rivers of Kashmir in the Ritualistic Hymns and Sāyana's commentary on them further confirms it.² Bhāskara, another Vedic commentator, also refers to the river Jhelum with great reverence.³ That the Vedas and the Upaniṣads are punctuated with highly poetic passages has already been pointed out in the general introduction.⁴

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- 1) In the following passages there is a reference to the rivers Indus and Jhelum of Kashmir.

असिक्रिया मरुद्वृषे वितस्तयार्जकीये शृणुह्या सुप्रोमया ।

तैत्तिरीयारण्यकम् —प्र-१०-अ-१

- 2) परुष्णिगयाऽसिक्रिया वितस्तया सुप्रोमयेति ।
पदचतुष्टयं तृतीयान्तं नदीचतुष्टयवाचकम् ॥

(T.Ar.p.704)

- 3) उपक्षयरहिता वितस्ता-तैत्तिरीयारण्यकम् पृ-६६.

- 4) Cf.p. ix

As regards the classic period, History has thrown ample light. There are many evidences which show that the poetry of Kashmir is unique. The poets of Kashmir wrote in the Vaidarbhi style.¹ Bilhana, in the poetical strain characteristic to him, says that the Goddess of Learning was playing on the lute sitting on the tongues of the poets of Kashmir.² This utterance of Bilhana might not altogether be baseless. For, the Kashmirians assert that their country was the abode of Sarasvatī and that it produced many poets who contributed to the development of Indian thought and Literature. In fact Sri Harsa' author of Naisadha, gratefully acknowledges the reception that was given to his work in Kashmir.³ The remarks of the commentator on this verse are also significant.⁴ These statements show the rich contribution that Kashmir has made to sanskrit poetry, even though some of the poets are mere names to us as their works have either been lost or not yet been recovered.

- 1) अनभ्रवृष्टिः श्रवणामृतस्य सरस्वतीविभ्रमजन्मभूमिः ।
वैदर्भीरितिः कृतिनामुदेति सौभाग्यलभप्रतिभुः पदानाम् ॥ (Vik.I.v.9)
- 2) जयन्ति ते पंचमनादमित्रचित्रोक्तिसन्दर्भविभूषणेषु ।
सरस्वती यद्वदनेषु नित्यमाभाति वीणामिव वादयन्ती ॥ (Ibid v. 19)
- 3) श्रीहर्ष कविराजराजमुकुटालंकारहीरः सुतं
श्रीहीरः सुषुवे जितेन्द्रियचयं मामहृदेषो च यम् ।
काश्मीरैर्महिते चतुर्दशतया विद्या विद्वद्भिर्महा-
काव्ये चारुणि नैषधीयचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोज्ज्वलः ॥ (Nai. XVI.v.121)
- 4) सरस्वतीजाग्रदधिष्ठानकाश्मीरदेशोद्भवैरपि विद्वद्भिः ॥
(Comm. on the above)

The kings of Kashmir appear to have been great patrons of learning as they themselves were good at composing poetry. We find ascribed some stray poetic compositions to these Royal poets in some of the anthologies in sanskrit. Besides these two classes of poets namely, major poets and royal poets, the names of many poets of Kashmir occur by way of reference in many existing sanskrit works and commentaries. So taking all these facts into consideration, this chapter is divided into three parts each dealing with a single class of poets.

PART I—Major Poets

1—CANDRAKA (100-125 A. D.)

Candraka (Candra) is perhaps the earliest major poet (dramatist ?) of Kashmir. Information about his parentage is not available anywhere. Kalhaṇa refers to him as a great poet, as the incarnation of Vyāsa and as a reputed dramatist who endeared himself to all the people by his plays.¹ Even Abhinavagupta refers to him as a dramatist of Kashmir who won fame by writing popular plays in sanskrit.² It looks as though he was more a dramatist than a poet. He probably lived during the reign of Tunjīna or Raṇāditya in Kashmir whose date is 103 A. D. as accepted by many scholars. But Cunningham is of the opinion that he must have lived in the

1) नाट्यं सर्वजनप्रेक्ष्यं यश्चक्रे स महाकविः ।

द्वैपायनमुनेरंशस्तत्काले चन्द्रकोऽभवत् ॥ (Rāj. II.v.16)

2) चन्द्रकेन स्वानि रूपकाणि वीररौद्राधिकोपयोगीनि संस्कृतभाषयैव ।

(N.S. Vol. III.v.131 Comm.)

early part of the 4th century A.D. As the majority of scholars are in favour of the earlier date, he might have lived somewhere in the first quarter of the 2nd century A. D.

Candraka seems to have written a work called *Nātyaprabandha* which has not yet been traced. But many stray verses ascribed to him are found in the anthologies and in a few works on poetics as illustrations of *Rasa* or *Alaṅkāra*. For instance, Kṣemendra quotes a fine verse ascribed to him in his *Aucityavicāracarcā*.¹ An equally beautiful verse is found in one of the anthologies.² Even western scholars seem to have been attracted by the beauty of these stray verses. Dr. A. B. Keith, for example, gives him a place among dramatists and quotes a verse in his *History of the Sanskrit Drama* which is also found ascribed to him in one of the anthologies.³ It can be seen that these verses are graceful and charming. In the opinion of a few scholars these stray verses, at least some of them, are supposed to be the *Nāndī Slokas* of some of his Dramas as they appear to be in the nature of invocation to one or the other of the Deities.

- 1) युद्धेषु भाग्यचपलेषु न मे प्रतिज्ञा दैवं नियच्छति जयं च पराजयं च ।
एषैव मे रणगतस्य सदा प्रतिज्ञा पश्यन्ति यत्र रिपवो जघनं हयानाम् ॥
(S.K.C. Vol. I. pp. 45. & 46)
- 2) प्रसादे वर्तस्व प्रकटय मुदं सन्त्यज खं
प्रिये शुष्यन्त्यङ्गान्यमृतमिव सिंचतु वचः ।
निदानं सौख्यानां क्षणमभिमुखं स्थापय मुखं
न मुग्धे प्रत्येतुं प्रभवति गतः कालहरिणः ॥ (Subh.v. 1629)
- 3) एकेनाक्षणा परिततरुषा वीक्षते व्योमसंस्थं
भानोर्बिम्बं सजललुलितेनापरेणत्मकान्तम् ।
अन्हश्छेदे दायितविरहाशंकिनी चक्रवाकी
द्वौ संकीर्णौ रचयति रसौ नर्तकीव प्रगल्भा ॥ (Ibid v. 1916)

The descriptions in the few specimens which are referred to above appear to be characteristic of a Kashmirian poet. They are so graphic that the reader often derives a rare pleasure. The verse quoted by Dr. Keith is also quoted by Dhanika in his commentary to illustrate a mixture of sentiments in a drama.¹ A few more verses that are ascribed to Candraka in the various works in Sanskrit are collected together and furnished in Appendix III. of this book.

2—MENTHA (450-500 A. D.)

Men ha, also frequently referred to as Bhartṛ Men ha, is the next Kashmirian Poet who enriched Sanskrit Literature by his Poetic compositions. No information is available either about his parentage or ancestry. He is supposed to have been the pupil of the twentieth Ācārya Śrī Śrī Mūkarbhakaśaṅkara of Kāma-koṭi Pīṭham along with another poet by name Rāmila. This is clear from one of the verses in which he shows deep reverence to his Guru.² He is held in very high esteem as could be seen from one of the verses that occurs in the anthologies.³ The word Menṭha means

1) इत्यादौ रतिशोकक्रोधानां समप्राधान्येनोपनिबन्धः ।

(D. R. pp. 91 & 92 Comm.)

2) रव्यातः श्रीशंकरेन्द्रप्रचुरस्तरकृपालब्धसाहित्यविद्यः

सद्यः साधूक्तसंमोद्यपि परकवितामर्षिणो मानुगुप्तात् ।

प्रौढा प्रौढोक्तिरुद्धैर्निविडरसमरैर्गुम्फनैर्यत्र मेदु-

मेधुर्मोदादिनादीद् हयवदनवधं वाङ्मयकुण्डस्त मेण्डः ॥

(H. S. L. by M. K. p. 552)

3) वक्रोक्त्या मेण्डराजस्य वहन्त्या सृणिरूपताम् ।

आविद्धा इव धुन्वन्ति मूर्धानं कविकुञ्जराः ॥ (Sk-m.v. 61 p. 44)

an elephant-driver and in the verse that is referred to above there is a reference to this sense of the word and also to the poet. He is also known as Hastipaka.

The date of Menṭha is not specifically mentioned anywhere. It has to be determined approximately with the help of a few references which are available. It has been stated that he was the pupil of the twentieth Ācārya of Kāmakoṭi Pīṭham whose date is known by other sources to be between 396 and 436 A.D. Kalhaṇa mentions him as a poet attached to the court of King Mātṛgupta of Kashmir.¹ Even in the verse that is quoted on the previous page there is a reference to Mātṛgupta by the poet himself. It may be that he was a contemporary of Mātṛgupta. This brings his date approximately to about the 5th century A. D. The well-known verse which occurs in Bālacarita, Avimāraka, Mṛchchakaṭikā and Kāvyaadarśa² is ascribed to Menṭha and Vikramāditya in the anthologies. We may, therefore, infer that Menṭha might have flourished in the court of King Vikramāditya the second whose date is known to be the early part of the 5th century A.D. On the basis of these

- 1) हयग्रीववधं मेण्ठस्तदग्रे दर्शयन्नवम् ।
 आसमाप्तिं ततो नापत्साध्वसाध्विति वा वचः ॥
 अथ ग्रथयितुं तस्मिन् पुस्तकं प्रस्तुते न्यधात् ।
 लावण्यनिर्याणभिया तदधः स्वर्णभाजनम् ॥
 अन्तरज्ञतया तस्य तादृश्या कृतसत्कृतिः ।
 भर्तृमेण्ठः कविर्मेने पुनस्तुतं त्रियोऽर्पणम् ॥ (Rāj. III. vv. 260-262)

- 2) लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः ।
 असत्पुरुषसेवेव दृष्टिर्निष्फलतां गता ॥ (Subh. v. 1890)

references, the date of Menṭha may be approximately placed in the latter half of the 5th century A. D.

Hayagrīvavadha is the name of the work that Menṭha wrote. It is a Mahā Kāvya and unfortunately it is lost. It was thought by some scholars to be a drama. But it is not so. Dr. Bühler's remarks in this behalf confirm this view.¹ Hemacandra is also of the view that this is the correct interpretation as he quotes Hayagrīvavadha as a specimen of a Kāvya (not a Nāṭaka) and declares that it was divided into sargas or cantos.² The work of Menṭha was probably very popular as could be seen from the numerous references to it by later writers. For instance Maṅkha, another later poet of Kashmir, holds him in high regard and places him on par with Subandhu, Bhāravi and Bāṇa.³ Soddhala speaks highly of Menṭha's elegant diction, poetic imagery and emotional appeal.⁴ Rājaśekhara refers to him as

1) "Mr. Troyer is wrong in declaring that Menṭha's great work, the Hayagrīvavadha, was a Nāṭaka. What is meant by the first half of verse No. 260 referred to in the previous page is that the poet showed the Kāvya to his patron and read it out to him till the end".

2) A. C. Chap. IV. end.

3) मेण्टे स्वर्द्धिरदाधिशोहिणि वशं याते सुबन्धौ विधेः

शान्ते हन्त च भरवौ विघटिते बाणे विवादस्पृशः ।

वाग्देव्या विरमन्तु मन्तुविधुरा द्राग्दृष्टयद्वेष्टते

शिष्टः कश्चन स प्रसादयति तां यद्वाणि सद्वाणिनी ॥ (S. C. II. v. 53.)

4) यः कश्चिदालेख्यकरः कवित्वे प्रसिद्धनामा भुवि भर्तृमेष्ठः ।

रसप्रवेदपि स्फुरति प्रकाशं वर्णेषु यस्योज्ज्वलता तथैव ॥

an incarnation of Vālmīki.¹ The author of Navasāhasāṅkacarita also commends his technique to other poets aspiring for artistic excellences.² Viśvanātha quotes a verse³ from the work of Menṭha which beautifully describes the conquest of heaven by the demon Hayagrīva to illustrate the figure of speech called Paryāyokti.

Even though the work of Menṭha is lost, a rough idea of the nature and popularity of his poetic composition can be had through the verses that occur as quotations in other works. The first verse of Hayagrīva-vadha is quoted both by Rājaśekhara and Kṣemendra.⁴ Another beautiful verse from it is quoted both by Raghavabhaṭṭa and Mammaṭa.⁵ A few more verses are

- 1) बभूव वल्मीकभवः पुरा कविः ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तृमेण्टताम् ।
स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया स वर्तते संप्रति राजशेखरः ॥

(B. R. I. Act. v. 16)

- 2) तत्त्वस्पृशस्ते कवयः पुराणाः श्रीभर्तृमेण्टप्रमुखा जयन्ति ।
निखिंशधारासदृशेन येषां वैदर्भमार्गेण गिरः प्रवृत्ताः ॥
पूर्णेन्दुविम्बादपि सुन्दराणि तेषामपूरे पुरतो यशांसि ।
ये भर्तृमेण्टादिकवीन्द्रसूक्तिः शक्तोपदिष्टेन पथा प्रयान्ति ॥

(N. S. C. I. vv. 5 & 6)

- 3) स्पृष्टास्ता नन्दने शल्याः केशसंस्कारलालिताः ।
सावज्ञं पारिजातस्य मंजर्यो यस्य सैनिकैः ॥ (S. D. p. 578)

- 4) आरम्भे यथा भर्तृमेण्टस्य—
आरम्भे सर्गबन्धस्य कथाविस्तरसंग्रहे ।

शमोपदेशवृत्तान्ते सन्तः शंसन्त्यनुष्टुभम् ॥

आसीद्वैत्यो हयग्रीवः सुदृढेशममु यस्य ताः ।

प्रथयन्ति बलं बाह्वोः सितच्छत्रस्मिताः श्रियः ॥ (Swv. III. v. 16)

- 5) यं प्रेक्ष्य चिररूढापि निवासप्रीतिवज्जिता ।

मदेनैरवणमुखे मानेन हृदये हरेः ॥

quoted in the anthologies and give an explicit description of wild elephants which are caught in pits. These are ascribed to Menṭha under his other name Hastipaka.¹ It may be that the compiler of these anthologies had a look into the work of Menṭha. Though fragments of the work are available in the anthologies, the description given therein indicates that Menṭha might have been engaged in the pursuit of hunting elephants. Some verses² which are quoted therein deserve attention as they are specimens of fine Poetic composition. Bhoja also quotes a few of these verses in his works on Poetics.

Tradition ascribes the authorship of another work to Menṭha. It is a poem entitled Rāmacarita which is

1) घासप्रासं गृहाण त्यज गजकलम प्रेमबन्धं करिण्याः ।

पाशग्रन्थिब्रणानामभिमतमधुना देहि पङ्कानुलेपम् ।

दूरीभूतास्तवैते शयनवरवधूविभ्रमोद्भ्रान्तरम्या

रेवांकूलोपकण्ठदुमकुसुमरजोधूसरा विन्ध्यपादाः ॥

(Subh. of Srivara v. 605)

त्यक्तो विन्ध्यगिरिः पिता भगवती मातेव रेवानदी

ते ते स्नेहनिबन्धबन्धुरधियस्तुल्योदया दन्तिनः ।

त्वहोमाननु हस्तिनि स्वयमिदं बन्धाय दत्तं वपु-

स्त दूरे क्रियसे लुठन्ति च शिरःपीठे कठोरांकुशाः ॥

(S. K. M. p. 88 v. 4.)

2) वाचो माधुर्यवर्षिण्यो नामयः शिथिलांशुकाः ।

दृष्टयश्च चलद्भ्रूका मण्डनान्यान्ध्रयोषिताम् ॥

तथाप्यकृतकोत्तालहासपल्लविताधरम् ।

मुखं ग्रामविलासिन्याः सकलं राज्यमर्हति ॥

न तथा नागरस्त्रीणां विलासा रमयन्ति नः ।

यथा स्वभावमुग्धानि वृत्तानि ग्रामयोषिताम् ॥

(Sdk. II. 18. v. 4) (II-21 vv. 1 & 3)

stated to be a Mahākāvya with one hundred cantos in it. The fact that Rājaśekhara has compared Menṭha to Vālmīki (whose incarnation he is supposed to be as already referred to) may lend some support to this tradition. It is still believed that a copy of it is available in Banaras. But unfortunately neither of these two works of Menṭha is available at present.

3.—BHŪMAKA (650-700 A. D.)

Bhūmaka is the next Kashmirian poet of importance. He is also called Bhaṭṭa Bhīma or Bhaṭṭa Bhaumaka by some scholars. Dr. Bühler calls him Bhīmabhaṭṭa in his Kashmir Report. From the title Bhaṭṭa prefixed to his name it can be inferred that he was a brahmin by birth. From the account given in the colophon of his work it is seen that the place of his birth was a small village by name 'Uḍu' very near Varāhamūla in Valabhisthān in Kashmir. It is, therefore, inferred that he was a born Kashmirian. Even now his birth-place can be identified near modern Baramula in Kashmir. But no information is available regarding his parentage,

The date of Bhūmaka cannot be definitely determined. It may, however, be fixed approximately on the basis of a few references available in the works of other Kashmirian writers. Kṣemendra mentions his name

- 1) समाप्तं चेदमर्जुनरावणीयं महाकाव्यं कृतिस्तत्रभवतो
महाप्रभावश्रीशारदादेशान्तर्वर्तिवल्हभीस्थाननिवासिनो
भूमभट्टस्येति शुभम् ॥
वल्हभीस्थानं उद्भूति ग्रामो वराहमूल्यकण्ठस्थितः ॥

while classifying Poetic compositions in general.¹ Bhūmaka seems to have written his work exactly on the model of Bhaṭṭikāvya otherwise known as Rāvaṇavadha and is similar to it in several respects. For instance, while Bhaṭṭikāvya is called Rāvaṇavadha, the work of Bhūmaka is called Rāvaṇārjunīya. Both the authors illustrate the sūtras of Pāṇini. While Bhaṭṭi wrote his work in Vallabhi in twenty-two cantos, Bhūmaka wrote his in Vallabhisthān in Kashmir in twenty-seven cantos. These similarities might also suggest that both the authors might have been contemporaries. If not Bhūmaka might have closely succeeded Bhaṭṭi. He is also quoted by Jayāditya in his Kāśikā. On the basis of these few references his date may, in all probability, be in the second half of the 7th century A. D.

As has already been stated the name of the work of Bhūmaka is Rāvaṇārjunīya. It is a Mahākāvya containing twenty-seven cantos. It begins with an invocation to Goddess Tripurasundarī.² It narrates the story of Kārtavīryārjuna and illustrates almost the whole Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini as the Bhaṭṭikāvya does. It has

1) शास्त्रं काव्यं शास्त्रकाव्यं काव्यशास्त्रं च भेदतः ।

चतुष्प्रकारप्रसरः सतां सारस्वतो मतः ॥

शास्त्रं काव्यविदः प्राहुः सर्वकाव्याङ्गलक्षणम् ।

काव्यं विशिष्टशब्दार्थसाहित्यसदलङ्कृति ॥

शास्त्रकाव्यं चतुर्वर्गप्रायं सर्वोपदेशकृत् ।

भट्टभौमककाव्यादि काव्यशास्त्रं प्रचक्षते ॥

(Suv. vv. 2, 3 & 4)

2) ओं नमो विघ्नहर्त्रे श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

ओं नमास्त्रिपुरसुन्दर्यै ॥

27

not yet been published. There is a manuscript of the work in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.¹ It is written in Kashmiri Devanāgarī characters. There are altogether 1475 verses in the twenty-five cantos which are available in the manuscript. The twentieth and the twenty-sixth cantos are missing. Each of the remaining cantos is given a special name at the end corresponding to the groups in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.² No name seems to have been given for the twenty-fifth and the twenty-seventh cantos.

The work of Bhūmaka can be called a Kāvyaśāstra according to the classification given by Kṣemendra. For, it is a work on a technical subject written in the form of a Mahākāvya. Though it is a scientific work on a subject like grammar it is interesting because its diction is that of a beautiful poetic composition which is lucid and graceful. It illustrates technical rules in grammar ; still there is charm and spontaneity in the composition. The very commencement of the Kāvya is extremely nice

1) Ms. 184/1875-76 of B. O. R. I., Poona.

2) १-गाङ्गुटादिपाद ५१, २-भूवादिपाद ७१, ३-आकङ्कारादि पाद ५२:
४-समर्थपाद ६२, ५-पूर्वापरपाद ३४, ६-अभिहितपाद ८४,
७-द्विगुरेकवचनपाद ३३, ८-प्रत्ययपाद पूर्वार्ध ६९, ९-प्रत्ययपाद
पश्चार्ध ५२, १०-कर्मण्यण्-पूर्वपाद ५१, ११-कर्मण्यण्-परपाद ५२,
१२-उणादिपाद ८७, १३-धातुसम्बन्धपाद ६६, १४-रक्तपाद ६३,
१५-प्राग्वहतेष्टपाद ५७, १६-वन्धानां भवने पाद ७५, १७-पादशत
पाद ७७, १८-एकाचोद्वेदपाद ४२, १९-लुगुत्तरपदेपाद ६५,
२०-युवोरनाकपाद ३२, २१-सिचिबुद्धिपाद ८५, २२-देविकापाद ५४,
२३-चौ चङ्युपधापाद ७०, २५-१४, २७-६७.

(N. B. - The figures indicated at the end of each canto denote the number of verses in it.)

as it gives a graphic description of King Kārtavīryārjuna.¹ The way in which the Sūtras of Pāṇini are illustrated is interesting. For instance, to illustrate the sūtra माङि डङ् and स्मोत्तरेलङ् च² he has composed an excellent verse.³ Again, while describing the battle between Rāvaṇa and Kārtavīryārjuna, he has gently omitted the Vaidik sūtras and taken only the sūtra of Pāṇini for illustration. Two beautiful verses indicate this.⁴ Thus, the work of Bhūmaka is full of charm throughout and is sure to win the admiration of scholars. The work by itself has the same utilitarian value as the Bhaṭṭikāvya. It is a rare work whose value can be estimated only by a keen and careful perusal of it.

There is a commentary on the work by Parameśvara. There is also a manuscript of it in the India Office,

- 1) श्रीमानभूदभूपतिर्जुनाख्यः कृती कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यसूनुः ।
 आलोक्य बं सिंहमिवाजिभाजं ननाश शत्रुर्गजनाशमाशु ॥
 यस्याध्यगीष्टाध्ययनेन तुल्यं लोकोऽयमुच्चैश्चरितं पुनानम् ।
 युद्धेषु पीनायतबाहुदेशं शत्रुव्रजः संकुटितं प्रनष्टः ॥
 (Rāv. vv. 1 & 2)

- 2) Pān. Ast. 3-3-175 & 3-3-176.

- 3) इति सपदि गदित्वा प्रस्थितं दूरमारान्नरपतिरिदमूचं तिष्ठ तावन्मुहूर्तम् ।
 प्रतिवचनमिदानीं याहि नस्त्वं गृहीत्वा न गत इति भवन्तं मा स्म वो-
 चदशास्यः ॥
 (Rāv. XII. v. 87)

- 4) राजन्यकं राजकमङ्गणस्थं मानुष्यकं कावचिकं च लोकः ।
 स क्षुद्रविद्रावणमस्य मेने दोष्णां सहस्रेण सहायमाजौ ॥
 स्नातः सितोष्णीपनिवृद्धकेयः श्रौमं वसानः प्रणिपत्य देवान् ।
 उपागतो बन्धुतया जने यो ब्राह्मण्यसम्भर्चदभौष्टकामैः ॥

(Ibid p. 105 vv. 48 & 49, S. K. C.

Vol. III. p. 53)

London which is exactly identical with that in Poona.¹ But the author's name given there is Bhaṭṭa Bodha. In a few other manuscripts of the work which are available in Malabar the name of the author appears as Bhaṭṭa Bhoṣa. This difference in the name of the author may be due to incorrect reading of the manuscript.

4—UDBHAṬA (750—800 A. D.)

The next major Kashmirian poet is Udbhaṭa, the well-known Rhetorician, who was the court-poet of King Jayāpīḍa as already mentioned. His date and his contribution to Poetics have already been discussed.² His contribution to Poetry will now be dealt with. In the Sadgurusantānaparimala it is stated that he was contemporary with Abhinavaśaṅkara, the 38th Ācārya of Kāmakotipīṭham and was so talented that he eclipsed all the eight great poets who were his colleagues in the Royal Assembly and earned from the king a daily salary of one lakh gold coins.³ From this it is clear that the eight poets referred to therein namely Kṣīrasvāmī, Manoratha, Īśa, Caṭaka, Sankuka, Damodara, Ḍankya and Vāmana were his contemporaries.

- 1) I. O. Ms. No. 7883
- 2) Cf. pp. 19 to 21.
- 3) क्षीरस्वामिनोरयेशचटकश्रीसन्धिमुख्यक-
 श्रीदामोपरदंक्वामनमहोपाध्यायमुख्यान् कवीन् ।
 एत । प्यभिभूय दुर्जयतया मन्त्रेन्द्रतः प्रत्यहं
 यो दीनारकलश्चेतनवहः कोऽस्त्यग्रतः सोऽप्यभूत् ॥

(H. S. L. by M. K. p. 736)

His poetical work is called Kumārasambhava, a Kāvya which is now lost and exists only in fragments in the illustrations quoted from it in his Kāvyaālankārasangraha. These verses are collected together by Sri M. Krishnamacharya in his history of Sanskrit Literature and are reproduced in Appendix IV of this book. They are simple and graceful. King Jayāpīḍa recognised the poet's talents and made him the President of the Royal Assembly of Poets in Kashmir during his time. For, the king himself was gifted with a high degree of aesthetic sense and tastes. Kalhaṇa gives an interesting account of an incident which occurred during his time and which gives an idea of the aesthetic taste of the king.¹ According to it King Jayāpīḍa once went round the country in disguise with a feigned name Kallaṭa. While witnessing Bharatanāṭya in the temple of Kārtikeya at Paundravardhana in Gauḍa which was then ruled by King Jayanta, he was so taken up by the graces of the art of dancing that he took with him one of the artists Kamalā by name and made her his queen. It was, probably, at the request of this king that Udbhaṭa wrote his Mahākāvya.

The entire Kāvya seems to have been written in the śloka Metre. The verses are simple but graceful and elegant. They flow without effort revealing the Poet's command over Sanskrit Language and Idiom. The descriptions are graphic and the style is smooth-flowing. The description of Goddess Umā in penance, for instance

1) Rāj. IV. vv. 421 to 433.

is very nice.¹ It is really unfortunate that such a fine composition as this is lost to us for ever.

5—SANKUKA (830—850 A. D.)

Sankuka is, chronologically, the next major poet who is reputed to be the author of a Mahākāvya by name Bhuvanābhyudaya. The subject-matter of the Kāvya is the description of the battle between Mamma and Utpala which took place somewhere about 850 A.D. This work seems to have been written during the reign of King Ajitāpīḍa of Kashmir who ruled from 814 to 851 A. D. Kalhaṇa mentions all these facts in his chronicle.² But the Kāvya has not yet been discovered. A manuscript of it appears to be available even now in Kashmir. Dr. Bühler tried in vain to secure a copy of it from the Pandits of Kashmir. He has clearly stated as follows :—"After long enquiries Pandit Dāmodara obtained however, a clue to the existence of the Bhuvanābhyudaya. But his efforts to extract the Manuscript from the

1) स गौरीशिखरं गत्वा ददर्शोमां तपःकृशाम् ।

राहुपीतप्रभस्येन्दोः जयन्तीं दूरतस्तनुम् ॥

अङ्गलेखामकाश्मीरसमालम्भनपिञ्जराम्

अनलककताग्राभामोष्टमुद्रां च विभ्रतीम् ॥

(H. S, L. by M. K. p. 737)

2) अथ मम्मोत्पलकयोद्धदभूदाख्यो रणः ।

रुद्धप्रवाहा यत्रसीद्वितस्ता सुभटैर्हतैः ॥

कविर्युधमनस्सिन्धुशशङ्कः शङ्कुकाभिधः ।

यमुद्दिश्याकरोत्काव्यं भुवनाभ्युदयाभिधम् ॥

(Rāj, IV. vv. 704 & 705)

ignorant owner seem to have remained hitherto without result.”¹

A Rhetorician by name Sankuka has already been dealt with in the chapter on Poetics.² These two Sankukas may not be identical. For, the Sankuka that is referred to by Kalhaṇa is only a poet and not a Rhetorician or a commentator. He is also the son of Bhaṭṭa Sankara (reading शङ्कर for शशाङ्क in the verse of Kalhaṇa referred to above). But one of the anthologies ascribes a verse to one Sankuka,³ the son of Mayūra. The same verse is quoted by Mammaṭa as an example of Samuccayālaṅkāra.⁴ The remarks of the commentator on this verse are that Sankuka was the son of Mayūra.⁵ If it is so, he must have lived some time in the 7th century A. D. and so different from the author of Bhuvanābhyudaya whose date will fall somewhere in the 9th century A. D. He must also be different from the Sankuka of King Vikramāditya's court (one of the nine gems) referred to in the well-known verse occurring in the

1) B. K. R. (1877) p. 42.

2) Cf. pp. 131 & 132.

3) Subh. v. 1156

4) दुर्वाराः स्मरमार्गणाः प्रियतमो दूरे मनोऽत्युत्सुकं

गाढं प्रेम नवं बयोऽतिकठिनाः प्राणाः कुलं निर्मलम् ।

स्त्रीत्वं धैर्यविरोधि मन्मथसुहृत्कालः कृतान्तोऽक्षमः

नो सख्यश्चतुराः कथं तु विरहस्तोदव्य इत्थं शठः ॥

(K. P. X. v. 507)

5) मयूरसूतोः शंकुकस्य पञ्चमिदमिति शाङ्कधरपद्धतौ स्पष्टम् ॥

work Jyotirvidābharāṇa ascribed to Kālidāsa.¹ Thus there might have been three persons bearing the name Sankuka who occur at different periods in the History of Sanskrit Literature.² The names of the works written by the earlier two Sankukas (other than the author of Bhuvanābhyudaya) are not available. In the case of the third the name of the work is available but a copy of it has not yet been recovered. A few verses are ascribed to Sankuka in the anthologies.³ It is not possible to say which of the three Sankukas wrote these verses.

6—RĀJĀNAKA RATNĀKARA VĀGĪSVARA

(850—900 A. D.)

Rājānaka Ratnākara is, according to Dr. Bühler, the oldest major poet of Kashmir one of whose compositions has survived to the present day. From the details available in the first verse⁴ of the Praśasti occurring at the end of his work, it is seen that he was

- 1) धन्वन्तरिक्षपङ्ककामरसिंहशङ्कुमेतालभट्टघटकर्परकालिद साः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नववि क्रमस्य ॥
- 2) S. K. C. Vol. II. p. 20.
- 3) गुल्फा स्तनभारेण मुखचन्द्रेण भास्वता ।
शनैश्चराभ्यां पादाभ्यां रेजे ग्रहमयीव सा ॥
गुल्फा स्तनभारेण सोपविष्टा तथा
यथा तत्क्षणमेवात्मा तथा न्यायसमा गतिः ॥

(Subh. vv. 1233 & 1234)

- 4) श्रीदुर्गदत्तनिजवंशहिमाद्रिसानुगङ्गाहृदाशवसुतामृतभानुसूनुः ।
रत्नाकरो ललितवन्धमिदं व्यधत्त चन्द्रार्धचूडचरिताश्रयचार्काढ्यम् ॥

the son of Amṛtabhānu and a descendant of Durgadatta who lived in Gaṅgāhrada in Kashmir. It is thus clear that he was a Kashmirian by birth. The title Rājānaka prefixed to his name further confirms this. Dr. Bühler's remarks in this behalf also lend support to this view. He says :—'His descendants lived in Kashmir at the present day. One of them showed me his pedigree which went back to Ratnākara' 1

A few references that are available in some of the works in Sanskrit help us to fix the date of Ratnākara fairly accurately. Kalhaṇa, for instance, mentions his name along with those of other poets who obtained fame under King Avantivarman who ruled Kashmir from 855 to 884 A. D.² The other poets were Muktākāṇa, Sivasvāmī and Ānandavardhana. From what is given in the colophon at the end of his own work,³ Ratnākara was a subordinate of young Br̥haspati and was patronised by a king. According to Kalhaṇa this Br̥haspati is an honorific epithet of King Cippaṭa Jāyāpīḍa who ruled Kashmir from 832 to 844 A. D.⁴ It

1) B. K. R. (1877) p. 43.

2) Rāj V. v. 34.

3) इति श्रीबालवृहस्पत्यनुजीविनो वागीश्वराङ्कस्य महाकाव्ये
राजानकरत्नाकरस्य कृतौ हरविजये महाकाव्ये देवदेव-
प्रतिष्ठापनं नाम पञ्चाशः सर्गः ॥

4) पृथिव्यापीड इत्येतन्नाम विभ्रत्स भूपतिः ।

समार्तिं सप्तभिर्वर्षैः साम्राज्यस्य समासदत् ॥

श्रीचिप्पटजयापीडो बृहस्पत्यपराभिधः ।

ललितापीडजो राजा शिशुदेश्यस्ततोऽभवत् ॥

(Raj. IV. vv. 675 & 676)

may, therefore, be assumed that Ratnākara began his Literary career much earlier under this king and was later on patronised by king Avantivarman who is gloriously described by Kalhaṇa as the resuscitator of learning in Kashmir.¹ On the basis of this the date of Ratnākara falls during the latter half of the 9th century A.D. Sri. M. Krishnamacharya quotes a half-verse² of Ratnākara and states that there is in it a punning reference to Murāri, a great poet and a dramatist in Sanskrit. From this he infers that the date of Ratnākara must be later than that of Murāri who has been assigned by some scholars to the eighth century A.D. This also fairly agrees with the date that Kalhaṇa assigns to him. But some scholars hold the view that Murāri's date has a greater proximity to the 11th century A.D. than to the 8th century A.D., as while Maṅkha and Śāradātanaya quote him, Bhoja and Abhinavagupta do not make any mention of him in their works. If the date of Murāri has to be placed in the 11th century A.D., then there may not be any reference to him at all in the verse quoted by Krishnamacharya. Moreover, the date of Ratnākara assigned on the basis of Kalhaṇa's reference is more authentic as it is drawn from historical data.

- 1) विच्छिन्नप्रसरा विद्या भूयः शूरेण मन्त्रिणा ।
 सत्कृत्य विदुषः सभ्यान् देशेऽस्मिन्नवतारिता ॥
 युगैः क्षितिभुजां योग्यै रूढमाना महर्द्धयः ।
 बुधाः प्रवृद्धसत्काराः विविशुर्भूपतेः सभाम् ॥
 (Rāj. V. vv. 32 & 33)
- 2) अङ्गोत्थनाटक इवोत्तमनायकस्य
 नाशं कविर्व्यधित यस्य मुरारिस्थिम् ॥
 (H. V. XXXVIII. v. 68)
- 3) S. K. C. Vol. I. p 277.

Ratnākara's chief work is Haravijaya. Luckily it has come down to the present day. It is an enormous epic-poem in fifty cantos which celebrates the defeat of the demon, Andhakāśura, by Śiva. The Story element has been taken from the Skāndapurāṇa and runs briefly as follows :—Andhakāśura sprang from the eyes of Śiva when Pārvatī covered them with her hands and so was born blind. Śiva then gave him to Diti who was praying for a son. The demon was then brought up by her. He performed a severe penance and obtained a boon from Brahmā by virtue of which he gained his power of vision. He then waged war on the Gods in heaven and succeeded in defeating even Lord Viṣṇu. By driving out the Gods from their abode he became the king of the three worlds. Ultimately when his tyranny and torture became unbearable Śiva slew him. The poet by his imagination and skill has developed this story into a Mahākāvya full of interesting anecdotes and beautiful descriptions of nature and human nature.

The poem begins with a fine maṅgalācaraṇa which is an invocation to Lord Śiva.¹ Then there is a description of ज्योत्स्नावती, the capital of Śiva, situated on Mount Mandara. This is followed by a beautiful description of Śivatāṇḍava² in the presence of Pārvatī. There is

- 1) कण्ठश्रियं कुवलयस्तवकामिराम-
दामानुकारिविकटच्छविकालकूटाम् ।
विभ्रत्सुखानि दिशतादुपहारपीत-
धूपोत्थधूममलिनामिव धूर्जटिर्वः ॥ (H. V. I. v. 1)
- 2) नन्दीशनिर्दयकराहतपुष्करेषु
मन्दं ध्वनत्सु मुरजेषु विभज्य तण्डुः ।
आसादितेषु परिकल्पितसम्भेद-
पर्याप्तशोभमथ ताण्डवमप्यगायत् ॥ (Ibid II v. 20)

an account of the advent of seasons in succession followed by a description of the Mandara Mountain. The theme of the poem is introduced for the first time in the sixth canto. Personified seasons approach Śiva for protection with spring as their leader and spokesman. The prayer that he offers is a summary of the Śaiva philosophy and is interesting and informative. Cantos 6 to 10 describe the consultations that take place among the Gods and the Gaṇas. Kālamusala, Prabhāmaya, Candīkeśvara and others are the leaders of the Gaṇas and are the principal speakers. Their speeches indicate the poet's proficiency in the Nṛtiśāstra. The result of these deliberations is that Kālamusala is sent as an ambassador to Andhaka's court on a peace-mission. The next 13 cantos give an account of the amusements of the attendants of Śiva, sun-rise and sunset, moon-rise and the stormy sea. The origin of Śiva in the Ardhanārīśvara form is also described here. The amusements that are described are similar to those in the Royal Harems of India. The knowledge of the poet in the Kāmaśāstra is revealed here. The next seven cantos describe the journey of Kālamusala to Svarga, the then capital of Andhaka, his reception, the speeches that were delivered, the preceptor Śukra's rabulistic reply and the final angry words of the ambassador. Kālamusala then returns to Śiva to inform him of the failure of his peace-mission. The three cantos which follow describe Śiva's war preparations. The last eight cantos describe the actual war between Śiva and Andhakāsura resulting in a crowning victory to Śiva. Even Viṣṇu and

Candikā are introduced as taking part in the war that took place between Siva and the demon.

Ratnākara himself says that he was an imitator of the style of Bāṇa and that he tried his best to show his skill in the composition of poetic embellishments. Even long meters are composed with ease revealing a command in the handling of sanskrit words. The style is anything but simple. There are passages which abound in grace and beauty. There is a particular reference to saffron which grows abundantly in Kashmir.¹ The last verse of every canto in the poem contains the words 'Ratna' and so the poet calls his work Ratnāṅka just as Bhāravi calls his poem Kirātārjuniya as लक्ष्म्यंक and Māgha calls his kavya as श्रयङ्क. Both Bhāravi and Māgha might have inspired Ratnākara to write his Mahākāvya. His poetic diction matches the sound to the sense and lends colour to the legitimate pride which is contained in the Praśasti at the end of his poem.² He is praised by Rājasekhara as a poet of vast learning gifted with a high

1) कादमीरकेसरपरागरुचिर्ष्यलोकि

लोकेन शोतकिरणस्य निशामुखे यत् ।

तद्भाव्यमानमिव नीरनिधेर्द्वय-

वीचिच्छयाभिरभवत्परिपाण्डुबिम्बम् ॥

(H. V. XIX. v. 5)

2) ललितमधुराः सालङ्काराः प्रसादमनोरमाः

विकटयमकश्लेषोद्धारप्रबन्धनिरर्गलाः ।

असदृशगतेश्चित्रे मार्गे ममोद्भूतो गिरो

न खलु नृपते चेतो वाचस्पतेरपि शङ्कते ॥

हरविजयमहाकवेः प्रतिशं श्रुत कृतप्रणया सम प्रबन्धे ।

अपि दिशुरकविः कविः प्रभावान्भवति कविश्च महाकविः क्रमेण ॥

(Ibid Praśasti vv. 2 & 7)

degree of poetic imagination and skill. Rhetoricians often quote Ratnākara in their works. Even as Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha are respectively known as दीपशिखा-कालिदास, आतपत्रभारवि and घण्टामाव by virtue of rare similes which they employ in their works, so also Ratnākara is often called तालरत्नाकर by virtue of a beautiful simile¹ which he introduces to compare heavenly glory (नाकलक्ष्मीः) to a woman carrying a pair of cymbals at the time of evening twilight when Lord Siva is engaged in his daily dance. There are many such beautiful descriptions in the Haravijaya which attract the attention of readers.² The special feature of the Kāvya is the ease and the frequency with which several cantos are composed in the beautiful Vasantatilakā metre. Kṣemendra makes particular mention of this quality of Ratnākara.³ There is a commentary on the Haravijaya which is called Viṣama-padoddyota. The commentator is, Alaka, probably a

- 1) अस्तावलंवि रविर्विवितयोदयाद्वि-
 क्लोन्मिषत्सकलचन्द्रतया च सायम् ।
 सन्ध्याप्रनृत्तहरवाद्यगृहीतकांस्य-
 तालद्वयेव समलक्ष्यत नाकलक्ष्मीः ॥ (H. V. XXII. v. 24)
- 2) तरलपल्लवताम्रकरा बभौ समधुमुल्लसितभ्रमरोत्पलम् ।
 कुसुमकोशमिवार्षयितुं लता विवलिता वलितापहृतस्तरांः ॥
 (H. V. III. v. 18)
- एषा विशालविशिखामुखविप्रकीर्ण-
 हन्योपकारकुसुमप्रवणालिपंक्तिः ।
 अभ्येत्य बन्धुजनतेव निशान्धकार-
 मर्काशुभिन्नमनुशोचति तारनादैः ॥ (Ibid XXIX v. 53)
- 3) वसन्ततिलकारूढा वाग्वल्ली गाढसङ्गिनी ।
 रत्नाकरस्योत्कलिका चकास्त्याननकानने ॥
 (Sub. III. v. 32)

Kashmirian, who explains only difficult words and phrases as the name of the commentary itself indicates. He is the son of Rājānaka Jayānaka and may not be the person of the same name who is the joint author of the Kāvya prakāśa with Mammaṭa. The commentary is incomplete as it stops abruptly in the middle of the 46th canto. The reason for this is stated to be as follows :— Alaka was a contemporary and pupil of Ratnākara. Haravijaya seems to have been left unfinished by Ratnākara and later on completed by one Gaṇapati. Another commentary on the Haravijaya is written by Vallabhadeva, son of Ānandadeva.

Ratnākara seems to have written a few other minor works. One of them is the Vakroktipañcāṣikā which is printed in the Kāvya māla Series.¹ It is a short poem in 50 verses and is in the form of an imaginary dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī. It is full of ingenious intricacies and is commented upon by Vallabhadeva who gives his name and parentage at the end.² One of the verses of this small work is quoted in the foot-note to serve as a specimen.³ Another small work, Dhvani-gāthāpañcīkā, is also ascribed to Ratnākara who may not be the same as the author of Haravijaya as already

1) Kāvya māla Series No. I. pp. 101 to 114.

2) आनन्ददेवसुनु शिशुपालवधायनेककाव्यटीकाकर्तु-

श्रीवल्लभदेवकृतं टिप्पणं संपूर्णम् ।

3) त्वं हालाहलभृत्करोषि मनसो मूर्ध्ना समालिङ्गितो

हालां नैव विभर्मि नैव च हलं मुग्धे कथं हालिकः ।

सत्यं हालिकतैव ते समुचिता सक्तस्य नौवाहने

वक्रोक्तयेति जितो हिमाद्रिसुतया स्मेरो हरः पातु वः ॥

mentioned earlier.¹ A Ratnākara Purāṇa has been referred to by Pandit Anand Kaul in his article on the history of Kashmir.² But there is no material to show whether the author of the Purāṇa is the same as the author of Haravijaya. A verse ascribed to Rājaśekhara and occurring in the anthologies is worthy of note here as it pays a fitting tribute to Ratnākara and his greatness as a poet.³

7—ĀNANDAVARDHANA (850-900 A. D.)

Ānandavardhana, the propounder of the Dhvani Theory in poetics was also a great poet of Kashmir. He was a brahmin by birth and the son of Nonopādhyāya or Jonopādhyaya as already mentioned before.⁴ He was a contemporary of Manoratha (a very popular name in Sanskrit Literature) who is mentioned by Abhinavagupta while commenting on a verse of the Dhvanyāloka⁵ and by

- 1) Cf. pp. 55 & 56.
- 2) J. P. A. S. B. 1940. pp. 195-219.
- 3) मा स्म सन्तु हि चत्वारः प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।
इतीव स कृतो घात्रा कविरत्नाकरोऽपरः ॥
(S. K. M. p. 46. v. 77)
- 4) Cf. P. 33:
- 5) यस्मिन्नस्ति न वस्तु किञ्चित् मनः प्रह्लादि सालंकृति
व्युत्पन्ने रचितं च नैव वचनैर्वक्रोक्तिश्च न्यूनं च यत् ।
काव्यं तद् ध्वनिना समन्वितमिति प्रीत्या प्रशंसन् जडः
नो विद्मोऽभिदधाति किं सुमतिना पृष्टः स्वरूपं ध्वनेः ॥
(Dhv. I. p. 9)

तथा चान्येनेति । ग्रन्थकृतसमकालभाविना मनोरथनाम्ना कविना ।

(Ibid Locana)

Kalhana.¹ His date falls in the latter half of the 9th century A. D. as already discussed before.²

It is not known how many poetical works Ānandavardhana wrote. He, however, specifically mentions the names of a few of them in his Dhvanyāloka. They are (1) Viṣamabāṇalīlā³ (2) Arjunacarita⁴ (3) Madhumathanavijaya⁵ and (4) Harivijaya⁶ (Haravijaya according to some scholars). Of these four works the Viṣamabāṇalīlā is a work in Prakrit. Verses are taken from it and quoted in the Dhvanyāloka by way of illustration. It might have been a compilation on the model of the anthologies in Sanskrit as it is stated that it was written mainly for the benefit of poets by such clear references as 'कविर्व्युत्पत्तये'. Even so Harivijaya appears to be a composition in Prakrit. But Arjunacarita is referred to as a Mahākāvya. None of these works is available at present and so no more information is available about them than what occurs in the Dhvanyāloka. While discussing

1) मनोरथः शङ्खदत्तः चटकः सन्धिमांस्तथा ।

बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥

मानी मनोरथो मन्त्री परं परिजहार तम् ।

अशक्नुवन् यमयितुं मध्यपातपराङ्मुखः ॥

(Rāj. IV vv. 497 & 621)

2) Cf. pp. 34 & 35.

3) यथा च ममैव कामदेवस्य सहचरसमागमे विषमबाणलीलयाम् ।

4) यथा मदीयेऽर्जुनचरिते महाकाव्ये ।

5) तद्यथा मधुमथनविजये पाञ्चजन्योक्तिषु । (Dhv. III p. 152)

6) पदप्रकाशता यथा हरिविजये — ध्वन्यालोक- पृ. १२७.

the defects in Kāvya,¹ especially the appropriateness of the main Rasa, Ānandavardhana quotes a fine verse from his own Arjunacarita.² This illustrates how, when two sentiments opposing each other are brought out in a Kāvya, they should be evenly distributed among the different supporting determinants. That is, the hero should not be made the object of both the sentiments; one of them should properly be transferred to his opponent so that the hero becomes more prominent in the story.

Ānandavardhana has also written a short prayer-poem called the Devīśataka. It consists of one hundred verses in praise of the Divine Mother Durgā (one hundred and four verses according to the edition printed in the Kāvya-mālā Series No. 9). The colophon mentions the names of the author and his father. Kaiyaṭa, the grandson of Vallabhadeva, has written a commentary on it. At the end of the commentary the names of the commentator and his guru and the date of his composition.

- 1) विरुद्धैकाग्रयो यस्तु विरोधी स्थायिनो भवेत् ।
स विभिन्नाश्रयः कार्यः तस्य पोषेऽप्यदोषता ॥

(Dhv. III v. 25)

- 2) यथा मदीयेऽर्जुनचरितेऽर्जुनस्य पातालावतरणप्रसंगे वैशद्येन प्रदर्शितम् ।
समुत्थिते धनुर्धनौ भयावहे किरीटिनो
महानुपलब्धोऽभवत्पुरे पुरन्दरद्विषाम् ।
श्रवेण तस्य तु ध्वनेर्विड्मन्मूढबन्धनं
ह्यशेषदैत्ययोषितां श्लथावभूव जीवितम् ॥

(Ibid p. 176 Locana)

tion are specifically mentioned.¹ According to it the date of the commentary is the year 4028 of Kali which corresponds to 978 A. D. when Bhīmagupta was the ruler of Kashmir. Nārāyaṇagarta is the name of the teacher of Kaiyaṭa. He is referred to with great respect as a deep scholar in many branches of learning.

The Devīśataka is full of śabdālankāra such as Yamaka, Śleṣa and Citrabandha. It is rather difficult of comprehension in some places due to the use of the figure of speech called 'pun' in which words of provincial language also are used with sanskrit words. For instance words of six languages are found used in a single verse composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre.² Similarly there are several verses in which only two or three letters are used. One of them in which only two letters are used is quoted as an example.³ Though the poem is a prayer to the Divine Mother, it reveals the skill of the poet in composing various types of Citrabandha in

- 1) बलभदेवायनितश्चन्द्रादित्यादवाप्य जन्मेमाम् ।
कैयटनामारचयद्विवृतिं देवीशतकस्तोत्रे ॥
एकायनस्याच्युततुल्यमूर्तेराचार्यनारायणगर्तनाम्नः ।
शिष्येण दन्धेयमनन्तशास्त्रवेत्तुः सदक्षेण च कैयटेन ॥
वसुमतिगगनोदधिसमकाले याते कलेस्तथा लोके ।
द्वापञ्चाशे वर्षे रचितेयं भीमगुप्तनृपे ॥
- 2) आलोलकमले चित्तललामकमलालये ।
पाहि चण्डि महामोहभङ्गभीमबलामले ॥
- 3) मेने नूनमनेन माननमुमा नोना मनानानुमे
नुन्मेनीनमनेनिमानममुना नाम्नानुमेनोन्मना ।
मौनेनानममानून्नमननन्नानामितानूनि मे
मुन्मीन्माननमानमीमुनिमनो मानान्ननोन्मामिनि

a Kāvya. The poet seems to have freely indulged in the construction of such bandhas in this short composition. It may, therefore, be stated that this prayer-poem might be an earlier composition of Ānandavardhana. The exact value of the poet's contribution to Sanskrit poetry can be determined only when all his works are made available.

8—ABHINANDA (850-900 A. D.)

Abhinanda was, perhaps, born in Kashmir about the same time in which Ratnākara lived. He was the son of Jayantabhaṭṭa, the author of Nyāyamañjarī. Later on he seems to have left Kashmir and settled in Bengal. Jayanta seems to have been popularly known in Kashmir as Vṛttikāra. This is clear from the detailed account of the ancestry that Abhinanda gives at the commencement of his work.¹ The ancestry is traced back to one Śakti

- 1) शक्तिर्नामभवद्गौडो भारद्वाजकुले द्विजः ।
 दार्वामिसारमासाद्य कृतदारपरिग्रहः ॥
 तस्य मित्राभिधानोऽभूदात्मजस्तेजसां निधिः ।
 अनेन दोषोपरमप्रबुद्धेनार्चितोदयः ।
 स शक्तिस्वामिनं पुत्रमवाप श्रुतिशालिनम् ।
 राज्ञः कर्कोट्यंशस्य चन्द्रापीडस्य मन्त्रिणम् ॥
 कल्याणस्वामिनामास्य याज्ञवल्क्य इवाभवत् ।
 तनयः शुद्धयोगार्द्धिनिर्धूतभवकल्मषः ॥
 अगाधहृदयात्तस्मात्परमेश्वरमण्डनम् ।
 अजायत सुतः कान्तः चन्द्रो दुग्धोदधेरिव ॥
 पुलं कृतजनानन्दं स जयन्तमजीजनत् ।
 आसीत्कवित्वकर्तृत्वफला यत्न सरस्वती ॥
 वृत्तिकार इति व्यक्तं द्वितीयं नाम विभ्रतः ।
 वेदवेदान्तविदुषः सर्वशास्त्रार्थवादिनः ॥

(K. K. vv. 5 to 11)

who seems to have migrated to Kashmir (Dārvābhisāra) from Bengal. It can be seen from this that Abhinanda belongs to a noble family of illustrious persons some of whom held responsible posts in the administration of Kashmir. For, Jayanta's great grand-father Saktisvāmī was a minister of King Candrāpīḍa of Kashmir who ruled there from 680 to 689 A. D. The names of the ancestors of Abhinanda commencing from Sakti are Mitra, Saktisvāmī, Kalyanasvāmī, Candra and Jayanta.

There is another Abhinanda (also called Abhinandana by some) who is the son of Satānanda and the author of Rāmacarita, a Mahākāvya in 40 cantos (the first thirty-six written by himself and the last four by Bhīmakavi). He calls himself the son of Satānanda.¹ Some scholars believe that this Satānanda is the same as Rudraṭa, the Kashmirian writer on poetics who too has stated that Satānanda was a second name to him and that he was the son of Bhaṭṭa Vāmuka.² If this view is correct then we have to consider this Abhinanda as a second Kashmirian poet who might have also migrated to Bengal and patronised by a king of that country for his poetic skill. But since there was another Satānanda probably in Bengal, some other scholars believe that Abhinanda might be his son. Two anthologies compiled

1) तथा तूर्णं कवेः कस्य निर्गतं जीवतो यशः ।
हारवर्षप्रसादेन शतानन्देर्यथाधुना ॥ (R. C. G. O. S. p. 39.)

2) स्वनामाङ्कभूतोयं श्लोकः कविना—
शतानन्दपराख्येन भट्टवामुकसनुना।
साधितं रुद्रटेनेदं सामाजा धीमतां हितम् ॥ (K. L. p. 53)

in Bengal quote quite a large number of verses ascribed to Śatānanda. It cannot, therefore, be clearly stated as to whose son this Abhinanda was.

The most controversial problem at present is whether these two Abhinandas are one and the same or are different persons. Dr. Bühler feels that both of them are one and the same. Whereas Aufrecht has clearly stated that the two Abhinandas are distinct personalities. Even on the basis of evidence that is available, it is more correct to say that they are two different persons. The arguments in favour of this view may be stated as follows. They are sons of different fathers, one of Jayanta and the other of Śatānanda. The author of Rāmācarita speaks very highly of his patron Hāravarṣa whereas the other Abhinanda is silent on that point.

The identity of Abhinanda (at least one of them) depends to a large extent on that of his patron who is very frequently mentioned in his work and praised extensively.¹ Sodḍhala praises both Abhinanda and Rājase-

- 1) एते निकामरसिकस्य जयन्ति पादाः श्रीहारवर्षयुवराजमहीतलेन्दोः ।
 यैर्द्वादशार्ककिरणोत्करदुर्निवारः सृष्टोऽभिनन्दकुसुमस्य महाविकासः ॥
 (R. C. I. v. 7)
- पालान्वयाम्बुजवनैकविरोचनाय तस्मै नमोऽस्तु युवराजनरेश्वराय ।
 कोटिप्रदानघटितोज्ज्वलकीर्तिमूर्तिः येनामरत्वपदवीं गमितोऽभिनन्दः ॥
 दीपः सतां स खलु पालकुलप्रदीपः श्रीहारवर्ष इति येन कविप्रियेण ।
 सद्यः प्रसादभरदत्तमहाप्रतिष्ठे निष्ठापितः पिशुनवाक्प्रसरोऽभिनन्दः ॥
 (Ibid II. vv. 10 & 11)

khara in his work.¹ Like Abhinanda he classes king Hāravarṣa with Royal patrons like Vikramāditya, Hāla and Harṣa. Who exactly this Hāravarṣa is, is not clear. It is seen from the account given in the Rāmacarita that he was a descendant of the Pāla dynasty² and the son of Vikramaśīla.³ Sometimes Hāravarṣa is referred to as Yuvarājadeva. It has to be noted that the suffix Pāla is not attached to his name as is usual with the Kings of that dynasty. Added to this the identity of King Vikramaśīlā has not yet been established. It has, therefore, to be concluded that neither the identity of Hāravarṣa nor that of Abhinanda can be definitely drawn from the material now available.

Both the Abhinandas seem to have lived almost at the same time. For, Jalhana mentions Abhinanda as a contemporary of Rājaśekhara. Abhinavagupta quotes

- 1) स्पष्टं यदत्र युवराजनरेश्वरेण युद्धुष्करं किमपि येन गिरः भ्रियश्च ।
प्रत्यायनं स्फुटमकारि निजे कयोन्द्रमेकासने समुपवेशयतामिनन्दम् ॥
वन्द्यः स विद्वानभिनन्दनाम् । विसम्भपात्रं वचनाधिदेव्याः ।
यायावरः प्राज्ञवरो गुणज्ञैराशंसितः सुरिसमाजवयैः ॥

(U. K. S. pp. 2 & 3)

- 2) श्रीधर्मपालकुलकैरवकाननेन्दू राजा विलासकृतिपङ्कजिनी विवस्वान् ।
सर्वाभिरामगुणपन्नरयैकनीरद्भुमो विजयते युवराजदेवः ॥

(R. C. I. v. 27)

- 3) किमिन्दुना चन्दनधारिणापि किमब्जकन्दैरभिनन्दवत्सलः ।
विचिन्त्यतामन्तरतापशान्तये स केवलं विक्रमशोलनन्दनः ॥
निर्मत्सरः कविरपि प्रभुरप्यवामः पृथ्वीपतिर्जयति विक्रमशोलजन्मा ।

(Ibid Int. v. 7)

him and Kṣemendra refers to the Kādambārī Kathāsāra.¹ Both of them mention that Abhinanda was very fond of the Anuṣṭubh metre. Rāyamukūṭa and Someśvara eulogise him in their works. Jayanta, the father of one of the Abhinandas, ridicules the Śṛṅgāra of Dāmodargupta and mentions Śankaravarman as the Ruler of Kashmir in his time. On the basis of all these facts it would not be wrong to place both of them somewhere in the latter half of the 9th century A.D.

As already stated Kādambārīkathāsāra and Rāma-carita are the two works now available with the authorship of Abhinanda. The first work is an epitome in verse in eight cantos, of Bāṇa's Kādambārī in prose. It is written entirely in the śloka metre. The second work deals with the incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa that occurred after Rāvaṇa carried away Sītā. The author seems to have left this work incomplete. It was later on completed by Bhīmakavi. The poetry of the Rāmcārīta is held in great admiration by many scholars. It was highly patronised by the King², as stated by the poet himself. A few verses ascribed to Abhinanda are found in the anthologies. But they are not traceable in either of the two works of the two Abhinandas. It is therefore possible to suppose that either of them or both might have written other

1) Suv. I. v. 16

2) येनाद्य रामचरितं चरिताद्भुतेन स्वेनाधरीकृतमतीव महीतलेऽस्मिन् ।

तेनैव पालकुलचन्द्रमसा तदित्यं उत्थापितं जगति पश्यत चित्रमेतत् ॥

(R. C. V. v. 10)

works also. One of the verses is quoted in the foot-note.¹ Another work by name Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra seems to have been written by an Abhinanda. It cannot be stated as to which of the two Abhinandas is the author of this work as it has not yet been discovered.²

9 - ŚIVASVĀMĪ (850 900 A. D.)

The next major Kashmirian poet of renown is Sivasvāmī who is described as a prolific writer and author of several Mahā-kāvya and plays in Sanskrit. As many as seven Mahākāvya, countless prayer-poems and stories and many dramas are stated to have been written by him, as could be gathered from a verse occurring in one of the anthologies.³ But unfortunately only one work of his has come down to us for the present. He himself states that he was the son of Bhaṭṭārkaśvāmī⁴ and that he

- 1) भूमेदैः कतिचिद्भिराकुटिल्या काश्चित्कियत्यस्मिन्तैः
स्वैरिण्यः कथयन्ति मन्मथरसव्यापारवश्यं मनः ।
कासांचित्पुनरङ्गकेषु मसृणच्छायेषु मध्यस्थितो
भावः काचपुटेषु पुष्करमिव प्रव्यक्तमालोक्यते ॥
(S. S. B. P. 234. v. 41)
- 2) S. K. C. Vol. II. p. 16.
- 3) वाक्यं च द्विपदीशतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सत क्रमात्
व्यक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षणाणि चैकादश ।
कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान् बहून्
विश्राम्यत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वाणो शिवस्वामिनः ॥
(S. K. M. p. 46 v. 80)
- 4) प्रेक्षाद् गोष्ठीधर्मघर्म्येण धर्म्या श्रीमन्मध्येऽध्येषणां प्राप्य तस्मात् ।
भट्टार्कस्वाम्यात्मजेन प्रणिन्ये सक्तिः सका श्रीशिवस्वामिनेयम् ॥
(Kap. XX. v. 44)

wrote his work at the instance of the Buddhist preceptor Candrasimha.¹ He is also popularly known as Bhaṭṭa Sivasvāmī or Bhaṭṭa Śrī Sivasvāmī which shows the great respect with which he was addressed. He was not a Buddhist by faith as he dedicates his work to Lord Śiva. He was a contemporary of Muktākāṇa, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara who all lived in Kashmir during the reign of King Avantivarman. His date can, therefore, be stated to be the second half of the 9th century A. D., as the King is known to have ruled in Kashmir from 855 to 884 A. D. He might have been a poet in the Royal court.

The name of the work of Sivasvāmī is Kappiṇābhyudaya. It is a Mahākāvya in twenty cantos. The nineteenth canto is written in Prakrit. The theme of his poem is novel as it is adapted from the simple Avadāna story in which the Buddha intervenes in a bloody battle that took place between Kappiṇa, King of Lālāvatī in the Vindhyas and Prasenajit, King of Śrāvastī. The poem opens with an invocation to Lord Buddha.² It is written in a highly ornate and complex style similar to that of Māgha so that it becomes difficult for an ordinary student to understand the verses. The poet is highly imaginative and skilled in the art of composing sweet and melodious poetry. He may be called a pioneer in the composition of Citrakāvya. The work is valuable as it helps to show the development of Kāvya in Kashmir and the influence of

1) Kap. XX. v. 43.

2) सर्वज्ञतादिगुणगोचरमाययौ या ध्येया यतोऽपि यतिबन्धुरबोधि बोधिः ।

सा सत्यनिर्धुतचतुर्विधविभ्रमार्तिमूर्तिर्द्दिशा दिशतु दाशबली शिवं वः ॥

(Kap. I. v. 1)

Ratnākara on his contemporaries. There is a close resemblance between this kāvya and the Haravijaya of Ratnākara. Like Haravijaya which is Ratnāṅka this is Sivāṅka.

There are many literary excellences in Kappiṇa-bhyudaya. Particular mention may be made of the spirited description of the enraged assembly in which the chieftains are pictured by the poet wringing their hands in wrath at the aggressive plans of the enemy, putting in mind of similar scenes in Bhāravi and Māgha whose works seem to have directly influenced him. It should not, therefore, be construed that he was a cheap imitator. On the other hand he is as profound in his originality as he is graphic in his descriptions. For instance the protests of the war-council against the policies of continued postponement and hatred and appeal of drastic action are described in an impressive manner.¹ The army marches through the Malaya mountains and several seasons are described while so marching. The description of pleasant excursions of lovers in the regions of sylvan beauty are equally interesting. Kappiṇa was successful in the expedition against his enemies. But in the end he turns philosophical, renounces his worldly attachments and becomes a pious and ardent follower of the Lord Buddha.

- 1) नृप तदलमचिन्त्यैर्नीतिचिन्तापरायैः सफलयतु भुजस्ते भृशतां बांछितानि ।
 असहनसहवृद्धा साहसैकान्तकान्ता व्रजति न हि नृपश्रीर्दीर्घतां दीर्घसत्रे ॥
 इयमिह ननु नीतिर्भीह लोकस्य माता प्रभवति विजिगीषोर्वस्तुनः कस्य सिद्धयै ।
 वहति नयविभूतेः शक्तिः प्रेसरत्वं सममिदमुदपादि क्षात्रमुग्रं च तेजः ॥

(Kap. IV. vv. 22 & 26)

The Mahākāvya is full of beautiful descriptions and poetic embellishments from the beginning to the end. The description of the moonbeams on one occasion is explicitly grand.¹ The effect of liquor and consequent infatuation among young maidens is nicely described.² The whispers of lovers talking in undertones are beautifully described by the poet.³ There are many such instances where the poet can be seen at his best. There seems to be a tendency on the part of the poet which appears to have found its full expression in the poetical works of Kṣemendra like the Daśāvatāracrīta. The poet is fully aware of the purpose of his art. For instance there is a fine description of enveloping darkness.⁴ In fact the poet actually expresses his aim in the concluding cantos of his

- 1) वेणीषु मूर्छामिव संप्रयाताः कपोलयोर्लीनमिवादधानाः ।
स्मितेष्विवोच्छ्वासमिदोद्बहन्तो विलासिनीः शिश्निलपुस्तिदुपादाः ॥
(Kap. XII. v. 16)
- 2) धृतसन्धिरसौ विचित्रवृत्तिर्विदधानः स्फुटशुद्धपात्रयोगम् ।
मधुवारविधिः सनायकाङ्गो ववृधे नाटकवन्नितम्बिनीनाम् ।
विनयान्विनयं स्मितानि पुष्पनयनानि भ्रमयन् वच्चांसि धुन्वन् ।
मुखराणि विभूषितानि कुर्वन् वरवेष्टो ववृधे मदो वधूनाम् ॥
(Ibid XIII. vv. 1 & 32)
- 3) मुहुरविशदा विस्मयमार्द्रा मुहुः स्मृतमन्यवो
मुहुरतरलाः प्रेमप्रह्ला मुहुर्मुहुरस्थिराः ।
वितथशपथोपालम्भाङ्गा मुहुर्मधुरा मुहुः
परिवृद्धिरे निष्पर्यन्ता मिथो मिथुनोक्तयः ॥ (Ibid XIV v. 12)
- 4) दिव इव निस्तैर्गिरिनीदीप्य इवोच्छ्वसितै-
र्भुव इव संहृतैः क्षितितलादिव चोलसितैः ।
जलधिजलोद्भवैरिव ककुभ्यइवोत्फलितै-
स्तमिरकुलैरनीषदुदमेभि मयी मलिनैः ॥ (Ibid XI v. 30)

great poetic composition which has won the appreciation of many scholars.¹ The work itself has been edited by Prof. Gowrisankar of the Government College, Lahore in the year 1937. Thus the single work of Śivaśvāmī has proved itself to be of great value in Sanskrit Literature. It can very well be stated that if all his works are made available then Sanskrit Literature would indeed be enriched.

10 - SYĀMALA (850-900 A.D.)

Syāmala appears to be the next Kashmirian poet chronologically. He is also sometimes called Ārya Syāmilaka or Bhaṭṭa Syāmala. He himself says at the end of the work² that he was the son of Vīreśvaradatta (Viśveśvaradatta according to some versions) who seems to have also been called merely Īśvaradatta. There are two poets of the name of Syāmala. One of them is the friend of Bāṇa and the other is the teacher of Mahimabhaṭṭa. Only the latter is a Kashmirian and is dealt with here. He calls himself a Mahākavi. His verses are quoted by Kṣemendra in his works on Poetics.

- 1) यद्वाणी श्रुतिमात्रकेण सुधियां चेतश्चमत्कारिणी
येनामुद्रि विरोधिनां मुखकुलं स्वोद्गारकौतूहलैः ।
तेनाज्ञानघनान्धकारपटलप्रक्षेपदीपांकुरं
व्यातेने कृतिनां कृते सुकृतिनां काव्ये शिवस्वामिना ॥
(Kap, XX v. 46)
- 2) इति कवेरुदीच्यस्य विश्वेश्वरदत्तपुत्रस्यायेश्याभिलकस्य कृतिः
पादताडितकं नाम भागः ।

There are some clues regarding the date of *Syāmala*. It is clear that he lived earlier than Mahimabhaṭṭa who was his student. Abhinavagupta seems to be the earliest writer to quote him. So his date may be placed in the latter half of the 9th century A. D. approximately.¹

The name of his work is *Pādatāditaka*, a type of drama called the *Bhāṇa*. *Śṛṅgāra* is the main sentiment in it. There is also plenty of humour in the play. The entire drama is written in a lighter vein. The author has not quoted *Vātsyāyana* anywhere in his work. The play describes the dealings of a foolish character *Viṣṇunāga* with a harlot. Once she kicked him with one foot and he appeals to an assembly of harlots for redress. It decides that he should be kicked by the other foot also. This is the plot of the drama which deals with characters of the low class. But some of the verses occurring in it are quoted in the anthology and by such writers as Kuntala. Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra and Bhoja. There are altogether 138 verses in it. Some of the descriptions are really good. For instance, the attachment to drink is nicely described.² Similarly the verdict of the assembly granting redress to the aggrieved party is described in an equally apt manner.³ The play is short, the plot is ordinary and the characters are of the common type. Still it is interesting to note the many references made to it by writers on poetics.

1) S, K. C. Vol. III p. 28.

2) ताते पंचत्वं पंचरात्रे प्रयाते मित्रेष्वार्तेषु व्याकुले बन्धुवर्गे ।
एकं क्रोशन्तं बालमादाय पुत्रं दास्या सार्धं पीतवानस्मि मद्यम् ॥

(P. T. v. 122)

3) तस्या मदालसविधूर्णितलोचनायाः श्रोण्यर्पितैककरसंहतमेखलायाः ।
सालक्तकेन चरणेन सनूपुरेण पश्यत्वयं शिरसि मामनुगृह्यमाणम् ॥

11 – KSEMENDRA (1025–1075 A. D.)

While the 10th century A. D. looks comparatively blank in respect of the contribution to Sanskrit Literature by Kashmir, the succeeding (i e., the 11th) century A. D. is full of many valuable compositions which greatly enhance the literary glory of Kashmir. It was during this period that Kṣemendra, also called Vyāsādāsa¹ lived and wrote many works. A brief account of his parentage and date has already been furnished.² His works on Poetics and their value have been dealt with before.³ He seems to have written nearly forty works and has rightly earned for himself the title 'The Polymath or Polyhistor of Kashmir'. He has written not only many works but also on many topics. All these works have not yet been discovered. About twenty of them are now available. He has described in them the state of Kashmir and the condition of society there at that time and has helped us to know a good deal about his country and countrymen. His contribution to Sanskrit Poetry will now be dealt with.

1) तस्यात्मजः सर्वमनीषिदिद्यः श्रीन्यासदासापरपुण्यनामा ।

क्षेमेन्द्र इत्यक्षयकाव्यकीर्तिश्चक्रे नवौचित्यविचारचर्चाम् ॥

(A. V. C. Colophon)

2) Cf. pp. 86 to 90.

3) Cf. pp. 90 to 91.

His works are generally classified into four broad divisions namely, Poetical epitomes, Didactic poems, Works on Poetics and Metrics and Miscellaneous poems. They also fall chronologically into five periods of his literary activity. There is not only variety in the form and content of his works but also literary excellence. The number of works shows that Kṣemendra was as versatile and prolific as his teacher Abhinavagpta. A rough idea about his works can be had from the table on the opposite page.

It can be seen from the table given in the next page that six works were written in the first period of the poet's literary activity, four in the second, four in the third, three in the fourth and four in the fifth. There are still about fourteen works which exist at present only in name and reference. There may be a few more works whose names also are not known. A brief account of the plan and summary of his available poetical works is now given in the following paragraphs with quotations from them, wherever possible, to reveal their beauty and utility.

(1) BRHATKATHĀMAÑJARĪ : This is a summary of Guṇaḍhya's Bṛhatkathā in Paiśacī language. It was completed in the 12th year of the Laukika era corresponding to 1037 A. D. according to his own statement.¹ The original Bṛhatkatha is now completely lost. The work of Kṣemendra gives an idea of its form

1) कदाचिदेव विप्रेण स द्वादश्यामुपोषितः ।

प्रार्थितो रामयशसा सरसः स्वच्छचेतसा ॥ (B.K.M. p.620 v. 39)

Sl. No.	Name of the Work	Subject-Matter	Period and extent
I-POETICAL EPITOMES			
1)	Brhatkathāmañjarī	Sanskrit rendering of Guṇādhya's Brhatkathā in Paisāci	I period 7509 verses
2)	Rāmāyaṇamañjarī	Epitome of the Rāmāyaṇa	I period 6391 verses
3)	Bhāratamañjarī	Epitome of the Mahā Bharata	I period 10548 verses
4)	Padyakādambārī	Epitome of Bāṇa's Prosework	I period
5)	Bauddhāvadānakalpalatā	Metrical Form of Avadānaśataka Stories	III period 7639 verses
6)	Daśavatāracarita	Epic Poem on the Avatars of Viṣṇu	V period 1764 verses
7)	Saṁvansa Mahākāvya	Not available	
8)	Amṛtaraṅgakāvya	do	
9)	Avasaraśara	do	
10)	Muktāvali	do	
11)	Lāvaṇyavatī	do	
12)	Pavanapañcāśikā	do	

II-DIDACTIC POEMS

Sl. No.	Name of the Work	Subject-Matter	Period and extent
1)	Deśopadeśa	Lectures on Social Customs of his time	II period 300 verses
2)	Narmamālā	Life of a Kāyastha in a humorous manner	II period 407 verses
3)	Nītikālpataru	A work on Rājapīti	III period 4000 verses
4)	Samayamātrkā	A hand-book for the Courtezans	III period 699 verses
5)	Sevyasevakopadeśa	An advice to the employer and to the employee	IV period 61 verses
6)	Caturvargasaṅgraha	Description of the four aims in life.	IV period 106 verses.
7)	Kalāvīlāsa	Description of Art	V period 551 verses
8)	Cārucaryā	Daily routine of a House-holder.	V period 100 verses.
9)	Darpadalaṇa	Seven-fold vanity.	V period 596 verses.
10)	Nītilatā	Not available	
11)	Vinayavallī	do	
12)	Munimatamīmāṃsā	do	

IV-POETICS & METRICS

Sl. No.	Name of the work.	Subject-Matter	Period and extent-
1)	Suṣṛttatilaka	A work on prosody	II period
2)	Kavikanṭhābharāṇa	An instruction in Poetics	III period
3)	Aucityavicāracarcā	A Treatise on propriety in poetry	IV period

IV-MISCELLANEOUS POEMS

1)	Vetālapaṇcavimśati	Deals with Vetāla Stories.	I period.
2)	Vyāsāṣṭaka	In praise of Vyāsa.	I period 8 verses
3)	Lalitaratnamālā	Not available—Mentioned in his works on poetics	II period
4)	Kanakajānakī	do	Probably a play
5)	Citrabhāratanaṭaka	do	do
6)	Rājāvali (Nṛpāvali)	Historical work—not available	
7)	Vātsyāyanasūtrasārā	A work on sex—not available,	
8)	Dānapārijāta	Not available.	

and content. The style in which it is written is simple. Both Kṣemendra and his successor Somadeva mention that they translated their works from the original that they had with them. They might have possessed a copy of the original Bṛhatkathā. The value of this work of Kṣemendra exists in the extent to which it helps the determination of the date of the source of which it is an epitome.

Kṣemendra divides his work into eighteen lambakas adding a nineteenth also as the concluding part. He begins his work with a Kathāpīṭha in which the legend of Guṇāḍhya is introduced. The second and the third lambakas deal with the story of Udayana and Padmāvatī. The fourth and the fifth deal with Naravāhanadatta and Śaktivega. The sixth and the seventh narrate the legend of Sūryaprabhā and Kaliṅgadatta. The 8th and 9th describe the tales of Vela and Lalitalocanā, while the 10th tells the tales of Vikramāditya. In the 11th the recovery of Lalitalocanā is narrated and in the 12th the tale of Mukṭāphalaketu is told. The 13th describes the finding of Madanamañcukā and the 14th contains the story of Ratnaprabhā. The 15th narrates the tale of Alaṅkāravatī, the 16th of Śaktiyaśas and the 17th deals with the recovery of the jewels from Vāmadeva. Finally in the 18th the resignation of Gopāla is described and the wedding of Avantivarman is celebrated.

Kṣemendra is faithful to the original up to the 5th lambaka and diverges later on. His work is full of interest because of the variety of stories in which it abounds. The poetic value of this work may not be of a high order. For,

the barrenness is visible in some places of his poetic epitome. Some elegant descriptions of incidents and events often afford relief to the reader.

(2) RĀMĀYAṆAMAṆJARĪ : Just as the Bṛhatkathāmaṇjarī is an epitome of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, this is a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. This is also of little poetic value due to many obscure passages occurring in it. This may show the condition of the text of the Rāmāyaṇa in Kashmir in the 11th century A.D. The work is brief and the style is tense. It is printed in the Kāvya-mālā Series No. 83.

(3) BHĀRATAMAṆJARĪ : Like the previous two works this is a summary of the Mahābhārata of the great sage Vyāsa. But unlike those two it appears to be a great success. For, he actually states at the end of his work that he became a famous poet only after he wrote it even though he was gifted with ordinary power of speech¹. He became popularly known as Vyāsadāsa only after he completed this epitome. Dr. Bühler writes in his Kashmir Report that his manuscript of the Bhāratāmaṇjarī bears the date 93rd year of the Saptarṣi era which corresponds to 1070 A. D. This view may not be correct as it is one of his earliest compositions belonging to the first period of his literary activity. However Kṣemendra might not have lived beyond 1070 A. D. The work does not

1) एष विष्णुकथातीर्थपुण्यवत्सलिलोक्षितः ।

प्रातः सामान्यजल्पोऽपि क्षेमेन्द्रोऽथ कवीन्द्रताम् ॥

(B. M. p. 851, v. 5)

appear to have any intrinsic poetic worth as it is often lifeless in the narration of events. Certain incidents which are found in the *Śāntiparva* of the original *Mahā Bhārata* (viz : Chapters 342 and 343) are not to be found in the epitome. The work is, nevertheless, important to the student of the History of Sanskrit Literature.

(4) *DAŚĀVATĀRACARITA* : This work was completed by Kṣemendra in the forty-first year of the *Laukika* era which corresponds to 1066 A. D., on the *Tripureśa* mountain in Kashmir as stated by himself.¹ It is printed in the *Kāvya-mālā* Series No. 26. It narrates in verse the stories of the incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu. It may not be considered as an independent composition. The source for this work is probably in the *Purāṇas*. The descriptions occurring in this work are vivid and charming. The story of Rāma is dealt with in the 7th Chapter. Rāma is made the central figure in it. It is, perhaps, the earliest work in which the Buddha is considered as the 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu. The style of the poet in this work is easy and flowing, and the ideas are new and original.

The social objectivity of the poet is reflected in this work. His deep insight into social life of his country appears to have helped him in grasping the fundamentals which are necessary for human happiness in this world which is full of misery. For instance, the part played by wealth or money in society is described in an appealing

1) एकाधिकेन्द्रे विहितचत्वारिंशे सकातिके ।
राज्ये कलशभूमर्तुः कश्मीरेवच्युतस्तनः ॥

(D. C. p. 164, v. 5)

manner.¹ A few verses occurring in the 5th canto of this work reveal the views of Kṣemendra on funeral ceremonies and social inequalities.² He very strongly advocates the complete liquidation of all those who oppress people.³ He is unable to understand why so much of social inequality should prevail when there is no difference between man and man fundamentally. The ideas of democracy and socialistic pattern of life are very much sponsored by the poet in almost every line of this particular canto of the work. The verses that are composed in this work show the improvement that has taken place in the calibre of his poetry. They also reveal the close contact that he must have had with the people of his country. Otherwise it would not have been possible for him to have depicted so accurately the many facets of of Kashmirian Society.

- 1) भीतोऽहं स्थूलमत्स्थेभ्यः रक्ष मां करुणानिधे ।
 भक्षयन्ति क्षुधा नित्यं दुर्बलं बलवत्तराः ॥ (D. C. I. v. 21)
 धनं नास्त्यस्ति वा स्तोत्रं तदधर्म्यं न तिष्ठति ।
 मुष्णाति दक्षिणं पाणिं वामो वामं च दक्षिणः ॥
 गुणा धनेन लभ्यन्ते न गुणैर्लभ्यन्ते धनम् ।
 धनी गुणवतां सेव्यो गुणी न धनिनां क्वचित् ॥
 (Ibid V. vv. 109 & 157)
- 2) श्राद्धोत्सवल्सद्बन्धुर्जीवर्ताव शवः श्रिया ।
 भोज्योपचारविरहाद्बन्धूनां निर्धनो मृतः ॥
 सदृशे पुरुषत्वेऽपि तुल्यपादकरोदरे ।
 एकः प्रभुः परो दासः इति चित्रविजृम्भितम् ॥
 (Ibid vv. 155 & 159)
- 3) मन्त्रिसेनापतिद्वयः स्थसभापतिपुरोहितैः ।
 उत्क्रोचद्रविणोत्तानपाणिभिः क्षपिताः प्रजाः ॥ (Ibid X. v. 14)

(5) **BAUDDHĀVADĀNAKALPALATĀ** : This book is a collection of jātaka stories. At first there were only 107 chapters in it called Pallavas. Later on Somendra, the son of Kṣemendra, added one more chapter and made the number of Pallavas 108 which is considered very auspicious. It is stated by him in the introduction that Sajjanānanda requested Kṣemendra to write the Buddhistic birth-stories. Even his dear friend 'Nakka' seems to have made a similar request. Accordingly the poet began writing the stories but seems to have left it after completing three Avadānas as the work appeared lengthy and tedious. But the Buddha seems to have appeared to him in a dream and instructed him to complete the work. With the assistance of his son and his teacher Vīryabhadra who was then an authority on Buddhistic texts, Kṣemendra completed the work in the 27th year of the Laukika era corresponding to 1052 A. D., at the beginning of the month Vaiṣākha as stated by him.¹ Sūryaśrī was the scribe. Śākyaśrī, a Pandit of Kashmir, presented a copy of this book to the Lama of Tibet in 1202 A. D. It seems to have been translated into the Tibetan language 70 years later by Son-ton-lochawa. The translation is considered as a master-piece of Tibetan poetry.

The first forty chapters of the work in Sanskrit were lost in India. One manuscript actually contains the statement that the first half was lost somewhere (पूर्वार्धं कुत्रचिन्नष्टम्). The Tibetan translation helps the restoration of these lost chapters by retranslating them into Sanskrit. The work

1) संवत्सरे सप्तविंशे वैशाखस्य सितोदये ।
कृतेयं कल्पलतिका जिनजन्म महोत्सवे ॥

(B. K. L.)

deals with and illustrates the six perfections of the Bodhisatva namely, charity, moral character, patience, diligence, contemplation and wisdom. It has been edited in the Bibliotheca Indica by Sri M. Saratchandra Das.

This, in brief, is an account of the plan and summary of each of his poetical works which are available. The other works which are mentioned under poetical epitomes are known only in name and some of them might have been lost. Because the poetical epitomes were written in the earliest period of the poet's literary career, there is not much of poetical excellence in them. Nevertheless they are not altogether devoid of value and importance. They put in a nut-shell, as it were, the nation's treasures before an eager people who are always ready to enjoy them. These works appear to have been very popular. Especially in the last two works mentioned above the poet attempts to show that Buddhism is only just a part of Hinduism and tries to reconcile the two religions by showing that they are fundamentally one and the same. He reveals a spirit of religious tolerance throughout his works. He exhibits a breadth of vision and is completely free from the sectarian outlook. The remaining works of the poet which are of a didactic and miscellaneous nature are dealt with later in the appropriate section of this book.

12—SOMADEVA (1025-1100A.D)

Somadeva is the next major poet who has made a name by his wonderful contribution to fiction in Sanskrit Literature. He gives a full account of his parentage and the circumstances in which he wrote his

work in the Praṣasti occurring at its end.¹ It is seen

- 1) श्री शातवाहनकुलाम्बुधिपारिजातः संग्रामराज इति भूमिपतिर्बभूव ।
 येनावतीर्थ विबुधैर्विविधैः श्रितेन कश्मीरमण्डलमनीयत नन्दनत्वम् ॥१॥
 तस्यात्मजो नमदशेषमहीशमौलिमाणिक्यकायनिकपीकृतपादपीठः ।
 श्रीमाननन्त इति तत्कुलकल्पवृक्षः शौर्यैकराशिखदपच्यत चक्रवर्ती ॥२॥
 द्वाराग्रसीमनि च यस्य निकृत्तकण्ठः क्षिप्तवोदरं नरपतेर्लुटति स्म मूर्धा ।
 सेवागतो जितमहाहरिचक्रचारुकीर्तिश्रवेण परितोषमिवैत्य राहुः ॥३॥
 सोऽथ त्रिगर्ताधिपतेस्तनूजां राजेन्दुरिन्दोर्वहति स्म देवीम् ।
 तमोपहां सूर्यवतीं प्रजानां विभातसन्ध्यामिव विश्ववन्द्याम् ॥४॥
 आम्नायैरिव नानादेशसमुद्भूतविप्रशतसेव्यैः ।
 अन्धिमिरिव रत्नभूतैर्भीतिभृतां भूभृतामपि शरण्यैः ॥५॥
 कल्पद्रुमैरिवान्वहं आशोपगतार्तिहारिभिर्दुरैः ।
 देव्या यया विरचितैः कश्मीरा मण्डिता मठप्रवरैः ॥६॥
 यन्निर्मितान्यमततोयवहद्विस्तृताविस्तीर्णतीरमुवि सौधसुधासितानि ।
 त्रयोमापगापरिगतान्तहिमाद्रिशृङ्गभङ्गि भर्जास्त सुतरां सुरमन्दिराणि ॥७॥
 दत्तैरसंख्यमणिहेममहाग्रहारकृष्णाजिनद्रविणपर्वतगोसहस्रैः ।
 विश्वम्भरा न च नापि मृ विश्वं सदा भगवती किल या विभर्ति ॥८॥
 क्षमामण्डलैकतिलकोऽप्यनलीकलग्नो यस्या घनामृतमयो गुणिबान्धवोऽपि ।
 विद्वेषिपर्षदशिवोऽपि शिवावतारः श्रीमान् सुतः कलशदेव इति क्षितीशः ॥९॥
 उर्वीभृतो नमयितुं निखिलानुदग्रान् पातुं क्षमश्च जलधीनपि सप्त धीरः ।
 सृष्टः सुरैरभिनवः कलशोद्भवो यः श्रीहर्षदेव इति भूपवरः स यस्याः ॥१०॥
 तस्याः सदैव गिरिशार्चनहोमकर्मनानाप्रदानविधिबद्धसमुद्यमायाः ।
 शास्त्रेषु नित्यविहितश्रवणश्रमायाः देव्याः क्षणं किमपि चित्तविनोदहेतोः ॥११॥
 नानाकथामृतमयस्य बृहत्कथायाः सारस्य सजनमनोऽम्बुधिपूर्णचन्द्रः ।
 सोमेन विप्रवरभूरिगुणामिरामरामात्मजेन विहितः खलु संग्रहोऽयम् ॥१२॥
 प्रविततरङ्गभङ्गिः कथासरित्सागरो विरचितोऽयम् ।
 सोमेनामलमतिना हृदयानन्दाय भवतु सताम् ॥१३॥

from that, that he was the son of Rāma and a brahmin by birth. He adorned the court of King Ananta who ruled Kashmir from 1029 to 1064 A.D. and who was the son of Saṅgrāmarāja, a descendant from Śātavāhana. Sūryavatī, the daughter of the King of Trigartas, was the wife of King Ananta. Kalaśa was the son and successor of King Ananta and Harṣa was his son. Somadeva seems to have been in intimate association with the Royal court during the times of Ananta, Kalaśa and Harṣa. He seems to have had a fairly long life of literary activity extending over half a century. His date may be placed during the last three quarters of the 11th century A.D.

The Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya in Paisācī language is not available at present. Subandhu,¹ Dandīn,² Bāṇa³ and the author of Nalacampū⁴ refer to it in their works. Probably Somadeva had a copy of it for reference. For, he says in his work that he is true to the original without transgressing even a little. His aim was not to earn fame or exhibit his scholarship but only to collect together all the stories in the original and present them in as simple

- 1) बृहत्कथारम्भैरिव शालिभञ्जिकोपेतैः ।
- 2) भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतार्थां बृहत्कथाम् ।
- 3) समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।
 ह्रलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥ (H. C.)
- 4) शश्वद्वाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
 धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन निःशेषो रञ्जितो जनः ॥ (N. C. I. v. 24)

a manner as possible for the delight and amusement of his readers.¹

Somadeva calls his work Kathāsāritsāgara, an ocean of stories. It is a condensed Sanskrit version of the Bṛhatkathā. It consists of 18 books with 124 tarāṅgas and 24,000 verses most of which are in the Anuṣṭubh metre. It is the earliest large collection of stories in Sanskrit. It was written for the amusement of Sūryavatī, the queen of King Ananta of Kashmir. It contains a mass of wonderful stories of every conceivable type which kindle the imagination of the reader. Stories of animals, wild legends of the Ṛgvedic days, beautiful love-stories, stories of blood-sucking vampires and tales of war are all vividly and graphically described in it.² Mr. N. M. Penzer pays a glowing tribute to Somadeva and his monumental work in the following words:—“Somadeva was a man of genius who rightly ranks near to Kālidāsa among Indian poets. His power of telling a story in a clear, entertaining and absorbing way is only equalled by the richness and diversity of his subject-matter. His knowledge of human nature, the elegance of his style, the beauty and force of his descriptions and the wit and

1) यथाभूतं तथैवैतन्न मनागप्यतिक्रमः ।

औचित्यान्वयरक्षा च यथाशक्ति विधीयते ॥

कथारसाविधातेन काव्यांशस्य च योजना ।

वैदग्ध्यस्यातिलाभाय मम नैवाययुद्यमः ॥

किंतु नानाकथाजालस्मृतिवैकृत्यसिद्धये ॥

(K. S. S.)

2) H. S. L. by M. K. p. 420.

wisdom of his aphorisms are masterly in their execution. This is the mirror of Indian imagination that Somadeva has left as a legacy to posterity."¹

The general plan of the work is exactly similar to that of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra. Like that it also contains 18 books each being named in an exactly similar way. For instance the first book is called *Kathāpīṭha*, the second *Kathāmukha*, the third *Lāvāṇaka*, the fourth *Caturdārikā*, the fifth *Madanamamañcukā*, the sixth *Kalīṅgadatta*, the seventh *Ratnaprabhā*, the eighth *Sūryaprabhā*, the ninth *Alaṅkāraṇī*, the tenth *Saktiyaśas*, the eleventh *Vela*, the twelfth *Śaśāṅkavatī*, the thirteenth *Madirāvatī*, the fourteenth *Panca*, the fifteenth *Mahābhīṣeka*, the sixteenth *Sarasamañjarī*, the seventeenth *Padmāvatī* and the eighteenth *Viśamaśīla*. The merits of this work are referred to by Wilson in the following manner:—"Each book comprises a number of stories loosely strung together by being narrated for the recreation or information of some individuals arising out of their adventures. The stories all wind up at the end of each book or not infrequently sooner. The action is never suspended for any prolonged interval. The stories exhibit in a striking and interesting manner the peculiarities of the social conditions of India."² This quotation gives

1) English translation of K. S. S. by Tawney. Int.

2) H. S. L. by Wilson pp. 112-114 & H. S. L. by M. K. pp. 422 & 453

an idea of the valuable contribution that Somadeva has made to Sanskrit Literature.

13—BILHAṆA (1050–1100 A. D.)

Bilhaṇa is an illustrious Kashmirian poet. His fame principally rests on his historical Kāvya. He can therefore be considered more as a Historian than as a Poet. But he seems to have a greater claim to be considered as a major poet of Kashmir as he has written many poetical works and a drama. Even his historical Kāvya breathes more of poetry than of history as such.

A fairly detailed account of his personal history is available in his historical Kāvya, *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*. It is briefly as follows :—Bilhaṇa was the son of Jyeṣṭhakalaśa and Nāgādevī. He was born in the village called Koṇamukha (the modern village of Khunmoh, three miles North-West of Pampur in Kashmir)¹ near Pravarapura, the then capital of Kashmir. His grandfather was Rājakalaśa and his great grandfather was Muktikalaśa. He belonged to the sect of Madhyadeśī brahmins of the Kauśikagotra. His father is known to have written a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, a copy of which has not yet been found. He had two brothers Iṣṭarāma and Ānanda who were also poets. He was educated in Kashmir and made a special study of grammar and Poetics under his father.

(1) See map at the end.

who seems to have been a learned grammarian. He commenced a tour of India and stayed in Mathurā for some time engaging himself in learned discussions with the scholars of Br̥ndāvan. He visited Kanauj, Prayāg and Banaras. He was received with great honour by King Kṛṣṇa of Dāhala in Bundelkhand.¹ He wanted to see King Bhoja of Dhārā, but could not meet him. He went to Anhilvad in Gujarat where he says he was not given a warm welcome.² He then visited the temple of Somanātha and went to Rāmeśvara. On his return journey he went to Kalyāṇ where Vikramāditya VII Tribhuvanamalla (1076 to 1127 A. D.) admired his learning and made him his Vidyāpati or Director of Learning. His parasol, when he travelled on elephants through Kaṇṇāṭaka land, is described as having been borne aloft before the king. This is also referred to by Kalhaṇa.³

The date of Bilhaṇa can be easily determined from the facts given in the above account. King Ananta of

- 1) Vik. Ed. by Dr. Bühler Int. p. 18 & Vik. XVIII vv. 70 to 108.
- 2) कक्षाग्रन्धं विदधति न ये सर्वदेवाविशुद्धा-
स्सद्भावं ते किमपि भजते यज्जुगुप्सास्पदत्वम्
तेषां मार्गे परिचयवशादार्जितं गुर्जराणां
यः सन्तापं शिथिलमकरोत्सोमनाथं विलोक्य ॥
(Vik. XVIII. v. 97)
- 3) कश्मीरेभ्यो विनिर्यान्ते राज्ये कलशभूपतेः ।
विद्यापतिं यं कर्णाटश्चक्रे पर्माडिभूपतिः ॥
प्रसपतः करटिभिः कर्णाटककान्तरे ।
राज्ञोऽग्रे ददृशे तुङ्गं यस्यैवातपवारणम् ॥
(Rāj. VII vv. 935 & 936)

Kashmir seems to have been dead by the time Bilhaṇa came into prominence. King Kalaśa, his successor, was the ruling King at that time. Bilhaṇa seems to have lived to see the administration of King Harṣa also who ruled Kashmir from 1084 to 1101 A. D. He was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhārā and King Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇ. On the basis of these facts his date can be placed in the second half of the 11th century A. D.

Bilhaṇa is the author of several poetical works. Of them only three namely *Caurapañcāśikā* (a lyric poem) *Karṇasundarī* (a drama in four acts) and *Śiva-stuti* (a prayer-poem) are available at present. It is very likely that he wrote many more works. For there are clear references to them in his works and elsewhere and the anthologies ascribe a large number of verses to him which are not found in any of his available works. For instance there occurs a reference to a *Rāmacarita* or *Rāmastuti*, a poem which he probably composed in honour of Rāma, in his *Historical Kāvya*.¹ A work on *Alaṅkāraśāstra* has also been ascribed to him. But there are no traces of it till now.

The *Caurapañcāśikā* is a lyric poem like the *Megha-dūta* of Kālidāsa. It is a short poem containing fifty verses composed in the beautiful *Vasantatilakā* metre. It is full of amorous import. It describes the recollections of a teacher-lover in the company of his pupil-princess. Some manuscripts contain an introductory

I) तं पौलस्त्यं विदलितवतः सृक्तिनिःष्यन्दशोलां
सीतामर्तुर्व्यचमदसौ राजधानीमयोध्याम् ॥ (Vik. XVIII. v. 94)

part to this poem which relates, in detail, its romantic origin.¹ The entire piece including the introductory part bears the title Bilhaṇacaritam. There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the authorship of this lyric poem.

From the account given in the introductory part, Bilhaṇa appears to have been the tutor to Candralekhā (Saṣikalā according to some), the daughter of King Vairisimha of Gujarat. According to another version the princess is supposed to be the daughter of King Vīrasimha of Mahilāpattana. There is still a third version according to which the name of the princess is Yāminīpūrṇatilakā, the daughter of King Madanābhirāma of Pāñcāla. The Bilhaṇacarita contains 164 verses in all. The anecdote that is described there runs briefly as follows. The pupil fell in love with the teacher and their love-affair went on undiscovered for a long time. When it came to light the indignant king sentenced Bilhaṇa to death. Accordingly he was taken to the gallows where he was asked to give his final wish. In reply the poet seems to have recited fifty verses which he had composed while he was in custody describing the reminiscences of his enjoyments in the company of the princess. When these verses were recited by the poet himself, the king was moved to tears and withdrew the death sentence passed on such a great poet as Bilhaṇa. He felt sorry and as if to atone for his sin he gave his daughter in marriage to the poet. The story is concluded with the celebration of the marriage between the poet and the princess.

1) Kāvya-mālā Series No. XIII

Almost every verse in the poem begins with the word अद्यापि which is at once enchanting and reminiscent in its connotation. Several incidents that occurred in the poet-lover's romantic past are described in a very graphic manner. Each amorous scene that is described is full of the pathos of a love-lorn heart. Every incident is not only artistic but also impressive. The poetry is so charming that it creates a lasting impression on the mind of the reader. For instance the picture of the penitent lover is nicely described.¹ Similarly the description of the princess awaiting the arrival of her lover is as elegant as it is natural.² The way in which the poet-lover remembers each minor incident in his association with the princess has a fine human touch about it.³ These three instances are taken from the lyric portion of the Bilhanacarita the last verse of which expresses the ultimate aim of the poet in his love-affair significantly.⁴

- 1) अद्यापि तां मयि कृतागसि धृष्टमावं संभावयत्यपि मुहुर्निगृहीतवाचम् ।
अन्तर्निर्द्धगुरुकोमलवाष्पकण्ठीं निःश्वासशुष्यदधरां रदतीं स्मरामि ॥
- 2) अद्यापि तां रहसि दर्पणमीक्षमाणं संक्रान्तमत्प्रतिनिभं मयि पृष्ठलीने ।
पश्यामि वेपथुमतीं च ससंभ्रमां च लज्जाकुलं समदनां च सविभ्रमां च ॥
- 3) अद्यापि तानि मृदुसारसुभाषितानि सम्यग्विवृत्तनयनान्तनिरीक्षितानि ।
लीलारसांचितगतानि सुविस्मितानि तस्याः स्मरामि हृदि विभ्रमचेष्टितानि ॥
(B. C. vv. 82, 91 & 120)
- 4) पंचत्वं तनुगेतु भूतनिवहे स्वांशा मिलन्तु ध्रुवं
धातस्त्वां प्रणिपत्य सादरमिदं याचे निवद्धाञ्जलिः ।
तद्वापीषु पयस्तदीयमुकुरे ज्योतिस्तदीयाङ्गणे
व्योम स्याच्च तदीयवर्त्मनि धरा तत्तालवृन्तेऽनिलः ॥ (B. C. v. 164)

According to a Bengali version the authorship of *Caurapañcāśikā* is ascribed to a poet by name Caura-sundara who is different from Bilhaṇa. Some scholars are of the opinion that Caura and Bilhaṇa are two different persons. For, a telugu poet Jakkana has praised the two poets separately along with others and Bilhaṇa himself makes no reference to his love-affair in the personal account that he has given in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. He does not mention either the name of Vairisimha or Madanābhirāma. This is a very important factor which has to be taken into account in deciding the authorship of *Caurapañcāśikā*. Until it is decided otherwise we may for the present ascribe the authorship to Bilhaṇa. There are several commentaries on the *Caurapañcāśikā*. Three of them appear to be very popular. They are written by Gaṇapati Sarmā Rāmopādhyāya and Basaveśvara.

The next work of Bilhaṇa which is available is *Karṇasundarī*, a drama in four acts as already stated. It is similar in form and content to the *Ratnāvalī* of Śrī Harṣa. It was published in the year 1932 in the *Kāvyamālā* Series No. 7. It was probably composed in the Royal Court of the Cālukya king as it describes the secret love intrigues of a Cālukya prince by name Karṇadeva, son of Bhīmadeva, with a Vidyādhara-princess culminating in their eventual marriage with the consent of the queen. It may be stated here that this is, perhaps, the only drama which has so far been discovered as having been written by a Kashmirian. The third work of Bilhaṇa is the *Śivastuti* which is a prayer-poem consisting of verses composed in praise of Lord

Siva. This is different from a work which is popularly known as Bilhaṇastava. His other works are yet to be discovered.

From the existing works of Bilhaṇa it can be seen that he was an ardent lover of the Vaidarbhī style in Sanskrit. In his view only the fortunate poets are able to compose in that style in which verses appear to shower nectar on the ears of listeners.¹ As a poet he possesses the spark of genuine poetical fire which can be kindled with the slightest provocation. Beautiful poetical passages occur in almost every existing work that he has written. The verses which he has composed are smooth-flowing and musical. His language is extremely simple. His poetry reveals that he has a wonderful command over the Sanskrit language and idiom. There are very few poets of his calibre in Sanskrit Literature. He has a deep love for his motherland which is clearly brought forth in an excellent manner in one of his verses.² He is of the opinion that poetry is as natural to Kashmirians as the growth of saffron in Kashmir.

14.—SAMBHU MAHĀKAVI (1075–1125 A.D.)

Sambhu Mahākavi is another great poet of Kashmir who comes immediately after Somadeva in point of

- 1) अनभ्रवृष्टिः श्रवणामृतस्य सरस्वतीविभ्रमजन्मभूमिः ।
वैदर्भीरितिः कृतिनामुदेति सौभाग्यलाभप्रतिभुः पदानाम् ॥ (Vik. I. v. 9)
- 2) सहोदराः कुक्कुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥ (Ibid v. 21)

time. He was a brahmin by birth and a devotee of Śiva. No information is available either about his parentage or his ancestry. That he is a Kashmirian is clear by his own statement in the colophon of one of his works.¹ He was, probably, the court-poet during the time of King Harṣa who ruled Kashmir from 1073 to 1101 A. D. He is also mentioned by Maṅkha, another great poet of Kashmir who came immediately after him, as the father of a poet by name Ānanda who was one of the distinguished members of the assembly which examined the Kāvya of Maṅkha.² It may, therefore, be stated that Śambhu Mahākavi was a younger contemporary of Somadeva but elder to Maṅkha. This gives a fair approximation to his date which may be taken as the last quarter of the 11th century or the first quarter of the 12th century A. D.

Śambhu Mahākavi seems to have written two works namely, (1) Anyoktimuktālatāṣṭaka which is not available at present and (2) Rājendrakarṇapūrakāvya which is printed in the Kāvya Mālā Series.³ The second work mentioned above contains altogether 75 verses which are composed to eulogise his king and patron Harṣadeva. His style is smooth-flowing and the topic that is dealt with is interesting and sweet. For instance, the way in which his patron is bearing the burden of

1) इति काश्मीरदेशोद्भवशंभुकिरचितो राजेन्द्रकर्णपूरः समाप्तः ।

(R. K. Colophon)

2) अशेषभिषगग्रयं शरण्यं शास्त्रपद्धतेः ।

ववन्देऽयं तमानन्दं सुतं शंभुमहाकवेः ॥

(S. C. XXV. v. 95)

3) K M.I. pp. 22 to 34

administration is nicely described.¹ In another verse he calls his king an ornament of the world and illustrates it by a series of analogies which are beautiful and apt.² It is possible that this poet might have written a bigger work like a Mahākāvya as he has been addressed or referred to by Maṅkha as a Mahākavi. But no traces of it are so far available.

His son Ānanda also appears to have been an equally great poet. He is referred to as such in the Padyāvali. Vallabha-Deva quotes several verses ascribed to him in his Subhāṣitāvali under the name Ānanda, Bhaṭṭānandaka and Rājānakānandaka. These three different names may refer to Ānanda himself as it is very difficult to say that they refer to three different persons.

15—MAṆKHA (1100–1050 A.D.)

Maṅkha is the next major poet of Kashmir. He is also known as Maṅkhaka or Maṅkhuka. He was born in Kashmir and was the son of Viśvavarta who is

- 1) शेष क्लेशमशेषमुत्सृज भज त्वं कूर्म कर्म स्वकं
स्वैरं खेलत विधुतैकतलताकुंजेषु दिक्कुञ्जराः ।
अप्येतां सकुलाचलां सनगरां साम्प्रोनिधिं सापगां
सदृपां च सुवं बिभर्ति हि भुजः श्रीहर्षपृथ्वीभुजः ॥ (R. K. v. 19)
- 2) औदार्यं सधने नयो गुणिजने लज्जकुलस्त्रीजने
सत्काव्यं वदने मदो द्विरदने पुंस्कीकिलः कानने ।
रोलम्बः कमले नखाङ्गरचना कान्ताकपोलस्थले
तन्वी तल्पतले भवानपि विभो भूमण्डले मण्डनम् ॥ (Ibid v. 54)

mentioned with great respect in his work.¹ He had a brother by name Alaṅkāra who was also a poet and a minister during the time of the kings Suśśāla and Jayasimha of Kashmir and who is referred to by Kalhaṇa.² Maṅkha himself refers to him as Laṅkaṇa or Laṅkaka.³ Dr. Stein in this connection observes as follows :— “Maṅkha represents his brother as deeply versed in grammatical science and gives his familiar name as Laṅkaka”.⁴ The name of the grandfather of Maṅkha is given as Manmatha (Manoratha ?).⁵ Maṅkha seems to have had three brothers namely Śṛṅgāra, Bhāṅga and Alaṅkāra, he being the youngest. He and his two elder brothers were not only scholars but also held high offices in the administration of Kashmir. Śṛṅgāra, for instance, assisted King Suśśāla in the war against Haraśadeva who is said to have been defeated by him and as a result of his victory was appointed Bṛhat-tantrapati. Alaṅkāra was a grammarian and also the Prime Minister or Sāndhivigrahika as frequently referred

- 1) वदान्यमास्थानवृहत्कृपारसप्रवाहशङ्काजननैकदक्षिणम् ।
स्वसत्किर्तीर्तिप्रसरेनश्वरं स विद्ववर्तारख्यसवाप नन्दनम् ॥
(S. C. III. v. 15)
- 2) स्नानकोष्ठमठब्रह्मपुरीसेत्वादिकर्मणा ।
सोऽलं चकारालंकारो बृहद्गंजाधिपो धराम् ॥ (Raj. VIII. v. 2423)
- 3) मदग्रजन्मनः श्रमाल्लोककस्य सभाग्रहम् ।
तेऽध्यासते च विस्मयाः सारसा इव मानसम् ॥ (S. C. XXV. v. 15)
- 4) Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. Vol-II-Foot
Note 2 to v. 2433
- 5) स मन्मथो नाम जगाम तद्भुवि प्रथां प्रसन्नेश्वरदृष्टिभाजनम् ।
न मार्गणानां सुमनोमयात्मनां मनागपि क्षेमकलासु शिक्षितः ॥
(S. C. III. v. 31)

to by Kalhaṇa.¹ Maṅkha too seems to have held a high office, probably that of a Governor of a Paragana.² He calls himself Rājānaka Mahākavirāja Maṅkha at the end of every canto of his work.³ Ruyyaka was his guru to whom great respect is shown by him.⁴ It can thus be seen that Maṅkha is almost the first major poet who gives in his work such a detailed account of himself, his family and his parentage.

There is no difficulty in determining the date of this poet. From the above account it is clear that he lived during the time when kings Suśāla and Jayasimha ruled Kashmir. The date of the second king's rule is known to be from 1127 to 1159 A. D. Dr. Bühler says that Maṅkha wrote his famous poem somewhere about the period 1135–1145 A. D.⁵ That Maṅkha was appointed as an ambassador in Konkan by the ruling king of Kashmir is described in detail by Kalhaṇa.⁶ On the basis of these facts the date of Maṅkha may be placed in the first half of the 12th century A. D. This is further confirmed by the references that Maṅkha

- 1) Rājatarāṅgiṇi of Kalhaṇa 8th Book
- 2) सान्धिविग्रहिको मन्त्रकारोऽलंकारसोदरः ।
स मत्स्यभक्तप्रण्टः श्रीकण्ठस्य प्रतिष्ठया ॥ (Rāj. VIII. v. 3354)
- 3) श्रीराजानकविश्ववर्तसुतोर्महाकविराजराजानकश्रीमन्त्रस्य कृतौ
श्रीकण्ठचरिते महाकाव्ये ॥
- 4) तं श्रीस्यकमालोक्य स प्रियं गुरुमग्रहीत् ।
सौहार्दप्रश्रयरसस्रोतस्संभेदमजनम् ॥ (S. C. XXV. v. 30)
- 5) B. K. R. 1877 p.50
- 6) Raj. VIII. vv. 3349 to 3406.

makes to Rājasekhara and Bilhaṇa in his work as great poets of established reputation.¹

Srikanṭhacarita is the name of the Mahākāvya that Maṅkha wrote. It contains twenty-five cantos. It was written probably before Kalhaṇa began his Rājatarāṅgī. It celebrates the destruction of Tripurāsura by Śiva, and is almost similar to the Haravijaya of Ratnākara who must have inspired Maṅkha to write this work. It abounds in many beautiful descriptions of natural phenomena such as the advent of seasons, the sun-rise and the sun-set. It strictly conforms to the rules prescribed for the composition of a Mahākāvya and bears all the characteristics. The poet exhibits in it a mastery over the language and an ability in the composition of good poetry. Apart from the story interest that runs unabated throughout the poem, there is a special value of the work to the student of Sanskrit.

Two cantos in the Mahākāvya are of great importance and value. They are, the third canto in which the poet gives a detailed account of his pedigree and the circumstances which led to the composition of the poem,² and the twenty-fifth canto in which the poet relates that he submitted his work to an assembly consisting of scholars and high officers of State in the house of his elder

- 1) प्रक्रमैर्हृदयक्रिष्णो मुरारिमनुधावतः ।
 श्रीराजशेखरगिरो नीवी यस्योक्तिरपदाम् ॥
 तथोपचस्करे येन निजवाङ्मयदर्पणः ।
 बिल्हणप्रौढिसन्क्रान्तो यथा योग्यत्वमग्रहीत् ॥
 (S. C. XXV. vv. 74 & 79)

- 2) S. C. III. vv. 31 to 78.

brother Alaṅkāra. It is seen that there were altogether 30 persons in the assembly. The poet gives not only the names of these persons but also the branch of learning in which each was proficient. This information is of great value as it gives a brief account of the eminent scholars of his time. Dr. Bühler has given a complete list of the scholars which is reproduced below in the form of a table.¹

Sl. No.	Name of the Poet	Name of the Sāstra in which proficient.	Reference to the verse in Srikanṭhacarita.
1.	Ānanda	Nyāya	XXV 84
2.	Ānanda, son of Sambhu	Vaidya	do 97
3.	Kalyāṇa, pupil of Alakadatta	Sāhitya	do 80
4.	Garga	do	do 56
5.	Govinda	do	do 77
6.	Janakarāja	Vyākaraṇa & Veda	do 93
7.	Jalhaṇa, Minister of Rājapurī	Sāhitya	do 75
8.	Jinduka	Mīmāṃsā	do 72
9.	Trailokya	do	do 66

1) B. K. R. 1877 pp. 50 & 51.

Sl. No.	Name of the Poet	Name of the Sāstra in which proficient	Reference to the verse in Srikanthacarita
10.	Nandana	Vedānta	do 25
11.	Nāga	Vyākaraṇa & Alaṅkāra	do 64
12.	Paṭu	Sāhitya	do 131
13.	Padmarāja	do	do 86
14.	Prakaṭa	Vedānta	do 95
15.	Bhudda	Sāhitya	do 82
16.	Maṇḍana, son of Śrīgarbha	All Sāstras	do 53
17.	Yogarāja	Sāhitya	do 107
18.	Ramyadeva	Veda	do 33
19.	Ruyyaka	Alaṅkāraśāstra	do 30 & 135
20.	Lakṣmīdeva	Veda	do 33
21.	Loṣṭadeva	Sāhitya	do 36
22.	Vāgiśvara	do	do 127
23.	Srikanṭha, son of Śrīgarbha	do	do 54
24.	Śrīgarbha	do	do 50
25.	Śrīgunna	Mīmāṃsā	do 88
26.	Śrīvatsa	Sāhitya	do 82
27.	Ṣaṣṭha	do	do 70

In addition to these 27 scholars there were three more persons in the assembly who, though not scholars, were men of public reputation interested in the poetic composition of Maṅkha. Of the three, two were Amba-

sadors namely (1) Tejakaṇṭha, Ambassador from Aparāditya, king of Konkāṇa and (2) Suhala, Ambassador from Govindacandra, king of Kanuj and the third was an official by name Damodara. It can be seen from this account that the assembly was highly representative and eminent, as it consisted of scholars and critics in the various branches of learning and also men of public repute. This kind of submission of poetic composition for the scrutiny of contemporary scholars is novel and appears to be the first of its kind in Kashmir at that time.

The examination of the merits of a poetic composition by an assembly of scholars indicates the method of social and literary intercourse that existed at that time in Kashmir. Besides, it furnishes some useful and valuable historical data also. Firstly it enables the determination of the dates of certain poets and scholars. For instance, the name of Ruyyaka, the guru of Maṅkha is mentioned in the list and as such his date can be approximately determined. Secondly the date of Maṅkha himself can be determined as the names of two Ambassadors are mentioned and as two dated inscriptions of the kings of Konkāṇa and Kanuj have been discovered. The inscription of the former namely Aparāditya is dated 1185 to 1186 A. D. and that of the latter namely Govindacandra is dated 1120 to 1144 A.D. The presence of Ambassadors in Kashmir from other parts of the country shows the cordial political relations that existed between Kashmir and those parts. It also indicates that the reign of Aparāditya was a fairly long one. Since he was a commentator on the Yāgyavalkya-

smṛti, it also explains how his commentary came to Kashmir and why it is the only law-book used by scholars there at present.

Srikanthacarita begins with a Maṅgalācarāṇa in praise of Siva.¹ In the second canto the poet has dealt with the general qualities of poets.² He has also stressed the usefulness of literary discussions and how they should be resorted to for the development of the poetic instinct.³ In canto three he gives us glimpses of life in Kashmir during his time. For instance, the description of the fire-pot is very charming.⁴ He looks with disfavour upon the growing tendency of poets of his times

1) जीयात्कृतान् कृतपङ्कदाहः दवाङ्गिनो नेत्रशिखिप्रदीपः ।
यस्यान्तिके शुभ्रदशानिवेशश्रियं किरीटेन्दुकराः श्रयन्ते ॥
(S. C. I. v. 1)

2) वितीर्णशिक्षा इव हृत्पदस्थसरस्वतीवाहनराजहंसैः ।
ये क्षीरनीरप्रविभागदक्षाः त्रिवेकिनस्ते कवयो जयन्ति ॥
अज्ञानपाण्डित्यरहस्यमुद्रा ये काव्यमार्गे दधतेऽभिमानम् ।
ते गारुडीयाननवोत्थमन्त्रान् हाल्यहलास्वादनमारमन्ते ॥
अर्थोऽस्ति चेन्न पदशुद्धिरथास्ति सापि नो रीतिरस्ति यदि सा घटना कुतस्त्या ।
साध्यस्ति चेन्न नववक्रगतिस्तदेतद् व्यर्थं विना रसमहो गहनं कवित्वम् ॥
(Ibid II vv. 1, 5 & 20)

3) तत्तद्विचारोपनिषद्विमृष्टं काव्यं कवेः पुष्यति निस्तुषत्वम् ।
न रत्नमायाति हि निर्मलत्वं शाणोपलारोपणमन्तरेण ॥
विना न साहित्यविदा परत्र गुणाः कथं चित्प्रयते कवीनाम् ।
आलम्बते तत्क्षणमम्मसीव विस्तारमन्यत्र न तैलविन्दुः ॥
(Ibid II, vv. 7 & 12)

4) हिमागमे यत्र गृहेषु योषितां ज्वलद्बहुच्छिद्रसखीहसन्तिका ।
विभाति नेतुं मदनेन शूलिनं घनाततिर्वह्निमयीव चक्षुषाम् ॥
(Ibid III v. 29)

trying to over-burden poetry with decorative artifices and other artificialities.¹ He seems to have led an attack against court-poetry and announces with pride that he has not flattered anybody except Lord Śrikanṭha.² He strongly advocates a sympathetic and unbiassed study of all true and good poetry.³ These and such other qualities can be seen throughout his work and therefore he earned from his preceptor Ruyyaka enviable applause in glowing terms.⁴ The poet winds up his work by giving expression to the manner in which the entire assembly of scholars reacted after listening attentively and critically to his work.⁵ This, in brief, is the quality

1) यातास्ते रससारसंग्रहविधिं निष्पीड्य निःष्पीड्य ये

वाकृतत्त्वेषुलतां पुरा कतिपये तत्त्वस्पृशश्चक्रिरे ।

जायन्तेऽयं यथायथं तु कवयस्ते तत्र सन्तन्वते

येऽनुप्रासकठोरचित्रयमकरलेप्रादिशल्कोच्चयम् ॥

(S. C. II v. 42)

2) अहो धन्योऽस्मि यस्येयं स्वच्छन्दापि सरस्वती ।

विना श्रीकण्ठमन्यत्र नाचरच्चाटुकारिताम् ॥

3) विमत्सरश्च विद्वांश्च श्रोता चेद् घटते गिराम् ।

स्यन्दते तर्हि वाग्वल्लीरसं पर्वणि पर्वणि ॥ (S. C. XXV. vv. 5 & 13)

4) धन्यस्त्वं विनिवेशितैर्बहुतिथैरथैः स्थितिं बिभ्रती

न कापि स्ववपुः प्रसारितवती पण्यत्वसंसिद्धये ।

सालङ्कारपदाधिक्यनिजुषा मूर्त्या नरीनर्यसौ

शंभोर्धनं पुरोऽर्पिता भगवती वाग्देवतानर्तकी ॥ (Ibid v. 139)

5) उद्यद्वै युतदीप्तिषोदरसरत्सारस्वतज्योतिषा

पूतस्तद्वचसां रसः श्रुतिपुटैः संसत्सदामापये ।

तेषामुन्मिषतालसालसगतौ दृक्शुक्तिर्पक्तौ शनैः

आनन्दाश्रुपृष्णमयी तु जघटे मुक्ताफलानां ततिः ॥ (Ibid v. 146)

of his poetry which is even today looked upon and read with great admiration by scholars all over the country.

Maṅkha is also the author of a dictionary in Sanskrit called the Maṅkhakośa to which there is a reference by him at the very commencement of the work.¹ This work seems to have been popular and current in Kashmir for a long time. But it is not available now. Another work ascribed to him is a prayer-poem called Śrikanṭhastava to which there is a reference in the Alaṅkārasarvasva while illustrating the figure of speech called the Punaruktavadābhāsa.² Another work ascribed to Maṅkha is the Alaṅkārasarvasva itself which is a gloss on Ruyyaka's Alaṅkārasūtras. How far the authorship of this work could be ascribed to Maṅkha has already been discussed.³ Besides this Maṅkha himself seems to have written some Alaṅkārasūtras which have been illustrated by one of his pupils (probably Samudrabandha) in a work called Maṅkhukasūtroddāharaṇa when he was an Ambassador in Konkan. Samudrabandha has also commented upon the Alaṅkārasarvasva and in the illustrations referred to above he has praised a king by name Ravivarma who ruled Kolamba (modern Quilon).

1) कुल्लेऽनेकार्थानां शब्दानां मंत्रकः कोशम् ॥

2) उदाहरणं मंत्रोपेयं श्रीकण्ठस्तवे—

अहीनभुजगाधीशवपुर्वलयकंकणम् ।

शैलादिनन्दचरितं क्षतक्रन्दपदपङ्कम् ॥

वृषपुङ्गवलक्ष्माणं शिखिपावकलोचनम् ।

सर्वमङ्गलं नौमि पार्वतीसखमीश्वरम् ॥

(A. S. P: 15)

3) Cf. pp. 110 to 114.

Jonarāja who was a contemporary of king Zainu-labidin (who ruled in Kashmir from 1417 to 1467 A. D.) and who is the author of the second Rājatarāṅgiṇī has written a commentary on the Śrikanṭhacarita. He has also commented on the Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi and the works of several other poets.

16—JALHAṆA (1100 - 1150 A.D.)

Jalhaṇa is the next major poet of Kashmir who is mentioned by Maṅkha with great admiration as a poet and a minister in the Royal Court of Rājapurī,¹ (modern Rajouri) which is a part of Kashmir.² King Somapāla son of Saṅgrāmapāla, was the ruler of Rājapurī. From the account given by Kalhaṇa, it is learnt that Jalhaṇa went there when Suṣṣala was preferred to his eldest brother Uccala to the throne of Kashmir.³ Sri M. Krishnamacharya says that this Jalhaṇa is different from Ārchaka Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa, the author of an

1) यथा चरति वक्त्रेण वाग्यस्य चतुरैः पदैः ।

सरस्वत्यै विनिर्मातुमुद्यतेव प्रदक्षिणम् ॥

श्रीमद्राजपुरीसन्धिविग्रहस्य नियोगिनम् ।

अथानर्च्य वचोभिस्तं जल्हणं विनयांचितैः ॥

(S. C. XXV. vv. 73 & 75)

2) राजपुरी काश्मीरदेशसंलग्नैव । राजवेरी राजौरी इत्यादि
नामभिः प्रसिद्धा वर्तते । तत्र तस्मिन् काले सोमपालमहोपति-
रासीयस्यायं जल्हणः सन्धिविग्रहनियोगी (S. K. C. Vol. II p. 163)

3) राजपुर्यानाकुलत्वं नीतायामाससाद तत् ।
तद्भर्तुः सोमपालस्य दूरस्थस्यान्तिकं चिरात् ॥ (Rāj. VIII v. 1462)

anthology called *Sūktimuktāvalī*. But Aufrecht is of the opinion that both are identical. There does not appear to be much material to prove the identity of these two *Jalhaṇas*. No information about the parentage of the Kashmirian *Jalhaṇa* is available.

The date of this poet can be easily determined. King *Somapāla* was defeated by *Suśśāla* in the year 1118 A. D. *Maṅkha* refers to *Jalhaṇa* in his work as already stated. *Jalhaṇa* was also one of the thirty persons who examined the work of *Maṅkha*.¹ It is therefore likely that he was a contemporary of *Maṅkha*. His date may be placed in the first half of the 12th century A. D.

The *Mahākāvya* written by *Jalhaṇa* is called *Somapālaviḷāsa* or more popularly *Somapālacarita*. The poet has described the life-history and adventures of his king and patron in it.² *Ratnakanṭha*, in his *Stutikusumāñjali*, states that *Rājānaka Rucaka* has commented upon the work of *Jalhaṇa* which is not available at present. A verse from the *Somapālaviḷāsa* is, however, preserved in the *Sārasamuccaya* commentary of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*.³

1) Cf. p. 242.

2) संग्रामपाले नृपतौ तस्मिन्नवसरे मृतौ । तस्मिन्नुः सोमपालाख्यः पितुराज्यं समादधे ॥
राज्याहमग्रजं बुद्ध्वा सोऽभ्यविच्यत चाक्रिकैः ।
इति कोपान्नेरेन्द्रोऽभूत्कुक्ष्यम् राजपुत्रीं प्रति ॥

3) मार्गं निसर्गादवलम्ब्य व्रकं सुधारसौधं मधुरं चमन्ती ।
(००) चान्द्री च भूर्तिः कवितुश्च (कीर्तिः) सृक्तिर्न धार्यते मूर्धनि नेश्वरेण ॥

Jalhana is the author of another small work called the Mugdhopadeśa, which is an advice to youngsters. It appears to be modelled on the śatakas of Bhartṛhari, as it is didactic in character. It is a satirical work similar to the work of Kṣemendra on social topics. There are altogether 66 verses in it. From a manuscript obtained from Kashmir the entire poem is printed in the Kavya-mālā Series No. 8. The purpose with which the work is written is indicated by the author in the last two verses¹ of the poem which reveal the rich experience and keen observation on the part of the poet.

17—VĀSUDEVA KAVI (1150-1200)

Vāsudeva Kavi is the next Kashmirian poet of importance who might have been a contemporary of Maṅkha and Jalhana. He was a brahmin by birth and the disciple of Bhārataguru and contemporary of Kulaśekhara-varma as could be gathered from one of the

1) दृष्ट्वा देशमशेषमाजलनिधेरालोक्य कौतूहल्य-

दास्यानीरवनीभृतां च पुनरप्यागत्य देशं निजम् ।

कारुण्यात्तरुणं जनं प्रति सतामभ्यर्थनाभिस्तथा

सोऽयं संप्रति जल्हणेन कविना मुग्धोपदेशः कृतः ॥

विद्याभ्यासपरस्परपरिचयैर्बाल्यं कृतार्थीकृतं

तारुण्यं तरुणीनिरन्तरपरिरम्भैश्च संभावितम् ।

अस्माकं सुरसिन्धुरोधसि पुनः शम्भोरदम्भार्चनैः

वृद्धत्वस्य विशुद्धतां जनयितुं कर्तव्यशेषः स्थितः ॥

(Mug. vv. 65 & 66)

verses of his work.¹ No information is available regarding his parentage. A manuscript of his work in Kashmiri Devanāgarī characters is available in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.² His date may approximately be placed in the second half of the 12th century A. D., on the basis of the above references.

Yudhiṣṭhiravijayakāvya is the name of the poetical work of Vāsudeva Kavi. It narrates in eight cantos the chief events in the life of Yudhiṣṭhira. It is referred to both by Aufrecht³ and Dr. Bühler.⁴ It is printed in the Kāvya-mālā Series No. 60. It begins abruptly with a verse⁵ and ends with the eighth canto mentioning merely the name of the work.⁶ Neither the work nor the commentary on it gives any clue as to when and where the author lived. A commentary on it is called *Śiṣyasahitā* written by Ratnakanṭha in the year 1661 A.D.

- 1) तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुभवदाह्यनामध्यायी ।
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणः शिष्योनुवर्तिकश्चित्तस्य
काव्यानामालोके पटुर्मनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ (Y. V. I. v, 8)
- 2) Ms. No. 17/1874-75 of B. O. R. I. Poona.
- 3) Auf. C. C. II. p. 111 & I. p. 567.
- 4) B. K. R. 1877 p. 62
- 5) मुदितविनायकमित्रा सेत्युक्त्वा चोदितार्चनायकमित्रा ।
यमपवमानमघोनां पूजामाधत्त बहुमानमघोनाम् ॥
- 6) सुतेन नागसाहये पुरेऽवसत्सभारतः ।
ररक्ष गां पुरुरवाः पुरेऽवसत्सभारतः ॥
इति युधिष्ठिरविजये अष्टमाश्वासः ॥

when Aurangzeb was the Moghul Emperor in India.¹ Nyāyāsārapadapañjikā is the name of the other work that is ascribed to Vāsudeva Kavi.

18—JAYĀNAKA (1150—1200 A. D.)

No mention of Jayānaka is made by Mañkha in his Srikanthacarita. So he might have not been his contemporary. Some say that he is the father of Alaka, the commentator on the Haravijaya of Ratnākara. In that case he will have to be placed in the 9th century A. D., as it has already been stated that the commentator Alaka was a pupil of Ratnākara. This may not be the case. It is probable that he was the father of Alaka, the joint author of the Kāvyaaprakāśa as Ruyyaka, the preceptor of Mañkha, quotes a verse from the work of Jayānaka in his Alaṅkārasarvasva.² Jayānaka describes the victory of Pṛthvirāja in his work. If this Pṛthvirāja is the same as the Chauhan King who is a historical personality and who defeated Shahabuddin Mohamed of Ghor in 1191 A. D., then Jayānaka will have to be placed somewhere in the latter part of the 12th century A. D. or the earlier part of the 13th century A. D. There is a reference to Pṛthvirājavijaya by Jayaratha in his commentary on the work of Ruyyaka.³ But the name of the author of the work is not mentioned in it.

1) M. C. K. p. 730 & S. K. C. Vol. II p. 169.

2) रथस्थितानां परिवर्तनाय पुरातनानामिव वाहनानाम् ।
उत्पत्तिभूमौ तुरगोत्तमानां दिशि प्रतस्थे रविरुत्तरस्याम् ॥ (A. S. p. 64)

3) भेदेऽभेदो यथा पृथ्वीराजविजये-
गृह्णद्भिः परया भक्त्या बाणलिङ्गपरम्पराः ।
अनर्भदेव वस्तेन्यैर्निर्मोयत नर्मदा ॥ (Ibid p. 53 Comm.)

If it is the work of Jayānaka that is referred to by Jayaratha, then the date of Jayānaka will approximately agree with that mentioned above.

Prthvirājavijaya is the name of the Mahākāvya written by Jayānaka. It celebrates the victory of Prthvirāja over the Muslim invader. The work is not available at present. Sri M. Krishnamacharya ascribes the authorship of this work to a poet by name Chandra-kavi.¹ These is a commentary on this work by Jonarāja.

19. JAYADRATHA (1200-1250 A. D.)

Jayadratha is the next major poet of Kashmir. He is the son of Śṅgārāratha and brother of Jayaratha, the well-known rhetorician and philosopher, who was a student of Subhaṭadatta and Sankadhara and who wrote Tantrāloka-viveka, a commentary on the Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta. His great grandfather's brother by name Sivaratha was a minister of King Uccala who ruled in Kashmir from 1101 to 1111 A. D. The name of Sivaratha is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa.² Jayadratha had both the titles Rājānaka and Mahāmāhesvarācārya, the former indicating that he was a Kashmirian of noble birth and the latter indicating his depth of learning. He refers to both these titles in the colophon of every canto of his work.³ Some scholars are of the opinion

- 1) H. S. L. by M. K. p. 270 and para 192.
- 2) शिवराज्युत्सवे श्लोकममुं शिवरथामिधः ।
विद्वान् प्रवर्त्ततेन ह्युत्सवाध्यक्षो ह्यधीयत ॥ (Raj. VIII v. 911)
- 3) इति श्रीमहामाहेश्वराचार्यराजानकजयद्रथविरचिते हरचरितचिन्तामणौ

Jayaratha and Jayadratha are one and the same. This view may not be correct as the former is a rhetorician and philosopher whereas the latter is a poet. The former does not possess the title Mahāmāhesvarācārya whereas the latter does.

The date of Jayadratha can be easily determined. Since his great grand-uncle was a minister of King Uccala, his date is clearly the commencement of the 12th century A. D. Counting three generations from him, the date of Jayadratha may be placed at the beginning of the 13th century A. D. This is further confirmed by the fact that his brother quotes from the Pṛthvirājaviṇaya of Jayānaka.

Jayadratha collected a number of Śaiva myths and tales and wrote a Mahākāvya called the Haracarita-cintāmaṇi in thirty-two cantos. This is printed in the Kāvya-mālā Series No. 61. The work is full of the Śaiva doctrines of the school of Vasugupta. He might have been influenced by his brother to some extent in writing this work. There are altogether 3439 verses in it. All of them are composed in the simple Anuṣṭubh metre except the first and the last verses of each canto. He seems to have written this work at the instance of Rājānaka Higgaka and Rājānaka Hahala both of whom were probably his teachers. Each canto of the work is called Prakāśa and is given a name which indicates the subject-matter that is dealt with in it. The poet covers a fairly wide range of topics, both mythical and philosophical. Of the tales that are narrated in it eight are localised at well-known Kashmirian Tīrthas. A fine

exposition of each one of the sacred sites is given to enable us to understand the form which the legends took immediately after Kalhaṇa wrote his Rājatarāṅgiṇī. The local names mentioned in the work agree with those referred to by Kalhaṇa. This shows that Kalhaṇa used only those Sanskrit names which were current during his time. The name of each canto of the work and the number of verses in it are furnished below in the form of a table to give an idea of the general scheme which the poet has adopted in its composition :—

Sl. No.	Name of the Canto	No. of verses
1	उपोद्घातः	52
2	ज्वालालिङ्गावतारः	101
3	कालदाहवर्णनम्	158
4	कालकूटकबलीकारः	80
5	नन्दिरुद्रवर्णनम्	92
6	अन्धकासुरवरप्रदानम्	112
7	अर्धनारीश्वरोदयः	45
8	चक्रप्रदानम्	66
9	दक्षवरप्रदानम्	76
10	सुरमहोत्सवः	256
11	विजयेश्वरावतारः	275
12	पिंगलेश्वरावतारवर्णनम्	35
13	वितस्तावतारः	56
14	स्वयम्भूनाथावतारः	219
15	कपटेश्वरावतारवर्णनम्	170
16	चण्डरुद्रावतारः	60
17	श्रवणद्वादशवर्णनम्	74
18	गरुडानुग्रहः	107

Sl. No.	Name of the Canto	No. of verses
19	गणपत्यवतारः	36
20	उपमन्युवरप्रदानम्	91
21	वासुदेववरप्रदानम्	80
22	महाकालावतारः	72
23	देवीस्वरूपलामडिण्डिमहोदरा- वतारवर्णनम्	47
24	शुम्भादिवर्णनम्	149
25	शुक्रवरप्रदानम्	66
26	जीमूतवाहनवरप्रदानम्	114
27	विक्रमतुङ्गवरप्रदानम्	65
28	शब्दशालावतारः	168
29	गङ्गावतारवर्णनम्	107
30	शिवधर्माद्युद्धारः	136
31	शिवरात्रिकथासंग्रहः	279
32	उपसंहारः	45

The Mahākāvya helps us to interpret the brief accounts of certain practices given in the Nīlamata-purāṇa. The Māhātmya or the greatness of each holy Tīrtha in Kashmir is brought out in it with a unique simplicity and originality so that the poet is often quoted even to-day as an authority on the origin of places of sacredness and interest in Kashmir. One of the most interesting accounts that is given in the work is about the creation or the origin of Kashmir.¹ There is

- 1) एष सुन्दरि वृत्तान्तं कश्मीरेष्ववधारय ।
 नौष्पा तत्र बद्धा त्वमिति नौधन्वर्न सरः ॥
 तस्मात्त्वत्सन्निधानेन कश्मीराः पावनीकृताः ।
 संस्पर्धते न सोऽमीभिर्ब्रह्मलोकोऽपि सुन्दरि ॥

(H. C. IV. vv. 27 & 28)

also a clear reference to the sanctity of the Vitastā (Jhelum) which is the principal river of Kashmir.¹ The work is also useful in giving an idea of the geography of Kashmir. The names of lakes, mountains, rivers, tīrthas and temples in Kashmir that occur in this work of Jayadratha with their modern equivalents and references in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī with the authority thereof are furnished in detail in Appendix V to this book. It may, in conclusion, be stated that the work of Jayadratha is not only a piece of fine literature in Sanskrit but also a useful work as it gives a clear account of the geography of Kashmir in the 13th century A. D. and supplies a fund of information on the various religious practices that prevailed there at that time.

20 SRĪVARA (1450-1500 A. D.)

Srīvara is the next major poet of Kashmir. No information is available about his parentage. The exact place in which he was born is also not specified anywhere. He was a brahmin by birth and the disciple of Jonarāja who wrote the second Rājatarāṅgiṇī long after Kalhaṇa wrote his work of that name. He too, like his master, wrote the third Rājatarāṅgiṇī in continuation of the second. At the beginning of this work he gives the exact date of death of his master and specifically says that he

- 1) वितस्ता च प्रविष्टात्र पर्वताच्छकुषे मया ।
तं त्रियलेन निर्भिद्य कश्मीरेषु नियोजिता ॥ (H. C. v. 53)

was his disciple.¹ He was the court-poet of king Zainulabidin, an enlightened Muslim monarch who evinced keen interest in the study of Sanskrit works.² Śrīvara seems to have received the patronage of three successive sultans commencing from Zainulabidin and ending with his grandson Hasanshah. He had the additional advantage of being a scholar in Persian and Arabic also to which there is a reference in the colophon of his work.³

The date of Śrīvara can be determined without much difficulty. Since he witnessed the administration of three Muslim Rulers successively in Kashmir commencing from that of King Zainulabidin, it is clear that he lived somewhere in the 15th century A.D., as it is known from history that King Zainulabidin ruled in Kashmir for fifty years from 1417 to 1467 A. D. Śrīvara himself has given some clues to his date in his work which he seems to have written somewhere about 1451 A. D.⁴ It is

- 1) श्रीजोनराजविवुधः कुर्वन् राजतरङ्गिणीम् ।
सायकाभिहिते वर्षे शिवसायुज्यमासदत् ॥
शिष्योऽस्य जोनराजस्य सोऽहं श्रीवरपण्डितः ।
राजावलीयन्थशेषापुरणं कर्तुमुद्यतः ॥ (Srirāj I. vv. 6 & 7)
- 2) तथापि सकलं चित्रसकान्ते त्रिजगद्यथा ।
श्रीजैनोल्लावदीनस्य न्यस्यामि गुणवर्णनम् ॥ (Ibid v. 15)
इति यवनशास्त्रपारंगतपण्डितश्रीवररचिते कथाकौतुके । (K. K. Colophon)
- 4) प्राज्ये जायति राज्येऽस्य पृथिव्यां पृथिवीपतेः ।
शाके मुनिद्विवेदेन्दु (१४२७) गणिते विक्रमे स्म गोः ॥
स्थितेऽपि लौकिके वर्षे चन्द्राष्ट (८१) परिपूरिते ।
१ मेषमुपागते ॥ (Ibid vv. 37 & 38)

also mentioned therein that he wrote the third Rājatarāṅgiṇī in the year 1477 A. D.¹ There is still another evidence which is equally convincing. That is, the author of the Persian work from which Śrīvara took the story element for his poetic composition in Sanskrit is Mulla Jain or more popularly known as Jaminooruddin who is known to have lived from 1414 to 1492 A. D. It can thus be seen that Jonarāja, Zainulabidin, Nooruddin and Śrīvara were all more or less contemporaries. On the basis of these evidences Śrīvara's date may be placed in the second half of the 15th century A. D.

Kathākautuka is the name of the poetical work that Śrīvara wrote. It has fifteen cantos called Kautukas. At the end of each of the first thirteen cantos the name Śrīvara is mentioned as the author whereas at the end of each of the last two cantos the name Sridhara occurs. This has given rise to the speculation that the author of Kathākautuka may be Sridhara and not Śrīvara. This view has not received much support from scholars. The difference in name in the last two cantos may be due to an error while copying the manuscript. This Kathākautuka is a rendering in Sanskrit of Mulla Jain's romantic master-piece in Persian namely Usufzulaikha. In this work Śrīvara has very successfully adapted the Persian story to the requirements of the Sanskrit style and idiom.

1) तस्मिन् मया पण्डितजोनकाख्यं

(१०३) नत्वा गुहं पण्डितश्रीवरेण ।

भूपालतुष्टः दूरलोकवाण्या ।

(१०४) रम्भोऽध्वनाकांश्च मनोहरोऽयम् ॥ (K. K. v. 40)

In rendering it into Sanskrit from the original in Persian the poet has exquisitely maintained the beauty of the original. The description of the heroine's ravishing beauty is an instance on hand.¹ The Persian mystical traditions of discerning the real in the phenomenal too has been rendered well in the true Indian style.² This is, in fact, the moral of this romantic poem. It is very rare to find such rendering in Sanskrit Literature. Śrīvara has shown how it is possible to bring about a synthesis of the Persian and Sanskrit cultures. In this respect it may be stated that the Kathākautuka stands almost unique in the contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Poetry.

Besides the Kathākautuka, Śrīvara is the author of a Subhāṣitāvalī, an anthology in which he quotes about 400 poets. It is a work of great interest to the student of history and Sanskrit. The general plan of this work is exactly similar to that of the Śārṅgadharapaddhati. It contains verses extracted from the works of various poets most of whom appear to be Kashmirians. It also contains the names of comparatively modern writers

- 1) दृष्टमत्यद्भुतं तस्यां द्वयमात्मविरोधकृत् ।
 अहो मुखं स्वरूपोर्ध्वं तमो च कचसंभवा ॥
 ताराहारावली कण्ठे कम्बुकण्ठ्या विराजते ।
 सेवितुं किमु श्रोतांशुं प्राप्ता नक्षत्रसंततिः ॥
 यां दृष्ट्वा सरसश्चकुर्नैव नेत्रनिमीलनम् ।
 न पुनर्दर्शयामासुः शरीरं स्वं घृणानुरागः ॥

(K. K. II. vv. 10, 13 & 16)

- 2) नारि लोकेऽपरं किञ्चिन्नानुरागं विना परम् ।
 अ। १. १ वैराग्यं जायते सुखदं पुनः ॥ (K. K. I. v. 49)

from other parts of India. For instance, the name of the great Jain writer and teacher Hemacandra who lived in the 12th century A. D. is one among them. The names of some of the most important works and their authors which are furnished in his anthology are Ānanda-kāvya of Ānanda, Īsvaraśataka of Avatāra, Kāśimābātmya of Ratnadhara, Dīnākrandana Stotra, Pradyumnaśikhara Pīṭhāṣṭaka and Mahārājñīstava of Rājānakagopāla, Devīstotra of Yaśaskara, Bhuvaneśvarīśataka of Padmanābha and Yaśomaṅgalastotra. These are considered important as they do not seem to have been mentioned elsewhere in other anthologies. It can be seen that some of these are prayer-poems. These will be dealt with in more detail in the appropriate sections of this book.

Besides these two works Śrīvara has also written the third Rājatarāṅgiṇī, a historical work. So he has a greater claim to be considered as a historian principally than as a poet. The merits of his historical work are dealt with in the history section of this book.

21. VALLABHADEVA (1450-1500 A.D.)

Vallabhadeva is the next poet of Kashmir. He is different from the commentator of the same name. He is mainly a compiler. No information is available about his parentage and ancestry. All that we can say about him is that he might not have lived earlier than King Zainulabidin. So his date may be placed during the second half of the 15th century A. D.

Subhāṣitāvalī is the name of the anthology which Vallabhadeva has compiled. It has as many as 3527

quotations in it. It is of great value in literary history as it not only reveals the names of various writers in Sanskrit Literature but also helps in fixing the dates of most of them. He has given the names of many Kashmirian writers in this compilation. There are also the names of several well-known North Indian poets. The work has been edited by Peter Peterson with full introduction and notes supplying additional information wherever possible regarding the dates and times of the authors mentioned therein. A few verses from the historical work of Jonorāja are also quoted in this compilation.

With Srīvara and Vallabhadeva, the list of major poets of Kashmir practically comes to a close. There are altogether twenty-one poets whose beautiful poetical works and useful compilations show how much Kashmir has contributed to Sanskrit Poetry in particular and to the propagation of knowledge and culture in general. A variety of topics is dealt with in these poetic compositions. For instance, technical rules are illustrated by Bhūmaka, epics are epitomised by Kṣemendra, geography is described by Jayadratha, foreign works have been rendered into Sanskrit by Srīvara and anthologies have been compiled by Vallabhadeva. These instances point out the utility of the poetic compositions of Kashmir. In addition, these poetical works not only breathe the highest tenets of truth and philosophy but also prescribe a conduct of life for the people to follow, based on the broad principles of dharma. It may be stated in conclusion that all these poetical works from Kashmir are at once beautiful and useful.

PART II—ROYAL POETS

Besides the major poets of Kashmir, there were several kings of Kashmir who were themselves poets and patrons of learning. Poetry was not a profession with them but a hobby and past-time. Still some of them seem to have composed good Sanskrit Poetry. Kalhaṇa and other writers have referred to a fairly large number of such Royal Poets. It has not been possible to specifically mention any poetical works written by them. Many beautiful verses ascribed to these poets are quoted in the anthologies. The names of the Royal Poets are, however, mentioned in some cases. These will now be dealt with furnishing the available information about them.

1—GOPĀDITYA (5th century B. C.)

Gopāditya is, perhaps, the earliest Royal Poet that is referred to. He belongs to an illustrious race of kings who successively ruled in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa gives a brief account of his ancestry tracing it to Kṣitinaṇḍa.¹ From that account it is seen that Vasunanda.

- 1) देव्या कुलतरोः कन्दः क्षितिनन्दोऽवशेषितः ।
 ततस्तस्य सुतस्त्रिंशद्वत्सरानन्वशान्महीम् ॥
 द्वापञ्चाशतमब्दान्क्षमां द्वौ मासौ च तदात्मजः ।
 अपासौदिसुनन्दाख्यः प्रख्यातस्मरशास्त्रकृत् ॥
 नरः पण्डितस्तस्य सुनुस्तावतोऽक्षाख्य तत्सुतः ।
 वर्षानभूदिसुग्रीमं योऽक्षबालमकारयत् ॥
 जुगोप गोपादित्योऽथ क्षमां सद्दीपां तदात्मजः ।
 वर्णाश्रमप्रत्यवेक्षादर्शितादियुगोदयः ॥
 सखोलत्वागिकाहाडिग्रामस्कन्दपुराभिधान् ।
 शर्मांगा समुखांश्चाग्रहारान्यः प्रत्यपादयत् ॥
 ज्येष्ठेश्वरं प्रतिष्ठाप्य गोपाद्वावार्थदेशजाः ।
 गोपाग्रहारान् कृतिना येन स्वाकारिता द्विजाः ॥
 पावनानग्रहारेषु ब्राह्मणान् स न्यरोपयत् । (Rāj. I. vv. 336 to 343)

the son of Kṣītinanda, was the author of a well-known work on erotics. Akṣa was the son of Vasunanda and Gopāditya was the son of Akṣa. Gopāditya seems to have ruled in Kashmir for a long time and earned the affection of his people by constructing many temples and donating munificently many Agraharas to deserving brahmins. It is stated that he ruled for the full span of sixty years. He is supposed to have lived in the 5th century B. C. There is no mention of any poetical work written by him in the account given by Kalhaṇa. But he seems to illustrate some of the rules enunciated by Vasunanda in his work on erotics to which there is a reference by Kalhaṇa. One of the verses ascribed to him in the anthologies indicates this.¹

2—GONANDA (240–200 B. C.)

Gonanda is the next Royal Poet and one of the three early kings who, according to Kalhaṇa, ruled in Kashmir somewhere prior to 200 B. C. As in the case of Gopāditya no work of his is available. But there is a humorous verse ascribed to him in one of the anthologies²

1) अथ द्यतजिताधरप्रहविधाबोशोऽसि तत्खण्डना—

दाखिकये वद को भवानिति मृषाकोपाश्रितभ्रूलतम् ।

सद्यः खिन्नकरात्तकुन्तलकरायत्तीकृतस्यास्य मे

मुग्धाक्षी प्रतिकृत्य तत्कृतवती हूतेऽपि यन्मार्जितम् ॥

(Subh. v. 2110 ; H. S. L. by M. K. p. 819)

2) सखि कलितः खलितो सौ नैव प्रणाममात्रेण ।

चिरमनुभवतु भवत्या बाहुलताबन्धनं धूर्तः ॥ (Kav. v. 385)

3—MĀTRGUPTA (100-50 B.C.)

Mātrgupta is a Kasmirian by domicile and not by birth. He seems to have ruled in Kashmir for a period of four years and nine months.¹ No information is available regarding his parentage and ancestry. He, however, appears to be a very early Royal Poet probably belonging to the period immediately preceding the Christian era, if not earlier. A fairly long account of the poet is given by Kalhana.² According to it Mātrgupta seems to have come to the court of King Harṣavikramāditya of Ujjain and appears to have been serving him silently without even once trying to push himself up to win royal favours as other poets were doing.³ The King, on his part, was not unaware of the poetic talents of his young protegee but purposely put on a nonchalant attitude towards him. The poet spent six seasons (i.e. one year) without food, clothing, sleep and other comforts in the service of the king who was then famous throughout the land for the patronage that he extended to poets and persons of merit and talent.⁴ At last, one cold night when all the guards were asleep the lamp in the apartments of the king was put out by a strong wind. The king wanted the lamp to be relit. But there was none to obey his behests.

- 1) त्रिमासो ना ययुस्तस्य नैकाहा पंचवत्सराः ।
- 2) Raj. III, vv. 129 to 229.
- 3) नानादिगन्तराख्यातं गुणवत्सुखं नृपम् ।
तं कविर्मातृगुप्ताख्यः सर्वास्थानस्थमावदत् ॥ (Rāj. III. v. 129)
- 4) एवं स सेवमानस्तमुद्योगेन बलीयसा ।
(अनिर्विण्णो मातृगुप्तः पट्टन्यवाहयत् ॥ (Rāj. III v. 159)

It was then that Mātr̥gupta seems to have risen to the occasion by making full use of the opportunity that came of its own accord. On being asked by the king as to why he was awake at that time of the night he seems to have composed a beautiful verse at the spur of the moment (which is also quoted by Kalhaṇa) and handed it over to the king in reply.¹ On reading it which described the pitiable condition of the poet the king felt very sorry for his indifferent attitude towards him till that day and began thinking how best he could honour the poet who was so talented. The kingdom of Kashmir which was then his vassalage was without a ruler. So he asked Mātr̥gupta to proceed at once to Kashmir to assume the reins of administration there and gave him a letter of authority. Not knowing the contents of the letter the poet did as he was bid. While marching to Kashmir he actually witnessed many good omens on the way. On his arrival there he was duly coronated as the king of Kashmir. This is briefly the account given by Kalhaṇa. It is supposed that during his short period of rulership in Kashmir Mātr̥gupta extended patronage to Menṭha who displayed his work before the king and won high appreciation from him.

The date of Mātr̥gupta cannot be easily determined as there are several controversies about it. If he is considered as the protege of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain

- 1) शीतेनोद्धृषितस्य माषशिमिवचिन्तार्णवे मज्जतः
 शान्तार्णिनं स्फुटिताधरस्य धमतः शुक्लामकण्ठस्य मे ।
 निद्रा क्वाप्यवमानितेय दयिता संत्यज्य दूरं गता
 सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥ (Rāj. III v. 181)

after whom the era is named, then Mātṛgupta's date will have to be placed in the first century B. C. as the Vikrama era commences from 56 B. C.¹ If, on the other hand, he is considered as the patron of Menṭha, the author of Hayagrīvavadha then his date might have to be shifted to 5th century A. D. provided that is the correct date of Menṭha. According to the account given by Kalhaṇa, Mātṛgupta was made king of Kashmir by Vikramāditya about whom also Kalhaṇa significantly remarks.² This king Vikramāditya alone whose other name was Harṣa and who was ruling at Ujjain is the famous Śakāri according to Kalhaṇa who clearly refers to an earlier Vikramāditya in different terms altogether.³ Taking into account the line of rulers commencing from blind Yudhiṣṭhira's death in 1080 B. C. and the regional periods of kings from Pratāpāditya to Mātṛgupta (both inclusive) the date of the end of Mātṛgupta's rule works up to 110 A. D. It is also stated by Kalhaṇa that Mātṛgupta abdicated on hearing the news of the death of Harṣavikramāditya. If it is so, then Harṣavikramāditya's death will also have to be taken at 110 A. D. which is contrary to that taken for the Śakāri Vikramāditya, namely 56 B. C. There is thus, an apparent self-contradiction in Kalhaṇa. Dr. D. R. Mankad has tried to bring about a reconciliation between these two dates by

- 1) His identity or otherwise with Kālidāsa has been dealt with in Appendix I of this book.
- 2) म्लेच्छेदाय वसुधां हरेरवतिरिष्यतः ।
शकान्विनाश्य येनादौ कार्यमारो लघुकृतः (Rāj. III v. 128)
- 3) शकारविक्रमादित्य इति स भ्रममाश्रितैः ।
(अन्यैरत्रान्यथालेखि विमंवादि कथितम् ॥ (Ibid II v. 6)

suggesting some adjustment in Kashmir chronology based on what he calls the Manvantara—Caturyuga—method (M. C. M.).¹ If the arguments put forth by Dr. Mankad are accepted then the date of Mātṛgupta may have to be placed in the first half of the first century B. C.

The exact name of the work that Mātṛgupta wrote is not available anywhere at present. He, probably,

- 1) The names of the kings that ruled in Kashmir after blind Yudhiṣṭhira with their regnal periods are furnished in the margin. Blind Yudhiṣṭhira's accession was in 280 B. C. His death according to Pratāpāditya 32 M. C. M. will be 240 B. C. Jalauka 32 (280-40) instead of 180 B. C. Tunjīna 36 From him only twenty years Vijaya 8 on an average for each king Jayendra 37 seems to have been taken instead of 40 years which applied Sandhimālī 47 only for previous periods. Meghavāhana 34 Since there are nine kings from Pravarasena I 30 Pratapāditya to Mātṛgupta 180 Hiranya 30 years (20x9) must have elapsed Mātṛgupta 4 bringing the date of his accession to 60 B. C. (240-180). He ruled for four years. Date of his abdication is 56 B. C., which is also the date of Harṣa vikramāditya's death.

(P. C. pp. 119-125)

wrote a commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata. This is to be seen from a reference in the Nāṭyapradīpa of Sundaramiśra while defining Nāṇḍī.¹ Abhinavagupta also quotes him frequently.² It is also possible that he might have written a treatise on dramaturgy. The numerous references to Mātṛgupta by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Abhijñāna Śākuntala of Kālidāsa also lead us to this opinion. They are collected together and are reproduced below with a view to gauge how much information is available on the technicalities of the drama and whether it would be possible to reconstruct the work of Mātṛgupta which is not available at present :—

(1) सूत्रधारलक्षणं यथा मातृगुप्ताचार्यैरुक्तम्—

चतुरातोद्यनिष्णातोऽनेकभूषासमावृतः ।

नानामापणतत्त्वज्ञः सर्वशास्त्रविचक्षणः ॥

वेशोपचारचतुरः पौरुषेणविचक्षणः ।

नानागतिप्रचारज्ञो रसभावविशारदः ॥

नाट्यप्रयोगनिपुणो नानाशिल्पकलान्वितः ।

छन्दोविधानतत्त्वज्ञः सर्वशास्त्रविचक्षणः ॥

तत्तद्ग्रीतानुगलयकलातालवधारणः ।

अवधाय प्रयोक्ता च योक्तृणामुपदेशकः ॥

एवं गुणगणोपेतः सूत्रधारोऽभिधीयते ॥ (S. K. p. 5 Comm.)

(2) तदुक्तं मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः :—

रसास्तु त्रिविधा वचिकनेपथ्यस्वभावजाः ।

रसानुरूपैरालापैः श्लोकैर्वाक्यैः पदैस्तथा ।

1) अत्र च भरतः—आशौर्वचनसंयुक्ता प्यलंकृता । अस्य व्याख्याने मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः षोडशान्विपदान्विता इत्युदाहृता ।

2) यथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शान्वितः ।

॥ (H. S. L. by M. K. p. 819)

नानालङ्कारसंयुक्तैर्वाचिको रस उच्यते ।

कर्मरूपवयोजातिदेशकालानुवर्तिभिः ॥

माल्यभूषणवस्त्रोर्ध्वेनपथ्यरस उच्यते ।

रूपयौवनलावण्यधैर्यस्थैर्यादिभिर्गुणैः ॥

रसः स्वाभाविको ज्ञेयः स च नाट्ये प्रशस्यते ॥

(S. K. p. 7. Comm.)

3) उक्तं च मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः —

प्राक्प्रतीचीभुवोः सिन्धोर्हिमवद्विन्ध्यशैलयोः ।

अन्तरावस्थितं देशमार्यावर्तं विदुर्वुधाः ॥

आर्यावर्तप्रस्तासु सर्वास्वेव हि जातिषु ।

शौरसेनीं समाश्रित्य भाषां काव्ये प्रयोजयेत् ॥

(Ibid p. 8 Comm.)

(4) तल्लक्षणं नाटकलक्षणमुक्तं मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः—

प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयं धीरोदात्तादिनायकम् ।

राजर्षिवंशचरितं तथा दिव्याश्रयान्वितम् ॥

युक्तं वृद्धिविलासाधैर्गुणैर्नानाविभूतिभिः ।

शृङ्गारवीरान्यतरप्रधानरससंश्रयम् ॥

प्रकृत्यवस्थान्धसन्ध्यङ्गसन्ध्यन्तरविभूषणैः ।

पताकास्थानकैर्वृत्तं पतङ्गैश्च प्रवृत्तिभिः ॥

नाट्यालङ्कारणैर्नानाभाषायुक्पात्रसंचयैः ।

अङ्कप्रवेशकैराढ्यं रसभावसमुज्ज्वलम् ॥

मुखदुःखोत्पत्तिकृतं चरितं यच्च भूभृताम् ।

इतिवृत्तं कथोद्भूतं किञ्चिदुत्पाद्य वस्तु च ॥

नाटकं नाम तल्लक्षणं रूपकं नाट्यवेदिभिः ॥ (Ibid. p. 9 Comm)

(5) स्वैरगैश्चापि वीध्यङ्गैः प्रकुर्यादामुखं बुधः । इति मातृगुप्ताचार्योक्तिः ।

(Ibid p. 13 Comm.)

(6) तत्र विशेषो मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः—

कचित्कारणमात्रं तु कचिच्च फलदर्शनम् ।

कचिदारम्भमात्रं तु फलमुक्त्वा क्रिया कचित् ॥

व्यापारश्च विशेषोक्तः कचिद्वा फलसाधकः ।

बहुधा रूपकेष्वेवं त्रीनरूपेण दृश्यते ॥

फलं यस्य हि संहारः फलबीजं तु तद्ववेत् । (S. K. p. 15 Comm.)

वस्तुबीजं कथा ज्ञेया अर्थबीजं तु नायकः ॥

(7) मातृगुप्ताचार्याश्च—

संमतानां देवतानां राजन्यामात्यसैनिके ।

वणिज्जागधसूतानां पाठ्यं योज्यं तु संस्कृतम् ॥

(Ibid P. 15 Comm.)

(8) मातृगुप्ताचार्यैस्तम्—

उपमाद्यैरलङ्कारैर्गुणैः श्लेषादिभिस्तथा ।

रत्नाढ्यैर्बहुभिर्युक्तं भूषणैरिव भूषणम् ॥

स्वप्नो दूतश्च लेखश्च नेपथ्योक्तिस्तथैव हि ।

आकाशवचनं चेति ज्ञेया ह्यन्तरसन्धयः ॥

गृहकक्षाविचारिण्यस्तथोपवनसंचराः ।

यामेषु च नियुक्तानां यामशुद्धिविशारदाः ॥

संचारिकास्तु ता ज्ञेया यवन्योऽपि मताः क्वचित् ॥

(Ibid. pp. 20 & 57 Comm.)

शोलवान् सत्वसंपन्नस्य कालस्यः प्रियंवदः ।

पररंभान्तराभिज्ञो लोके चाक्रमतां गतः ॥

अस्त्रशस्त्रादितत्त्वज्ञो यात्राकालविशेषवित् ।

देशवित्कालविचैव भवेत्सेनापतिर्गुणैः ॥

(Ibid p. 62 Comm.)

(9) तल्लक्षणं मातृगुप्ते—

विकासितक्रपोलान्तमुत्फुल्लामललोचनम् ।

किंचिल्लक्षितदन्ताग्रं हसितं तद्विदो विदुः ॥ (Ibid p. 74 Comm)

(10) यदुक्तं तत्रैव — उत्तमस्य समुद्दिष्टं स्मितं हसितमेव च ॥

(Ibid p. 75 Comm.)

(11) एषां स्थानमप्युक्तं मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः—

अर्थोपक्षेपणं यत्र न गूढं सविने भवेत् ।

द्विलिङ्गाप्रत्युत्तरोपेतं तृतीयं तन्मतं तथा ॥

(Ibid pp. 123 & 151 Comm.)

- (12) तल्लक्षणमुक्तं मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः—
मुखे प्रतिमुखे गर्भे विमर्शो च चतुर्वर्षि ।
भेदाः सन्धिषु कर्तव्याः पताकास्थानकस्य तु
(S. K. p. 117 Comm.)
- (13) उक्तं च मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः—
योज्यं विद्रूपकोन्मत्तवालतापसयोषिताम् ।
नीचानां पण्डकानां च नीचग्रहविकारिणम् ॥
विद्वद्भिः प्राकृतं कार्यं कारणात्संस्कृतं कचिन् ॥
(Ibid p. 126 Comm.)
- (14) मातृगुप्ताचार्यैरुक्तम्—
ये नित्यं सत्यसंपन्नाः कामदोषविवर्जिताः ।
ज्ञानविज्ञानकुशलाः कांचुकीयास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥
सन्धिविग्रहसंबद्धं नानाकार्यसमुत्थितम् ।
निवेदयन्ति याः कार्यं प्रतिहार्यस्तु ताः स्मृताः ॥
संवाहने च गन्वे च तथा चैव प्रसाधने ।
तथाभरणसंयोगमाल्यसंग्रथनेषु च ॥
विज्ञेया नामतः सा तु नृपतेः परिचारिका ।
यदाधिकारिकं वस्तु सम्यक् प्राज्ञैः प्रयुज्यते ॥
तदर्थो यः समारम्भस्तत्कार्यं कथ्यते इति ॥
(Ibid pp. 154 156 & 199 Comm.)
अभिप्रेतं समर्थं च प्रतिरूपं क्रियाफलम् ।
इति वृत्तं भवेद्यस्मिन् फलयोगः स उच्यते ॥
- (15) अज्ञानि तु—
सन्धिनिबोधो ग्रथनं निर्णयः प्रतिभाषणम् ।
प्रसादानन्दसमयः कृतिर्भावोऽङ्गूहनम् ॥
पूर्वभावोपसंहारो प्रशस्तिश्च चतुर्दश ॥
(Ibid p. 230 Comm.)

From the above references it can clearly be seen that the qualities of a Sūtradhāra, the definition of Rasa particularly in a drama, the characteristics of a drama, the five sandhis and the Antarasandhis, the restrictions imposed on the actors in the use of a particular language, the interludes in a drama, the time and place of their occurrence and the definitions of the various characters in a drama are dealt with in as detailed a manner as possible giving no room for doubt about the nature of the work that Māṭṛgupta is supposed to have written. It is possible that he wrote a work on dramaturgy in Sanskrit. The quotations from Māṭṛgupta given by Rāghavabhaṭṭa are so many and occur so frequently in the commentary that it is possible to have a general idea of the extent of the work from which they have been taken.¹ It would be fortunate if the work as such is discovered as it would be a very early work on dramaturgy and would possibly throw additional light on the dates of at least some of the existing works on the subject.

Māṭṛgupta may not merely be an author of a work on dramaturgy or a commentator on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata as he is often supposed to be. He is also referred to as a great poet by Kuntala.² Kṣemendra

1) May be, the reconstruction of at least some of the sections of the entire work would be possible from the quotations of Rāghavabhaṭṭa.

2) अनुसरणदिनप्रदर्शनं पुनः क्रियते । यथा मातृगुप्तमञ्जीरप्रभृतीनां
सौकुमार्यवैचित्र्यसंवलितपरिस्पन्दस्यन्दोनि काव्यानि संभवन्ति ॥

(V. J. Ms. p. 43)

also quotes a beautiful verse and ascribes it to him.¹ Another nice verse is ascribed to Mātṛgupta by Vallabha-deva in his anthology.² These references indicate that Mātṛgupta might have written one or more poetic compositions. But as in the case of his work on dramaturgy, even the name of his poetical work is not available. A few fragments only are available here and there.

4—HARṢA VIKRAMĀDITYA

Kalhana mentions king Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain as the patron of Mātṛgupta.³ Kashmir was one of the principal vassalages of this king Harṣa. There are several controversies as to who exactly this Harṣa is. Some scholars identify him with Harṣavardhana, the hero of the Harṣacarita or Bāṇa. In the anthologies

1) नायं निशामुखसरोहराजहंसः

कौरीकपोलतलकान्ततनुः शशाङ्कः ।

आभाति नाथ तदिदं दिवि दुग्धसिन्धु-

डिन्डीरपिण्डपरिपाण्डु यशस्त्वदीयम् ॥ (A. V. C. v. 142)

2) नाकारमुद्रहसि नैव विकत्थसे त्वं

दिप्तां न सूचयसि मुञ्चसि सत्फलानि ।

निःशब्दवर्षणमिवाम्बुधरस्य राजन्

संलक्ष्यते फलत एव तव प्रसादः ॥

(S. K. C. Vol. I. p. 331)

3) तत्रानेहस्युजयिन्यां श्रीमान् हर्षापराभिधः ।

एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती विक्रमादित्य इत्यभूत् ॥

(Rāj. III v. 125)

several verses occur under the name Harṣadeva and several others under Harṣavardhana. Those verses that occur under the former name are found in one or the other of the three dramas Ratnāvali, Nāgānanda and Priyadarśikā; but those under the latter are not traceable in them. So it is possible that Harṣadeva and Harṣavardhana are different from each other. Moreover Bāṇa does not refer to his patron as Harṣadeva. It is quite likely that Harṣadeva and Harṣa Vikramāditya are identical. It is also probable that the author of the three plays is the author of a work on dramaturgy as Abhinavagupta frequently refers to it.¹

The controversy that is going on as regards the identity of Harṣa Vikramāditya is mainly due to the large number of kings and poets of the name of Harṣa that occur in the history of India and Kashmir. For instance Bhoja quotes a 'poet Harṣa in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*² and Sodḍhala eulogises a king by name Harṣa in

- 1) रसभावदृष्टस्तशिरश्चाद्य यद्यंगं पूर्णं वापूर्णं कृत एव नाख्यनृत्तयो-
भेदस्तुल्यानुकारत्वं इति हर्षवार्तिकम् ॥ (N. S. Vol, p. 207)
श्रीहर्षस्तु रङ्गशब्देन तौर्यन्त्रिकं ब्रुवन् नाख्याङ्गप्रयोगस्य तस्यैव
पूर्वरङ्गतां मन्यमानः पूर्वश्चासौ (Ibid p. 211)
- 2) श्लोकोऽयं हर्षाभिधानकविना देवस्य तस्याग्रतः
यावद्यावदुदीरितश्शकवधैषध्वजदीक्षागुरुः ।
तावत्तावदुपेतसान्द्रपुलकोद्भेदः स तस्मै ददौ
लक्षं लक्षमखण्डितं मदबलप्रक्लिन्नगण्डं गजम् ॥

(H, S. L. by M. K. p. 586)

one of his works.¹ Sāgaranandin of the 13th century A.D. has written a work called Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa. The last verse in it indicates that he wrote the work after studying the views of Bharata according to the various interpretations of the same by Harṣa Vikrama, Mātṛgupta and others.² This suggests that Harṣa Vikrama and Mātṛgupta wrote works on Nāṭyaśāstra which were in existence in the 13th century A.D. Sāradātanaya³ and Bahurūpamiśra have quoted the opinion of Harṣa in their respective works. Abhinavagupta mentions the name of the work on Nāṭyaśāstra written by Harṣa as Harṣavārtika.⁴ From the above references it looks as though Harṣa Vikramāditya and Mātṛgupta were not only contemporaries but also wrote similar works.

The determination of the date of Harṣa Vikramāditya is, as in the case of Mātṛgupta, equally controversial. Dr. Mankad has, however, put forth certain arguments in this behalf and has fixed the date of these two as 1st century B.C.⁵ He is also of the opinion that this Vikramāditya is the same as that referred to in the

- 1) श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु नाम्नेव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
गोर्ध्व एव निजसंसदि येन राज्ञा संपूजितः कनककोटिशतेन बाणः ॥
- 2) श्रीहर्षविक्रमनराधिपमातृगुप्तगर्गश्मकुट्टनसकुट्टकवादराणाम् ।
एषां मतेन भरतस्य मतं विगाह्य द्रुष्टं मया समनुगच्छत रत्नकोशम् ।
- 3) Bhāvaprakāśa p 238.
- 4) वार्तिककृतयुक्तम्—वाच्यानुगतेऽभिनवे प्रतिपाद्येऽर्थे च गात्रविशेषैः ॥
उभयोरपि हि समाने को भेदो नृत्तनाट्यगतः ॥
- 5) P. C. pp. 334 & 335, (N. S. Vol. I, p, 172)

Kathāsaritsāgara.¹ The same verse occurs in one anthology² under the name of Menṭha and in another under the name of Viṣamāditya.³ It appears that Viṣamaśīla was another name for Vikramāditya. For Kalhaṇa says that Pravarasena II reinstated the son of Vikramāditya on the throne.⁴ Thus Vikramāditya, Harṣa Vikrama and Viṣamaśīla would appear to be three different names of the same king after whom the Vikrama Śaka was founded in the year 56 B.C. It is also now known that the era was founded from the date of the death. The names of the kings which follow in succession also lend support to the view that these three names might belong to the same person. It can also be seen that the addition of Āditya is not uncommon in their names.⁵ On the basis of all these facts the date of Harṣa Vikramāditya may provisionally be placed in the 1st century B.C.

1) नाम्ना तं विक्रमादित्यं हरोक्तेनाकरोत्पिता ।

तथा विषमशूलं च महेन्द्रादित्यभूपतिः ॥

(K. S. S. XVIII. 1. v. 51)

2) Śārng. (Peterson) v. 1572

3) अतसीपुष्पसंकाशं खं वीक्ष्य जलदागमे ।

ये वियोगेऽपि जीवन्ति न तेषां विद्यते भयम् ॥ (Subh. v 1718)

4) वैरिनिर्वासितं पित्र्ये विक्रमादित्यजं न्यधात् ।

राज्ये प्रतापशूलं स शोलादित्यापराभिधम् ॥ (Rāj. III)

5) i) Viṣṇuvardhana, Silāditya, Viṣamaśīla

ii) Harṣavardhana, Vikramāditya, Pratāpasīla

It can thus be seen that Harṣa Vikramāditya was both a poet and a rhetorician. He may be the author of Harṣavārtika referred to by Abhinavagupta. But the name of his poetical work is not available anywhere. A verse which occurs both in the Mṛcchakatika of Sūdraka and the Kāvyaadarṣa of Daṇḍin is, however, ascribed to both Vikramāditya and Menṭha,¹ in an anthology. Another anthology also quotes a verse and ascribes it to Viṣamāditya which may be a misprint for Vikramāditya.² There is still another beautiful verse occurring in another anthology under the name of Vikramāditya.³ All these quotations lead us to think that he might have been the joint-author along with the poet Menṭha of a work which is now lost. It is still indefinite as to who this Vikramāditya was and what exactly he wrote. As in the case of Mātṛgupta a few references to him and a few fragments of verses ascribed to him only are available here and there.

5. PRAVARASENA II (60 B.C. to 20 A.D.)

Pravarasena II is the next famous Royal poet who ruled in Kashmir immediately after Mātṛgupta abdicated. He was the son of Toramāṇa. He belongs to the

- 1) लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्धतीवाञ्जनं नभः ।
असत्पुरुषसेवेव दृष्टिर्निष्फलां गता ॥ (Sārṅg.)
- 2) Subh. v. 1718 Cf. p. 277.
- 3) चेतोहरा युवतयः स्वजनोऽनुकूलः
सद्बान्धवाः प्रणतिगर्भगिरश्च भृत्याः ।
गर्जन्ति दन्तिनिवहास्तरलास्तुरङ्गाः
सम्मोलेने नयनयोर्नहि किञ्चिदस्ति ॥ (S. S. B. p. 270, v. 60)

dynasty of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. A detailed account of the number of kings who ruled Kashmir from the commencement of the Kaliyuga is given by Kalhaṇa.¹ It can be seen from it that as many as 79 kings ruled for a total period of 3125 years. This was followed by the administration of Meghavāhana who ruled in Kashmir for 34 years.² He was succeeded by his son Pravarasena I also called Tuṅjīna who ruled for 30 years as already stated.³ This Pravarasena had two sons Hiraṇya and Toramāṇa. Hiraṇya died issueless after ruling in Kashmir for about 31 years.⁴ At the time of his death 3220 years of Kali had rolled on according to the calculations given by Kalhaṇa. It was at this time that Pravarasena II, son of Toramāṇa, became eligible to the throne of Kashmir. Since he had gone on a pilgrimage at that time, Harṣa Vikramāditya sent Mātṛgupta as the ruler of Kashmir.⁵ By the time he

- 1) शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले ।
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः ॥
वर्षाणां द्वादशशती षष्टिः षड्भिश्च संयुता ।
भूभृतां कालसंख्यायां तद्द्वापञ्चाशतो मता ॥ (Rāj. I. vv. 51 & 54)
चतुर्दशाधिकं वर्षसहस्रं नव वासराः ।
मासाश्च विगता ह्यस्मिन् अष्टाविंशतिराजसु ॥ (Ibid end)
शतद्वये वत्सराणामष्टभिः परिवर्धिते ।
अस्मिन् द्वितीये व्याख्यातां षट्प्रख्यातगुणा नृपा ॥ (Rāj II end)
- 2) अथोल्लसत्पृथुश्लाघमानिन्युर्मेषवाहनम् ।
तस्मिन्नस्तंगते भुक्ता क्षमां चतुस्त्रिंशतं समा ॥ (Rāj III vv. 2 & 96)
- 3) Cf. p. 268 Foot-Note.
- 4) रक्षिता दशमालोनाः क्षामेकत्रिंशतिं समाः ।
तस्मिन् क्षणे हिरण्योऽपि शान्तिं निस्सन्ततिर्ययौ ॥ (Rāj III v. 124)
- 5) ययौ प्रवरसेनोऽथ तीर्थयात्रादिगन्तरम् ॥ (Ibid v. 123)

returned from his pilgrimage about 5 years later Hargā Vikramāditya had passed away and Mātṛgupta had abdicated. So Pravarasena II assumed charge of the administration of Kashmir and seems to have ruled there for about sixty years. This account helps us to determine the date of Pravarasena II approximately. As already shown under Mātṛgupta, the calculations given by Kalhaṇa show that the death of Hargā Vikramāditya was somewhere about the year 110 A.D. So the period of Pravarasena II's rule in Kashmir would be from 110 A.D. to 170 A.D., which places his date in the second century A.D. Dr. Mankad has reconciled this date with 56 B.C. on the basis of M.C.M. calculations. If this reconciliation is accepted then the date of Pravarasena II will have to be placed in the second half of the first century B.C. and the first two decades of the first century A.D.

There seem to be altogether four Pravarasenas in Sanskrit Literature.¹ But Kalhaṇa speaks of only two kings of that name as already stated. Dr. Bühler is of the opinion that Pravarasena I belongs to the 4th century A.D. and Pravarasena II to the 5th century A.D. without furnishing adequate reasons. No details are, however, available as regards the remaining two Pravarasenas.

Setubandha is the name of the poetic composition that is ascribed to Pravarasena II. It is also called Daṣamukhavadhā as could be seen from the colophon at the end of every canto of the work. But it is called

1) S. K. C. Vol. I. p. 326.

Rāvaṇavadha in the last verse of the poem. Daṇḍin and Kṣemendra refer to it only as Setubandha. Even Bāṇa calls it as such. It is, however, very popularly known as Setubandha Mahākāvya in general and referred to as such in Sanskrit Literature.

The authorship of this Setubandha kāvya appears to be an unsettled factor though there are sufficient reasons to ascribe it to Pravarasena II. It is often ascribed to Kālidāsa on the basis of a statement occurring in the first verse of the commentary called Rāmaśetupradīpa.¹ It is stated in it that Kālidāsa wrote it for king Pravarasena II at the instance of Vikramāditya. But the circumstances in which it was so written are not clearly stated. It is, however, clear from the colophon at the end of the first two cantos and from the name of the Kāvya given on the title page that Pravarasena is the author.² Curiously enough, the name of Kālidāsa is inserted along with that of Pravarasena in the colophon at the end of the remaining cantos while mentioning the authorship of the poetic composition.³ There are 15 cantos in the Setubandha Mahākāvya. It is completely written in Prakrit. The story element is taken from the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. Though it is written in Prakrit the verses occurring in it are composed in such a manner as to be pleasing to the ear. An idea of the elegant style

- 1) वीराणां काव्यचर्चाचतुरिंशद्विधे विक्रमादित्यवाचा ।
यं चक्रे कालिदासः कविकुमुदविधुः सेतु नाम प्रबन्धम् ॥
- 2) इति प्रवरसेनविरचिते दशमुखवधे । श्रीप्रवरसेनविरचितं सेतुबन्धम् ।
- 3) इति श्रीप्रवरसेनविरचिते—कालिदासकृते—दशमुखवधे महाकाव्ये ।

in which the work is written can be had by a single verse which describes the vow of Sugrīva.¹ Kulanātha, Rāmadāsa and Śrīkrishna have written commentaries on the Sethu-bandhakāvya. Only the commentary of Rāmadāsa is available at present.

6—DHARMĀŚOKA (50–100 A. D.)

Dharmāśoka is the next Royal Poet of Kashmir who belonged to comparatively early times. He is different from Aśoka Maurya. He was the third in ascent from Kāniṣka of the first Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir. He was the great grandson of Śakuni. Since it is known from History that Kāniṣka lived in the latter half of the second century A. D., the date of Dharmāśoka may, approximately, be placed in the second half of the first century A. D. Kalhaṇa refers to Dharmāśoka in glorious terms as a great builder of cities and a progressive monarch of Kashmir. It is seen from the account given by Kalhaṇa that Dharmāśoka freed himself from sins by embracing Buddhism and built the city of Śrīnagarī with 96 lakhs of houses resplendent with beauty and wealth.² He appears to have been a poet and a

- 1) ओ भगवत्सुदुर्मं गिहदसाणमइन्दुसुहसंचारम् ।
 रामानुरागमतो मलेमि लंकं वगत्थलिं व वगगओ ॥
 उत भगवत्सुदुर्मं निहतदशाननमृगेन्द्रसुखसंचारम् ।
 रामानुरागमतो मृदामि लङ्कां वनस्थलीमिव वनगजः ॥—संस्कृतम्
 (S. B. IV. v. 63)

- 2) प्रपौत्रः शकुनेस्तस्य नृपतेः प्रपितृव्यजः ।
 अथावहदशोकाख्यः सत्यसन्धो वसुन्धराम् ॥
 स पण्णवत्या गेहानां लक्ष्मिस्तमुज्ज्वलैः ।
 गरीयसीं पुरीं श्रीमांश्चक्रे श्रीनगरीं नृपः ॥
 (Rāj. I. vv. 101 & 104)

man of letters also. But no work of his as such is available. There is, however, a verse occurring in one of the anthologies which is ascribed to him and is extremely nice.¹

7.—RAṆĀDITYA (100-160 A. D.)

Kalhaṇa mentions two kings by name Tuṇjīna. One of them is the son of Meghavāhana and is also called Pravarasena I or Śreṣṭhasena who ruled in Kashmir for nearly thirty years.² The other is the son of Yudhiṣṭhira II also called Raṇāditya who ruled much later, probably in the first half of the second century A. D. The first Tuṇjīna does not appear to have been a poet. It is only the second one that is known for his poetic talents even though no work of his as such is available at present. It can be seen from the account given by Kalhaṇa that Raṇāditya came to the throne of Kashmir after his brother Nareन्द्रāditya II ruled there for about thirteen years.³ He is stated to have ruled for an in-

- 1) अहमहमिकावद्धोत्साहं रतोत्सवशंसिनि
प्रसरति मुहुः प्रौढस्त्रीणां कथामृतदुर्दिने ।
कलितपुलका सद्यः स्तोकोद्गतस्तनकोरको
बलयति शनैर्वाला वक्षस्थले तगलां दशम् ॥ (Sdk, II i. v. 4)
- 2) स समाहिंशतं भूभृदनिर्दिशशायोऽभवत् । (Rāj. III v. 101)
- 3) तस्य रत्नप्रभादेव्यां जातो राजा युधिष्ठिरः ।
अपासीन्नवमातोनाः क्षमां चत्वारिंशतं समाः ॥
पद्मावल्यां सुतस्तस्य नरेन्द्रादित्य इत्यभूत् ।
लःखणापरनामो यो नरेन्द्रस्वामिनं व्यधात् ॥
तस्यानुजो धरणिभृद्वणादित्यस्ततोऽभवत् ।
तुंजीनापरनामानं यं जनाः प्राहुरञ्जला ॥

(Ibid vv. 379, 383 & 386)

credible period of 300 years. Dr. Mankad refers to this period as the kingless period in Kashmir. Raṇāditya appears to have been a popular Royal poet. A few verses ascribed to him are found in the Anthologies. In one of them a simile from an umbrella is expressed in a nice manner.¹ Beyond this no further information is available regarding the poetic compositions that he wrote.

8--MUKTĀPĪḌA (699--735 A. D.)

After Raṇāditya there seems to have been a dearth for royal Poets in Kashmir for over five centuries. It is only at the end of the 7th century A. D. that we come across the next Royal poet. He is Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya who was the third son of Durlabhavardhana of the Kārkoṭa Dynasty of Kashmir. His elder brothers were Candrāpīḍa and Tarāpīḍa. One of his ministers was Saktisvāmī. His date seems to be almost definite as it is stated that he ruled in Kashmir from 699 to 735 A. D. Kalhaṇa describes him as a great king who introduced new systems in his administration.²

- 1) यद्यप्युन्नतवंशवान्नवसुधाधामाभिरामं वपुः
 संप्राप्तोऽतिशयस्वभावसुभगच्छायस्सतां तापहृत् ।
 तत्रायेष विसंस्थुलस्थितिरहो लक्ष्मीं निजात्मोचितां
 प्रायश्चक्रिकया विना न लभते पश्यातपत्रं यथा ॥ (Subh v. 3075)
- 2) राजा श्रीललितादित्यः सार्वभौमस्ततोऽभवत् ।
 प्रादेशकेश्वरस्रष्टुर्विधेर्बुद्धिरगोचरः ॥ (Rāj. IV. v. 126)

Muktapīḍa appears to have written didactic poetry as several verses ascribed to him in the anthologies indicate. He is capable of expressing beautiful ideas in a very appealing manner. For instance the idea that it is impossible to please the masses is nicely brought out in one of the verses ascribed to him.¹ Similarly he describes the invincibility of fate in one verse and the mercilessness of hunters in another occurring in the anthologies under his name.² But no work of his as such is available.

9—JAYĀPĪḌA (750–800 A. D.)

Jayāpīḍa is the next Royal poet of renown. He was the son of Vajrāditya and succeeded his brother Saṅgrāmapīḍa in the administration of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa calls him a Paṇḍita in the account he gives of

- 1) वसन्त्यरण्येषु चरन्ति दूर्वा पिबन्ति तोयान्यपरिग्रहाणि ।
तथापि बध्वा हरिणा नराणां को लोकमाराधयितुं समर्थः ॥ (Sārṅg.)
- 2) त्यक्तं जन्मवनं दृणांकुर्वती मातेव मुक्ता स्थली
विस्मम्भस्थितिहेतवो न गणिता बन्धूपमाः पादपाः ।
बालापत्यवियोगदुःखविधुरा नापेक्षिता सा मृगी
मार्गन्तः पदवीं तथाप्यकरुणा व्याधा न मुञ्चन्त्यमौ ॥
हिंसा पाशमपास्य कूटरचनां भवेत्वा बलाद्वागुरां
पर्यस्ताग्निशिखाकलापजटिलाभिर्गत्य दूरं वनात् ।
व्याधानां शरगोचरादपि जवेनोत्प्लुत्य धावन्मृगाः
कूपान्तः पतितः करोति विधुरे किं वा विधौ पौरुषम् ॥

(Subh. vv. 654 & 655)

him in the history of Kashmir.¹ Jayāpīda was also a great patron of learning. His court was adorned by great poets like Udbhaṭa, Kṣīrasvamī, Manoratha and others. Dāmodara Gupta, the author of Kuṭṭinīmata, was also among them. Some of them were also ministers of the cabinet during the time of Jayāpīda and enjoyed great patronage at his hands in the form of wealth, honour and prestige. It was during the time of this Royal poet that the Royal Council of poets was founded for the first time in Kashmir and Udbhaṭa was made its President on a fabulous salary of one lakh dīnāras (gold coins in currency at that time) per day as already mentioned before.²

As regards the date of Jayāpīda, it has generally been accepted, on the basis of the account given by Kalhaṇa, that he ruled over Kashmir from 751 to 782 A. D. Mr. M. Duff puts the period of Jayāpīda's administration from 779 to 813 A. D. But Dr. Mankad arrives at his regnal period from 625 to 656 A. D. on the basis of his own M. C. M. calculations starting with

- 1) शान्तेऽय संग्रामापाडे कनीयान् वास्पयात्मजः ।
 राजा श्रीमान् जयापीडः प्राप राज्यं ततः क्रमात् ॥
 क्षीरामिधाच्छब्दविद्योपाध्यायाप्राप्तंभृतश्रुतः ।
 बुधैः सह ययौ वृद्धिं स जयापीडपण्डितः ॥
 भूपतेरात्मना स्वर्धा चक्षमे न स कस्यचित् ।
 आत्मनस्तु बुधैः स्वर्धा शुद्धधीर्बह्मपूत ॥
 तावत्पण्डितशब्दोऽभूद्राजशब्दादपि प्रथा ।

(Rāj. IV vv. 402, 489, 490 & 491)

- (2) Cf. Page 19.

56 B. C. as the date of Mātṛgupta's abdication. He takes into account the regnal period of sixteen kings after Mātṛgupta and arrives at the date of Jayāpīda's death, as 656 A. D. Whereas according to Kalhana the date of Jayāpīda's death is worked out as 782 A. D. On the basis of interpreting the word स्वर्णीय which occurs

1)	There are 8 kings after Mātṛgupta upto Durlabhaka. Taking 40	
Mātṛgupta	5 years.	years per king the
Pravarasena II	60	total regnal period
Yudhiṣṭhira II	37	works up to 320 yrs.
Narendrāditya II	13	If 300 years of the
Ranāditya	300	kingless period (Ra-
Vikramāditya	42	nāditya's rule) is
Bālāditya	37	added on to this, a
Durlabhavardhana	36	total of 620 is arrived
Durlabhaka	50	at. Deducting 55
Candrāpīda	9	from this, the date of
Tārāpīda	4	Durlabhaka's death
Lalitāditya	36	works up to 564 A.D.
Kuvalayāpīda	1	The total regnal pe-
Vajrāditya	7	riod from Candrā-
Prthivyāpīda	4	pīda to Jayāpīda is
Sangrāmāpīda	nil	92 years. If this is
Jayāpīda	31	added to 564 A. D.
		the date of Jayāpīda's
Total	672	death works up to
		656 A. D. So the
		period of his rule is
		625-656 A.D.

in a verse as referring to Cippaṭa Jayāpīda.¹ It is in this verse that the Laukika era is taken by Kalhaṇa for purposes of calculation. The Laukika era 3889 is referred to here ; deducting 3077 years of Kali from this, the date of death of Cippaṭa Jayāpīda works up to 812 or 813 A. D. Deducting 31 years from this, the date of Jayāpīda's death is 782 A. D. A reconciliation between these two different dates for Jayapīda has been brought about by Dr. Mankad.² He also feels that this Royal poet Jayāpīda is identical with the grammarian Jayāditya and quotes several verses of Kalhaṇa in support thereof.³ Besides this, Vāmana, the joint author with Jayāditya, is known to have lived at the court of Jayāpīda.⁴ Dr. Mankad furnishes various data, both historical and literary, to establish that the date of Jayāpīda was in the first half of the 7th Century A. D.⁵ But

- 1) एकोनवते वर्षे स्वस्तीये शान्तिमागते ।
निर्विघ्नभोगास्तेऽभुवन् षड्विंशब्दात्ययावधि ॥ (Rāj. IV. v. 703)
- 2) "In spite of this internal and external evidence the dates suggested by me are corroborated by a number of other circumstances which, in my opinion, prove my dates conclusively." (P. C. pp. 123 to 145)
- 3) Rāj. IV. vv. 488, 489, 664-667.
- 4) Rāj. IV v 497.
- 5) (i) Dr. Mankad first quotes from Dr. S. K. Belvelkar as follows :—
"I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim, speaks of Jayāditya of Kashmir as the author of a grammatical work called Vṛttisūtra which it is usual to identify with the Kāśikā, a joint work of

as his views have not been generally accepted, the date of Jayāpīḍa is provisionally placed in the second half of

Jayāditya and Vāmana. I-tsing tells that Jayāditya died in about 660 A. D.” (Systems of Sanskrit Grammar by S. K. Belvelkar, p. 35)

- (ii) Next he says that there is probably a reference to Hiuentasang in the following verse occurring in Kalhaṇa :—

स स्वप्ने पश्चिमाज्ञाय लक्षयन्नुदय वेः ।

देशे धर्मोत्तराचार्यं प्रविष्टं साध्वमन्यत ॥

(Rāj. IV. 498)

The word धर्मोत्तराचार्य occurring in this verse is taken to mean Master of the Law and therefore it is thought that it refers to Hiuentasang which was, after all, not the personal name of the pilgrim but only a dīkṣā name. The date of his visit to India was 629 A. D. If it is a fact that Jayāpīḍa was the ruling king in Kashmir at that time then his date will have to be placed in the 7th century A. D., as no Chinese pilgrim seems to have visited during the last part of the 8th century A. D.

- (iii) Sankuka, the son of Mayūra, was a contemporary of Ajitāpīḍa (Vide Rāj. IV. v. 705). Since Ajitāpīḍa came after Jayāpīḍa and Mayūra was a contemporary of Bāṇa and Harṣa, the date of Sankuka will be the 2nd half of the 7th century A. D. This agrees with that of Ajitāpīḍa (687 to 713 A. D.) So the date of Jayāpīḍa works up to the first half of the 7th Century A. D.

the 8th century A. D. on the basis of the information available in Kalhaṇa.

(iv) Bāna might have toured Kashmir when Jayāpīḍa was ruling there and taken a hint for his characters in the Kādambarī.

(v) The details given in Chāchnānah about Kashmir History agree if Jayāpīḍa is taken to have ruled from 625 to 656 A. D.

(vi) A reconciliation between the dates given by Kalhaṇa and that arrived at by Dr. Mankad has been brought about by the manipulation of 126 years on the basis of calculating the Laukika era and the Saptarṣi era in two different ways. According to one the era started 35 years after the start of Kali and according to another it started 75 years before Kali resulting in a difference of 100 years in Kashmir chronology. There is a further difference of 26 years in interpreting certain words occurring in the verse No. 703 of the IV Book of Kalhaṇa.

(P. C. pp. 123-145)

N. B.—I have utilised Dr. Mankad's work because it appears to be thought-provoking. The methods applied by him have not been generally accepted.

Kalhana describes Jayāpīḍa as a great poet of nature and refers to him and to his capacity in describing natural phenomena.¹ It is unfortunate that not even a single work of this Royal Poet is available at present. There is, however, in one of the anthologies, a verse² which describes the pitiable condition of a young deer caught between the devil and the deep sea. Jayāpīḍa seems to have been very popular as a poet during his time.

(D. A. 0001-029), KANAKA II

10—AVANTIVARMAN (855-884 A. D.)

Avantivarman is the next Royal poet of Kashmir. He was the first king of the Utpala dynasty. Like Jayāpīḍa he too was a very enlightened monarch and a patron of learning. His royal court was also adorned by great poets like Muktākāṇa, Sivasvāmī, Anandavardhana and Ratnākara. He ruled over Kashmir from 855 to 884 A. D.

Avantivarman might have acquired a taste for composing poetry by his association with great poets

- 1) अवस्थावेदिकास्तत्र ग्रथिताः पृथिवीमुजा ।
(आर्द्रान्तःकरणैः दलोकाः स्मर्यन्तेऽद्यापि सूरिभिः ॥ (Rāj. IV v. 550)
- 2) पुरो रेवा पारे गिरितिदुरारोहशिखरः
सरः सव्ये वामे दवदहनदाहव्यतिकरः ।
धनुष्पाणिः पश्चाच्छबरहतको धावतितरां
न यातुं न स्यातुं हरिगशिगुरेष प्रभवति ॥ (Subh. v. 661)

who adorned his court. Kalhaṇa compares him to the great king Māndhātā and states that by his good conduct and righteous administration Avantivarman delighted the hearts of good men in his kingdom.¹ He credits him with bringing back Kṛtayuga in his time. Even in the case of this Royal poet a few stray verses only are available in the anthologies. His similes are often drawn from nature and are very nice.²

11—KANAKA (950-1300 A. D.)

Kanaka is the next Kashmirian Royal Poet of eminence. He is more popularly known as Kaṅkaṇa or Kaṅkaṇavarṣa. He may be identical with King Kṣemagupta, surnamed Kaṅkaṇavarṣa, who ruled in Kashmir from 958 to 968 A. D. according to Kalhaṇa.³

- 1) अवन्तिवर्मा साम्राज्यं प्राप्य पाटितकण्टकः ।
चकार चरितैश्चित्रं सतां कण्टकितं वपुः ॥
ईदृशैर्भयवृत्तान्तैः प्रवर्तितकृतोदयः ।
अवन्तिदेवः पाति स्म मान्धातेव वसुन्धराम् ॥
(Rāj. V. vv. 2 & 122)

- 2) दुःसहसुन्तापमयात्सम्प्रति मध्यस्थिते दिवसनाये ।
छायामिव बाँझन्ती छायापि गता तुरुतलानि ॥
असारो निर्गुणो वक्रचित्ररूपतयान्वितः ।
अवाप चिराद् भ्रंशं शक्रचापः खुलो यथा ॥
(Subh. vv. 1699 & 1802)

- 3) क्षेमगुप्ताभिधानोऽभूदय राजा तदात्मजः ।
आसवासेवनोत्सिक्तवित्तराण्यसंज्वरः ॥
तस्य कङ्कणवर्षोऽवीत्यभिधानं विधाय ते ।
तोषिताचासकृच्चक्रुर्दोषणोः कङ्कणवर्षिताम् ॥
(Rāj. VI. vv. 150 & 161)

So his date may be placed in the 2nd half of the 10th century A. D. It looks as though the Royal poet got his name Kanaka from a few verses which occur in the anthology under his name and which particularly deal with Kaṅkaṇa or gold bracelets.¹ Sārasamuccaya, a commentary on the Kāvyaaprakāśa also ascribes to him a verse which is beautiful.²

12—KALAŚA (1050–1100 A. D.)

The last in the series of eminent Royal poets of Kashmir is, perhaps, king Kalaśa. He was the son of Anantarāja and father of Harṣa. He ruled in Kashmir from 1080 to 1088 A. D. Kalhaṇa refers to him as a munificent monarch equal only to King Bhoja of

1) कण्ठग्रहे शिथिलतां गमिते कथंचिद्यो मन्यते मरणमेव सुखाम्युपायम् ।

गच्छन् स एष न बलाद्धृतो युवाम्यामित्युज्झते भुजलते वलयेरिवास्याः ॥

(Subh. v. 1085)

वीणाक्वाणलयोल्लासिलोलदंगुलिपल्लवः ।

भारत्याः पातु भूतानि पाणिर्लसितकङ्कणः ॥

(Sdk. I. 71. v. 1)

2) लीलापङ्कजमादधाति रुचिरे गम्भीरनाभ्यन्तरे

कस्तूरीद्रवचर्चितं वपुरपि श्यामीकरोत्यादरात् ।

ताटङ्कं च करे करोति कुतुकाच्चकानुकारं तदा

लक्ष्मीः क्रीडति पीतवस्त्रकलिता स्थित्वा सखीनां पुरः ॥

spotless fame.¹ Bilhaṇa describes him as a man of letters who was both wealthy and learned.²

Though no work of Kalaśa either in prose or poetry exists as such for the present, there are clear indications in various literary works in Sanskrit to show that he was a poet. For instance Kṣemendra quotes a verse³ ascribed to him as an example of prosodial merit while defining the metre called Rathoddhatā. Several verses ascribed to him also occur in the various anthologies. A few of them can be quoted here as specimens of his

1) पत्न्या संप्रेरितः शश्वत्तनयस्नेहमूढया ।

पुत्राय कलशायामूद्राज्यं दातुं समुद्यतः ॥

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।

सखी तस्मिन् क्षणे तुल्यं द्वावास्तां कविवान्धवौ ॥

(Rāj. VII vv. 231 & 259)

2) यस्त्वोदारां परिकलयतः शस्त्रशास्त्रप्रतिष्ठां

द्वे प्रेक्ष्यौ जागति विदिते श्रीश्च वाग्देवता च ।

एका मेजे भुवमभिनवाम्भोजलीलातपत्रा

स्वेतच्छत्रार्पितसितयशश्चन्द्रिकान्या मुखेन्दुम् ॥

(Vik. XVIII v. 56)

3) अविसेत्सु पादान्तैर्निष्प्रभैव रथोद्धता ।

अप्रार्थनाप्रणयिनी म्लानमानेव मानिनी ॥

यथा—अञ्जली जलमधीरलोचनां लोचनप्रतिशरीरशारितम् ।

आत्तमात्तमपि कान्तमैक्षितुं कौतरा शफरशङ्खिनी जहौ ॥

(Suv. II. p. 38 v. 14)

poetry.¹ These verses appear to be the invocatory songs or Nāndī ślokaś of the poetical works or dramas that Kalaśa might have written. But unfortunately none of his works has so far been traced.

Besides these twelve principal Kashmirian Royal poets there are also the names of other kings whose verses are often quoted in the anthologies. While the names of poets are mentioned in some cases, the names of the works from which they are taken are not stated. It is also difficult to say whether any of these poets are Kashmirian kings or not. Against the back-ground of this Royal participation in Kashmir's Literary activity it is not difficult to understand the significance of Bilhaṇa's observation.²

1) दैत्यास्थिपञ्जरविदारणलब्धरन्ध्र-
रक्ताम्बुनिर्झरसरिद्धनजातपङ्काः ।

बालेन्दुकोटिकुटिला शुकचंचुभासो
रक्षन्तु सिंहवपुषो नखरा हरेर्वः ॥

आदीत्याः किं दशैते प्रलयभयकृतस्वीकृताकाशदेशाः
किं वोल्कामण्डलानि त्रिभुवनदहनायोद्यतानीति भीतैः ।

यामाहुर्नारसिंहं वपुरमरगणैर्विभ्रतः शार्ङ्गपाणेः
दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वासुरो रस्थलदण्डगलद्रक्तका नखा वः ॥

दयिताबाहुपाशस्य कुतोऽयमपरो विधिः ।

जीवयत्यर्पितः कण्ठे मारयत्यपवर्जितः ॥

(Subh. vv. 52, 56 & 1529)

2) काव्यं येभ्यः प्रकृतिसुभगं निर्गतं कुङ्कुमं च
च्छायोक्तर्षाद्भवति जगतां बल्लभं दुर्लभं च ।

यस्मिन्नन्तः स्थितवति जगत्सारभूते प्रयाताः
काश्मीरास्ते नियतमुरगाधीशरक्षास्पदत्वम् ॥

(Vik. XVIII. v. 16)

PART III—MINOR POETS

The major poets and the royal poets of Kashmir who, by their beautiful poetic compositions enriched Sanskrit Literature and enhanced the glory of Kashmir have been dealt with in the first two parts of this chapter. The names of a few poets and poetical works are available in the various works in Sanskrit. It has not been possible to gather more information about them. Even the dates of these poets are not known in many cases. It is possible that some of them might be either major poets or Royal poets. Unless and until their works are known it will not be possible to classify them correctly. For the time being these poets are classified as minor poets and are now dealt with in this part furnishing as much information as is available from the references made to them in the existing works.

1—MUKTĀKAṆA (850-900 A. D.)

The name of Mukṭākāṇa is associated with Ānandavardhana, Ratnākara and Sivasvāmī as could be seen from a reference in Kālhana.¹ Mukṭākāṇa might have been as great as any one of the three other poets with whom he has been associated. Unfortunately no work of this poet is available. His date is, however, definite as it is the same as that of his colleagues namely the second half of the 9th century A. D. It has already been stated that all these poets adorned the royal court

1) Rāj. V. v. 34.

of Avantivarman, the king who ruled in Kashmir about the same time. A few verses ascribed to Mukṭākāṇa are quoted by rhetoricians in their works to illustrate either a sentiment or a figure of speech. For instance Kṣemendra quotes one such verse which presents a fine picture of fancy.¹ The name of the work from which the verse is taken is not mentioned by Kṣemendra. It would have been better if he had done so.

2—CAKRAPĀLA (850-900 A.D.)

Immediately after Kṣemendra's quotation from Mukṭākāṇa, a verse ascribed to Cakrapāla is quoted with the following statement "यथा चैतद् भ्रातुश्चक्रपालस्य". From this reference it is possible to suppose that Cakrapāla was a brother of Mukṭākāṇa. He is referred to as Cakra only by the editor of the *Aucityavicāracarcā* and also by Aufrecht.² Because he is the brother of Mukṭākāṇa his date also may be placed in the second half of the 9th century A.D. Apart from the date no other details either regarding his work or his parentage are available. One of the verses ascribed to him and quoted by Kṣemendra is very nice as it pertains to the capacity of a

- 1) यथा रन्ध्रं व्योम्नश्चलजलदधूमः स्थगयति
स्फुलिङ्गानां रूपं दधति च यथा कीटमणयः ।
यथा विद्युज्ज्वालोहसितपिङ्गाश्च ककुम-
स्तथा मन्ये लग्नः पथिकतरुखण्डे सरदवः ॥ (K. K. II.)
- 2) Auf. C. C. I. p. 174.

king who, perhaps, was his patron.¹ But the name of the patron is not mentioned. Even in this case Kṣemendra has not mentioned the name of the work from which he took the verse.

3—BHALLAṬA (875-925 A.D.)

Bhallaṭa was a poet in the court of King Śankara-varman who ruled in Kashmir from 884-902 A.D. immediately after Avantivarman. So the date of the poet is approximately placed during the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. and the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. No information is available regarding his personal history. He is different from Bhaṭṭamalla, the author of Dhātupāṭha, who is referred to by Mallinātha in his Sarvaṅkaṣā commentary on the Śiṣupālavadha of Māgha. He is also different from a poet of the same name in Andhra who is referred to by Nannaya in his Śabdacintāmaṇi.

From the name it can be supposed that Bhallaṭa was a Kashmirian. He is the author of a work called Bhallaṭaśataka which is a hard but pleasing poem on the morals. Great scholars like Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra and Mammaṭa have quoted some of his verses in their works which indicates the merit and popularity of his

- 1) देवो जानाति सर्वं यदपि च तदपि ब्रूमहे नीतिनिष्ठं
 सार्धं संधाय जालान्तरधरणिभुजा निर्वृतो बान्धवेन ।
 म्लेच्छानुगच्छन्निधिं निधिं प्रतिदिनमयशो रन्धिं विश्वं यशोभिः
 सोदन्वन्मेखलायां परिकलय करं किं च विश्वम्भरायां ॥ (A. V. C.)

poem. Many verses of this śataka occur in the anthologies.¹ Dr. Keith has quoted a few verses by way of appreciation in his History of Sanskrit Literature. No other work of this poet seems to have been recovered so far. But there is an indication of his having composed three such works in the colophon of this poem.² Against some of the verses quoted in the anthologies the name Bhaṭṭamalla or Mallabhaṭṭa occurs instead of Bhallaṭa. This may be due to the fact that Bhallaṭa as such conveyed no meaning. There are altogether 108 verses in Bhallaṭaśataka. Two verses can be quoted to serve as specimens of his poetry.³

4—KAYYAṬA (950-1000 A.D.)

Kayyaṭa was the son of Candrāditya and grandson of Vallabhadeva. He wrote a commentary on the Devīśataka of Ānandavardhana in the year 977 A.D. when king Bhīmagupta was the ruler of Kashmir. So his date has been placed in the second half of the 10th

1) Subh. vv. 75 to 77.

2) इति रत्नत्रये भल्लटशतकं समाप्तम् ।

3) अयं वारामेको निलय इति रत्नाकर इति

श्रितोऽस्माभिस्तृष्णातरलितमनोभिर्जलनिधिः ।

क एवं जानीते निजकरपुटीकोटरगतं

क्षणादेनं ताम्र्यत्तिमिमकरमापास्यति मुनिः ॥

काचो मणिर्मणिः काचो येषां तेऽन्ये हि देहिनः ।

सन्ति ते सुधियो येषां काचः काचो मणिर्मणिः ॥

(B. S. vv. 3 & 108)

century A.D. In the opinion of some scholars he is supposed to be the author of a Citrakāvya written under the name Devīśataka which they say exists in Kashmir. But so far it has not been discovered. Probably this may be the book of that name entered anonymously in the Kashmir Report of Dr. Bühler (No. 137).

5—VALLAṬA (950-1000 A.D.)

There are two poets of the name Vallāṭa in Kashmir. One is a Bhaṭṭa and the other is a Bhāgavata. The former is quoted by Kṣemendra while giving an example of the beautiful Mālinī metre.¹ But the name of the work from which the quotation is taken is not mentioned by him. As regards the date of this poet it has been seen that he is earlier than Kṣemendra and therefore may be placed approximately in the second half of the 10th century A.D.

6—KALHAṆA (1000-1150 A.D.)

Kalhaṇa is the well-known Kashmirian Historian. He is principally a Chronicler. The details of his

1) विसर्गहीनपर्यन्ता मालिनी न विराजते ।

चनरीच्छन्नपुच्छेव वल्लीवालूनपल्लवा ॥

यथा भट्टवल्लटस्य — वरमिह रवितापैः किं न शोर्णासि गुल्मे

किमु दधदहनैर्वा सर्वदाहं न दग्धम् ॥

यदहदयजनौघैः वृन्तपर्णानभिज्ञै-

रितरकुसुममध्ये मालति प्रोम्भितासि ॥

(Suv. II v. 22)

personal history and date are furnished later on in Chapter VI of this book. He is here considered as a minor poet as he has written two poetical works. One of them is a short prayer-poem called *Ardhanārīśvara-Stotra* and the other is a *Kāvya* by name *Jayasimhābhya-daya*.

The prayer-poem is written in praise of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*. It is edited in the *Kāvyamālā* Series No. 14. There are altogether 18 verses in it composed in the beautiful *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The first verse of this poem is repeated as the second verse in the first book of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The verses are full of the highest philosophical truths and reveal the spiritual wisdom of the author. The last verse of the poem is a fine specimen of this type.¹

The other poetical work of *Kalhaṇa* is probably a eulogy of his patron, king *Jayasimha* of *Kashmir* who ruled there in the first half of the 12th century AD. It is therefore possible to say that *Kalhaṇa* was a contemporary of king *Jayasimha*. The poetical work is not available at present. A verse from it is, however, preserved in the *Sārasamuccaya* of *Ratnakanṭha*.²

- 1) प्रेमार्धं वपुषो विलोक्य मिलितं देव्या समं स्वामिनो
मौलौ यस्य निशापतिर्नगसुतावेणीनिशामिश्रितः ।
आस्ते स्वाम्यनुवर्तनार्थमिव तत्कृत्वा वपुः खण्डितं
देयादद्वयभावनां स भगवान् देवोऽर्धनारीश्वरः ॥ (A. S. v. 18)
- 2) भूमृत्पदं पर्वतशेषमासीत्तस्थौ विधावेव च राजशब्दः ।
न वाहिनीनाथकथा समुद्रादन्यत्र तस्मिन्नुपतौ बभूव ॥

7—ALAṆKĀRA (1000–1150 A.D.)

Alaṅkāra was a minister in the court of king Jayasimha of Kashmir according to the statement of Kalhaṇa.¹ He was a brahmin by birth and the son of Viśvavarta. He was the elder brother of the famous poet Maṅkha as stated by Kalhaṇa himself.² He was also known as Laṅkaka which is, perhaps, an abbreviation for Alaṅkāra. For, it is to this abbreviated name of his elder brother that Maṅkha constantly refers to with great respect in his work.³ Since the date of king Jayasimha is known to be somewhere in the second quarter of the 12th century A.D., that of Alaṅkāra may be placed in the first half of the same century.

It was this Alaṅkāra who called an assembly of thirty famous contemporary poets and men of repute to examine the poetical work of his brother Maṅkha. A list of these poets as given by Maṅkha in his poetical work has already been furnished before.⁴ There is frequent reference to Alaṅkāra by Maṅkha in his *Kāvya*.⁵

- 1) स्नानकोष्ठमठब्रह्मपुरीसेत्वादिकर्मणा ।
सोऽलञ्जकारालङ्कारो बृहद्रञ्जविपो धराम् ॥
- 2) सान्धिविग्रहिको मङ्गकाख्योऽलङ्कारसोदरः ।
स मठस्याभवत्प्रष्टुः श्रीकण्ठस्य प्रतिष्ठया ॥

(Rāj. VIII. vv. 2423 & 3354)

- 3) मदग्रजन्मनः श्रमालङ्ककस्य समाग्रहम् ।
तेऽध्यासते च विसन्धाः सारसा इव मानसम् ॥ (S. C. XXV. v. 15)
- 4) Cf. pp. 242–243.
- 5) S. C. XXV. vv. 36 to 38, 41 to 47 and 59.

In one of the verses there seems to be a reference to a work written by Alaṅkāra.¹ But the name of the work is not furnished anywhere in his work by Maṅkha. It is, therefore, not possible to say anything about the nature or the contents of the work of Alaṅkāra. It may, however, be stated that the work of Alaṅkāra may be a prose-work in Sanskrit as it is compared to the work of Bāṇa, the well-known prose-writer.

8—JINDUKA (1100–1150 A.D.)

Jinduka is referred to by Maṅkha as a Kashmirian poet contemporary with Kalhaṇa.² He is also often referred to as Jinduka. As it is stated that he was contemporary with Kalhaṇa, his date may be placed in the first half of the 12th century A.D. No information is available either about his parentage or about the nature of the work that he wrote. A fine verse ascribed to him is, however, preserved in one of the anthologies.³

- 1) बाणोपमः प्रबन्धो लङ्कक तव पत्रलसद्वरगतिः ।
विध्यति कस्य न हृदयं विविधसमञ्जानिवेशेन ॥ (S. C. XXV. v. 46)
- 2) व्यज्यते येन निर्मृष्टनिःशेषकलिपांसुना ।
भट्टप्रभाकरनयद्वयस्रोतो नदीष्णता ॥
सुवृत्तं क्रमलब्धोर्ध्वपरं परिचितं दृशोः ।
ते च बागोश्चरीकेलिकन्दुकं जिन्दुकं व्यधात् ॥
(S. C. XXV. vv. 71 & 72)
- 3) एतन्नरेन्द्रवृषभक्षपया ब्रजन्त्या
सरोपणार्थमिव गोपितमम्बुजेषु ।
उद्घाटयत्ययमशोतकरः करौघैः
पद्माकरात्तिमिरवोजमिवालिन्दम् ॥ (Subh. v. 2166)

9—LOṢṬHADEVA (1125–1175 A.D.)

Loṣṭhadeva is a Kashmirian by birth. He is also known as Loṣṭhaka.¹ He was the son of Ramyadeva and lived during the second and third quarters of the 12th century A.D. The poet Maṅkha has praised both the father and the son and has given a fairly long account of their achievements.² It is clear from it that Loṣṭhadeva belonged to an illustrious family of learned men and was the author of several works. Loṣṭhadeva mentions the name of his father in one of the last few verses of his prayer-poem and also refers to his family prestige.³ Jalhana considers him superior even to

1) H. S. L. by M. K. Arts XXVII and 286.

2) यस्य व्यनक्ति काषायग्रहमारक्तया रुचा ।

नित्योपन्याससंक्रान्तवेदान्तार्थ इवापरः ॥

नीत्वा सफलतां बल्लीरिष्टसिद्धया विवृण्वता ।

श्रुतीनां पांथं शिष्येभ्यु येन कल्पद्रुमायितम् ॥

निस्तुषीकृतवैदुष्यं समयमात्सर्यसंहतैः ।

कृतप्रणतिपारम्यं रम्यदेवं तमैक्षत ॥

वाग्देवतालिलीनीं अधुतपक्षतिचातुरीम् ।

बदनाम्युह्ये यस्य भाषाः षड्विशेरते ॥

खलानां यत्प्रबन्धेषु दृढव्युत्पत्तिवर्मसु ।

प्रोद्यच्चोद्यमया दूरे कुण्डिता इव पत्रिणः ॥

कतिचिल्लोष्टदेवस्य तस्येति मुखतोऽश्रुणोत् ।

श्रीलङ्कं प्रति प्रीतचारुचारुसा गिरः ॥ (S. C. XXV. vv. 31–36)

3) इति परिहृतवान् स्वकाव्यशिल्पप्रकटनमाकुलितो भवव्यथाभिः ।

व्यधित गिरिशरम्यदेवजन्मा तव पुरतो हतदैत्यतः प्रतापान् ॥

(Dīn. v. 50)

Bāṇa, the great prose-writer in Sanskrit.¹ He is well-known as a good commentator on some of the Mahākāvya in Sanskrit. He seems to have spent his last days in Banaras and ultimately taken to asceticism.

Loṣṭhadeva appears to be the author of several works. Of them only two are now available. One of them is a commentary on the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa.² The other is a prayer-poem called the Dīnākrandana-stuti which is edited in the Kāvya-mālā Series No. 6. This edition is based on two manuscripts from Kashmir, one in Sanskrit and the other in Sāradā script. There are altogether 53 verses in it which are full of devotion to Lord Śiva. One of the verses is extremely beautiful as it describes the complete surrender of the devotee to the Lord.³ That the prayer-poem was composed by the poet in Banaras on the banks of the Gaṅgā during his last days is clear from the last three verses of the poem.⁴

- 1) प्रकृत्यैवातिवक्रेण गुणदैर्घ्यं वितन्वता ।
मया शरासनेनेव बाणो दूरं निरस्यते ॥ (S. K. M. p. 49, v. 10)
- 2) Kashmir Catalogue No. 71.
- 3) इत्थं न किं व्यवहृतं न किमुक्तमात्तं किं वा न किं न कलितं ललितं न वापि ।
सर्वत्र तत्र शरणं कृपणस्य मे त्वमेहोहि देहि चरणं शिरसीन्दुमौले ॥
- 4) एतत्तीव्रं व्रतमुपचितं सैकते सिद्धसिन्धो- (Dīn. v. 15)
वर्षाणस्यां शमदमहोरेव गाढानुबन्धः ।
दीनाक्रन्दं प्रति पशुपतेऽयमश्वाडुकानि
त्वत्त्वा राज्ञां बत मम शुभैस्तन्यते धन्यतेयम् ॥
अभ्रशो जन्म वंशे सुमहति विहितो वाङ्मयादधौ हनूम-
त्संस्मो दानभोगौ तदनु च रचितौ किञ्चिन्नैचित्यरीत्या ।
ज्ञात्वा तत्त्वं यत्तत्त्वं श्रितमथ मथिता संसृतिर्दुर्निवारा
वाराणस्यां प्रसन्ना स्थितिरिति कृतिनः किं न मे नाम सिद्धम् ॥
ईर्ष्यायै परवादिनां कविकलाकान्ता यति मासिधं
यच्चुम्बत्यधुनापि तन्मयि भवत्यब्रह्मचर्यं न किम् ।
एतावत्स्वखितं क्षमस्व भगवन् भूयोऽपि तुभ्यं शपे
श्रीविश्वेश्वर देव नैव भवितास्म्यस्या रहस्यातिथिः ॥

10—YAHŚAKA (1225–1250 A. D.)

According to an account given by Jonarāja, a poet by name Yabśaka lived in the court of king Saṅgrāma-pāla (Deva) who ruled in Kashmir from 1235 to 1252 A. D. So his date has been placed in the second quarter of the 13th century A. D. He appears to have written a poetic composition in which the ruling king of Kashmir is made the hero.¹ But unfortunately nothing more is known either about the poet or his works.

11—LAULIKA (1275–1300)

Laulika, or more popularly Lolaka, is a poet of Kashmir quoted in the Subhāṣitāvali. He is often referred to as Rājānaka Laulika to show that he is a Kashmirian. No details are available regarding his parentage. In the colophon at the end of his commentary on the Śrikanṭhacarita of Maṅkha, Jonarāja mentions that he is the grandson of Laulika or Lolaka.² It is not known if he is the same as the poet Laulika.

12—BHĀGAVATA AMṚTADATTA

(1325–1375 A. D.)

Peterson says in his introduction to the Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva that Bhāgavata Amṛtadatta was a poet

- 1) नायकीकृत्य तं भूपं कविः पण्डितयः शकः ।
स्वोक्तिहारलतां विद्वत्कण्ठभूषात्वमानयत् ॥ (Jon. Rāj. v. 107)
- 2) इति श्री पण्डितलोल - क - तनयपण्डितनोनराजतनय श्रीजोनराजकृतया
टीकया समेत —

in the court of king Shahabuddin who ruled in Kashmir from 1352 A. D. So the date of this poet has been placed in the second and third quarters of the 14th century A. D. But Sri M. Krishnamacharya states as follows :— “If this is so how can several verses of Amṛtadatta find a place in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jalhaṇa whose date is accepted as 1258 A. D. and in Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa whose date is known to be 1178 AD.”¹ So he concludes that the verse ascribed to him in the Subhāṣitāvali² might be an interpolation introduced between the preceding and the succeeding verses are neither quoted by Jalhaṇa nor Śrīdharadāsa. As there are other verses also which are ascribed to Amṛtadatta, it is possible to suppose that there might have been two poets of that name. Or else the verses might have been quoted under the name of Amṛtadatta even though they were not composed by him.

The name of the work written by Amṛtadatta is not available. No information is also available regarding his personal history. Two verses, however, occur under his name in one of the anthologies.³ They express a

1) S. K. M. Int.

2) काश्मीरान् गन्तुकामस्य मीरशाहाख्यभूपतेः ।

शाहबुद्दीनभूमोन्द्रः प्राहिणोदिति लेखनम् ॥

(Subh. v. 608)

3) काश्मीरान् गन्तुकामस्य मीरशाहाख्यभूपतेः ।

शाहबुद्दीनभूमोन्द्रः प्राहिणोदिति लेखनम् ॥

किमेवमविशङ्कितः शिशुरङ्गलोकक्रमे

परिभ्रमितुमीहसे विरम नैव शुन्यं वनम् ।

स्थितोऽत्र गजयूथनाथमथनोच्छलच्छ्रेणित-

च्छटापटलभासुरोक्तसदाभरः केसरी ॥

(Ibid. vv. 608 & 609)

challenge of the king who, perhaps, was his patron to an invader of Kashmir.

13—JAGADDHARA (1350-1400 A. D.)

Jagaddhara is principally a grammarian. He has also written two poetrical works. One of them is a prayer-poem called the *Stutikusumāñjali* and the other is a guide to authors to avoid the misuse of words and is called the *Apaṣabda Nirākaraṇa*. In the first work cited above he gives an account of his ancestry in the last chapter. According to it he is the son of Ratnadhara and grandson of Gaurahara who is stated to have been very learned both in the vedas and the *śāstras*.

There are certain clues which help us to determine the date of Jagaddhara. Because *Sitikanṭha*, the son of the daughter's daughter of his grandson who wrote a commentary on his grammatical work is known to have lived during the time of Hassanshah in Kashmir i.e., at the end of the 15th century A. D. and the beginning of the 16th century A. D., the date of Jagaddhara can be arrived at as the second half of the 14th century A. D. working backwards.

The *Stutikusumāñjali* contains 38 prayers in as many chapters excluding the last chapter which is called the *Vamśavarṇana* in which his family history is given as already mentioned above. The first chapter is called *Stutiprastāvana* or Introduction and the last one *Puṇya pariṇāmastotra* which is more or less in the nature of

conclusion. The intervening chapters are named after the nature of the particular type of prayer that is composed such as Kṛpāṇākrandana stotra, Karuṇākrandana and so on. The prayers are full of the maxims of Advaita Philosophy and are composed in various metres. There are altogether 1409 verses including the sixteen verses that are contained in the Vamśavarṇana. The poem or the compilation of prayer-poems commences with the usual Maṅgalācaraṇa with a bow to Gaṇeśa and an invocation to Goddess Sarasvatī.¹ At the end of the work he says that he was well-versed in the art of composing good poetry and expresses his gratitude to the Goddess of Learning for enabling him to sing the glory of the Lord.²

Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha who is also a Kashmirian, has written a commentary on the Stutikusumāñjali. It furnishes at the end some information regarding a few

- 1) ओं स्वस्ति । श्रीगणेशाय नमः ओम् ।
 हृदयद्भिरभलैरनर्गलैर्जीवनैरधरैर्नैवैरियम् ।
 स्वामिनः कृमशमक्षमैः क्षणं रोद्धुमर्हति मनः सरस्वती ॥
- 2) उदारसंस्कारसुसारभारतीपवित्रवक्त्राम्बुहो जगद्धरः ।
 यत्सत्यं सदसद्विवेकविकलग्रामीणकुग्रामणी-
 मिथ्यास्तोत्रपरा परामभवभुवं नीतासि भीतास्यतः
 मातः कातरतां विमुञ्च यदसौ सौभाग्यभाग्यावधिः
 संजातो जगदेकमाथनुतिभिर्वाग्देवि ते विभ्रमः ॥

Kashmirian poets.¹ The names of poets like Ānanda, Dāmodara, Avatāra and Śankara are mentioned there as could be seen from the verses quoted in the foot-note. Verses ascribed to these poets occur in the various anthologies in Sanskrit. It is possible that these poets might have written some poetical works. A few manuscripts of some of these works have been recently discovered and they will be dealt with subsequently under the respective poets. It has also been specifically stated by Ratnakanṭha that he wrote his commentary, the Laghupañjikā, on the Stutikusumāñjali in the year 1738 of the Vikrama era when Aurangazeb was the ruling monarch in India.

- 1) तत्त्वज्ञानपरायणधौम्यायनमुनिप्रवरस्य ।
 आनन्दोऽजनि वंशे सुमनीषी मूर्त इवानन्दः ॥
 लक्ष्म्यालिङ्गितदेहः सबलः सच्चक्रविख्यातः ।
 विबुधार्चितचरणयुगलस्तस्माद्दामोदरो जातः ॥
 सकलविपश्चिदुर्यः प्रज्ञाजितवृत्रहामात्यः ।
 अवतारोऽजनि तस्मात्पाण्डित्यस्यावतार इव ॥
 सर्वज्ञः सविभूतिः सर्वानर्थः सर्वमङ्गलोपेतः ॥
 तस्याजनि तनुजन्मा शङ्कर इति भूतले ख्यातः ॥
 अस्ति सद्गुरुकृपारसपात्रं रत्नकण्ठ इति तस्य तनूजः ।
 भास्करस्तुतिरहस्यसमेतं येन रत्नशतकं निरमायि ॥
 वस्त्वग्न्यत्यष्टभिर्वर्षे मिते - १७३८ - विक्रम भूपतेः ।
 अवरङ्गमहीपाले कृत्स्नां शासति मेदिनीम् ॥
 बालानां सुखबोधाय हर्षाय विदुषां कृता ।
 जगद्धरकवेः काव्ये तेनैषा लघुपञ्जिका ॥
 इति श्रीराजनकशङ्करकण्ठात्मज रत्नकण्ठविरचितया लघुपञ्जिकया
 समेतं काश्मीरकमहाकविश्रीजगद्धरभट्टस्य वंशवर्णनम् ॥

This corresponds to the second half of the 17th century A. D. and helps us to determine the dates of at least some of the poets.

14—PANDITA SRI BAKA

(1425–1475 A. D.)

A Poet by name Sri Baka appears to have existed in the Royal Assembly of king Zainulabidin who ruled in Kashmir from 1417 to 1467 A. D. There is perhaps, a reference to him by Srīvara in his chronicle of the kings of Kashmir.¹ The name Baka has not been clearly mentioned there as the passage appears to be rather corrupt in print. In fact the latter portion of the first half of the verse is not quite intelligible. It may be that a poet by that name lived in the court of the Muslim king. No other details are available about him. The name of the work which he wrote is also not known. There are, however, a few verses ascribed to him in the anthologies.² These verses give an idea of the poetry of Sri Baka and appear to throw some light on the obscurity of the passage referred to in the Chronicle of Srīvara.

इत्थं ताग्रमये पट्टे श्रीवकाशोऽनिर्मिता ।

प्रशस्तिरासीत्तां राजधानीवन्दी ररक्ष च ॥ (Srī Rāj. I. 7. v. 39)

2) कृष्णोऽयं भवनार्तिकृत्प्रतिदिनं सुतोऽस्य किं सेवया

सेव्योऽन्योन्तरविद्यापरमतिर्नित्यप्रबुद्धोमया ।

इत्थं ह्याकलयन्विलोक्य हि तया प्राप्तं यशस्तावकं

राजन् क्षीरनिधिस्तुषारकपटात्सेवार्थमत्रागतः ॥

श्रीजैनोल्हाबदीनार्थं श्लोकोऽयं चादुमिश्रितः ।

श्रीवकेन मयाकारि वारिदे हिमवर्षिणि ॥ (Subh. vv. 2632 & 2633)

15—ĀNANDA (1525-1575 A. D.)

Ānanda is the first name that Ratnakanṭha mentions in the genealogy furnished by him in his commentary on the Stutikusumāñjali as already mentioned before. He is, thus, one of the ancestors of Ratnakanṭha who says that he was, true to his name, happiness incarnate, in the very first verse at the end of his commentary.¹ It is also mentioned that Ānanda belonged to the Dhaumyāyana Gotra. Since the date of Ratnakanṭha is known to be the second half of the 17th century A. D. as stated by him, the date of Ānanda can be placed in the second and third quarters of the 16th century A. D. working backwards.

A manuscript of his work called the Ānandakāvya exists along with a commentary on it.² It is written in Kashmiri Devanāgarī characters and has forty-nine folios in it. It is not also very old in appearance. This is the only manuscript of this poet which has been referred to by Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum. It commences with a Maṅgalācaraṇa.³ It is also stated in the commentary that the kāvya is chiefly ethical in character and is full of all sentiments. It is also stated that there are altogether sixty

1) तत्त्वज्ञानपरायणधौम्यायनमुनिप्रवरस्य ।

आनन्दोऽजनि वंशे सुमनीवी मूर्ते इवानन्दः ॥

2) Ms. No. 108/1875 of B. O. R. I. Poona.

3) सुमित्रात्मजमुप्रीतो निरुद्धबलहर्षितः ।

हरिहरभूतये वोऽस्तु रामश्चक्यथ वृत्ररा ॥

verses in it.¹ The poem ends with a short verse in the Anuṣṭubh metre.²

16—AVATĀRA (1600–1650 A. D.)

From a verse occurring at the end of the commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha on the Stutikusumāñjali it can be seen that Avatāra was his paternal grandfather.³ Though the date of Avatāra is not definitely known, it can be arrived at from the date of Ratnakanṭha which has been specifically mentioned as the second half of the 17th century A. D. Avatāra must have lived at least fifty years earlier. So his date can be approximately placed during the first half of the 17th century A. D.

Most probably it is this Avatāra who is the author of Īśvara Śataka which has been printed in the Kāvya-mālā Series No. 9 on the basis of two manuscripts which are almost identical in content and form. One of them is in Kashmiri Devanāgarī characters and is also not very old.⁴ The poem affords delightful reading and

1) अतिरमणीयं सुललितपदं सद्गुणालङ्कारैर्युगलं
सर्वरसानुस्यूतं नीतिप्रचुरं षड्विंशलोकनिबद्धं बालसुविज्ञेयं
काव्यं रचयत्यानन्दनामा कविः सुमित्रात्मजेति —

2) चलयन्त्रं समाभज्य विदेहवलसंमतः ।
द्विजेनानुमतो लेभे हवसुधां यद्वलात्सितः ॥

3) सकलविपश्चिदर्थः प्रज्ञाजितवृत्रहामात्यः ।
अवतारोऽजनि तस्मात्पाणिड्यस्यावतार इव ॥

4) Ms. No. 109/1875–76 of B. O. R. I., Poona.

deserves perusal. There are altogether 113 verses in it in various metres. They are full of beautiful Śabda and Arthālaṅkāras. At the commencement there is an invocation to Lord Śiva.¹ The colophon at the end contains the name of the author.² There is also a commentary on it.

17—RĀJĀNAKA KAMLĀKARA (1600–1650 A.D.)

Rājānaka Kamalākara is the next Kashmirian poet who has been assigned to the first half of the 17th century A.D., by the editor of Sāhityadarpaṇa.⁸ The title Rājānaka is very common among Kashmirian poets. It was given by the Ruling monarchs of Kashmir to eminent personalities as a mark of personal distinction, according to Kalhaṇa.⁴ He has been credited with the author-ship of a commentary on the Kāvya prakāśa. No other information is available about him.

18—RĀJĀNAKA GOPĀLA (Date not known)

Rājānaka Gopāla is the next Kashmirian poet who is associated with the authorship of several prayer-poems. No details regarding his date and ancestry are available. Four manuscripts of his poems namely Dīnākṛanda-

- 1) ओं । स वः पायाद्येन निन्ये बाधुकिर्निजहारताम् ।
तपोऽपायात्तनुं कोपाद्यः स्मरस्य जहार ताम् ॥
- 2) इति श्रीमहाकव्यवतारकृतमीश्वरशतकं सटीकं समाप्तम् । तत्सत् ॥
- 3) S. D. Int. p. 75.
- 4) तमाजुहाव निद्रोहं स्वयं राजानकाख्यया ॥ (Rāj. VI. v. 269)

nastava¹ Pradyumnaṣikhāra-pīṭhāṣṭaka², Sivamālā³, and Hanumatstotra⁴ are now available. All these poems contain verses composed in praise of God in various forms. For instance the first verse of the first work cited above is an invocation to Lord Śiva⁵ and the last verse indicates the name of the author.⁶ The last verse of the second poem cited above mentions the effect of offering the prayer.⁷ The last verse of the third poem cited above contains the name of the author and the purpose with which the prayer is composed.⁸ The name of the author is mentioned in the colophon of each one of his works.⁹

1) Ms. No. 134/1875-76 of B. O. R. I., Poona.

2) do 151/ do

3) do 194/ do

4) do 211/ do

5) शम्भो भवाध्वनि करालतमोवृतेऽस्मिन्

दुर्वारपङ्कविषमे पतितोऽहमार्तः ।

दृष्टिप्रदोपमुपदर्श्य करावलम्बं

कारुण्यतो वितर येन तरामि कृच्छ्रम् ॥

6) शिवभक्तिरविद्योतविकस्वरहृदम्बुजः ।

दीनाक्रन्दं स गोपालो राजानक इमं व्यधात् ॥

7) पठेद्योऽविहृतस्वान्तः प्रद्युम्नशिखराष्टकम् ।

प्रद्युम्नरूपं प्रद्युम्नं शारिका विदधीत तम् ॥

8) चिद्रूपनाथांघ्रिसरोजधूलिकृणाभिमग्नान विशुद्धबुद्धिः ।

तुष्ट्याव शम्भुं तदनुज्ञयेत्थं राजान गोपालक आ अवाग्यः ॥

9) इति श्रीराजानकगोपालविरचितः दीनाक्रन्दनस्तवः संपूर्णः ॥ ४९ ॥

19—YAŚASKARA (Date not known)

Yaśaskara is also the author of a prayer-poem. Details regarding his date and parentage are not available. But Peterson in his introduction to the Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva has stated that the Kashmirian Poet Yaśaskara extracted some sūtras on alaṅkāra from the Alaṅkāraratnākara of Sobhākaramitra and illustrated them in his work called Devīstotra.

Devīstotra is the name of the prayer-poem written by Yaśaskara. It consists of verses composed in praise of the Divine Mother as stated in the opening verse.¹ Dr. Stein calls this work of Yaśaskara as Alaṅkāro-dāharṇa Sannibaddha Devīstotra. A manuscript of this work is available.² The last verse of it contains the name of the poet and the reasons for composing it.³ The author of this work is not Simhaśankara of Kashmir as reported by Sri R. Mitra in his 'Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts.' The details regarding the work of Sobhākaramitra from which the sūtras are extracted have already been furnished before.⁴

1) रत्नाकराभ्यन्तरतो गृहीत्वालङ्कारसूत्राणि यथाक्रमेण ।

बन्दोव देव्या गिरिराजपुत्र्याः करोमि शंसन् श्रुतिगोचराणि ॥

2) M. S. No. 241/1875-76 of B. O. R. I. Poona

3) प्रथुमस्य चकार यत्र गिरिजा श्रीशारिकानुग्रहं

तथा यत्र बराहलोचनभुवा शारीसरत्नसङ्गता ।

राजा स प्रवराभिषो हरगिरिं यातो मदोहो यत-

स्तिष्ठत्स्तत्र पुरे यशस्करकविस्तुष्टाव गौरीमिति ॥

4) Cf. pp. 118 to 120

- 20 – Rājānaka Vijayapāla 21 – Bhaṭṭa Mallāṭa
22 – Ralhaṇa 23 – Argāṭa

(Dates not known)

The names of these four poets occur in the anthologies under verses ascribed to them. They appear to be Kashmirian names. But the names of the poetical works that these poets might have written are not found anywhere. No information is available in the case of any of them either regarding the date or the parentage, except perhaps Argāṭa who may be prior to Namisādhū (1069 A.D.) who quotes a verse ascribed to him in his commentary on the work of Rudrāṭa on Poetics. One verse of each poet is quoted in the foot-note as a specimen of his poetry. The verse ascribed to Vijayapāla very nicely describes the lip of the beloved.¹ Bhaṭṭa Mallāṭa describes in a verse ascribed to him the qualities of the lotus stem.² A grand description of elephants listening to the roar of a lion occur in the verse ascribed to Ralhaṇa.³ The verse ascribed to Argāṭa reveals his skill

- 1) अमृतममृतं कः सन्देहो मधून्यपि नान्यथा
मधुरमधिकं चूतस्यापि प्रसन्नरसं फलम् ।
सकृदपि पुनर्मध्यस्थः सन् रसान्तरविजनो
वदतु यदिहान्यत्स्वादु प्रियारदनच्छदात् ॥
(S. S. B., p. 56. v. 57)

- 2) अन्तश्चिद्राणि भूयांसि कण्टका बहवो बहिः ।
कथं कमलनालस्य नाभूवन् भंगुरा गुणाः ॥
(Ibid. p. 647, v. 4)

- 3) ग्रामाणामुपश्लयसीमनि मदोद्वेकस्फुरत्सीष्ठवाः
फूत्कारध्वनिमुद्गिरन्ति बहवः सभूय गोमायवः ।
तोऽन्यः कोऽपि घनाघनध्वनिघनः पारिन्द्रगुञ्जारवः
शुष्यद्रण्डमलोलशुण्डमचलत्कर्णं गजैर्यः श्रुतः ॥
(Ibid. p. 623 v. 45)

in versification and the power of his imagination and occurs both in the anthologies and the commentary of Namisādhū.¹

It may now be stated, in conclusion, that twenty-one Major Poets of Kashmir, twelve Royal Poets and twenty-three Minor Poets have been dealt with in this Chapter furnishing as much information as could be gathered either from their works or from references made to them elsewhere. In the cases in which the poetical works are not available a few stray verses which occur in the several anthologies have been quoted as specimens of their poetry. Many more names occur which by their resemblance to the names of wellknown Kashmirian poets, can be traced to Kashmir. As it is, the contribution of Kashmir to Poetry is considerable and valuable from various points of consideration. Kashmirian Poets have written mostly in the delightful Vaidarbhī style. That may be the reason for Bilhana to state that only the fortunate can write in the Vaidarbhī style and that Goddess Sarasvatī appears seated, as it were, on the tongues of those poets, singing melodiously on the lute.²

1) वपुरनुपमं नामैरुर्ध्वं विधाय मृगीदृशं

ललितललितैरङ्गन्यासैः पुरा रमसादिव ।

तदनु सहसा त्वित्रेनेव प्रजापतिना भृशं

पृथुलपृथुला, मृदुलमृदुला कृता जघनस्थली ॥ (S. S. B. p. 90. v. 4)

(K. L. XI v. 7)

1) Vik. I. vv. 9 & 10)

CHAPTER-IV

PHILOSOPHERS OF KASHMIR KASHMIRI SAHITYA

ANALYSIS

PART-I KASHMIRI SAHITYA

SECTION-II

PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER—IV

PHILOSOPHERS OF KASHMIR AND KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

ANALYSIS

PART—1 KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

Preliminary—Early History—Essential Doctrines—
Original Writers—Vasugupta—Kallaṭa — Somānanda —
Utpala — Rājānaka Rātnakanṭha — Utpala Vaiṣṇava —
Lakṣhmaṇa Gupta—Abhinava Gupta—Bhāskara—Rāma-
kanṭha I —Kṣemarāja—Śrīkanṭha—Yogarāja—Nārāyaṇa-
kanṭha —Rāmakanṭha II—Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva—Subhaṭa-
datta—Jayaratha—Sobhākara Gupta—Lallā—Śitikanṭha
Varadarāja — Sivopādhyāya — Bhāskarakanṭha — Siddha
Gorakṣanātha — Cakrapāṇinātha — Ādyanātha — Con-
clusion.

PART—2 NON-VEDIC (Heterodox) PHILOSOPHERS

Ravigupta—Dharmottarācārya—Arcaṭa—Ratnavajra
—Jinasimha—Dānaśīla—Jñānaśrībhadrā—Śaṅkarānanda.

PART—3 OTHER PHILOSOPHERS

Bhāsarvajña — Bhāratīrṭha — Bhāskara — Śabarāsvāmī.

It may be stated here that while Buddhism was a protest against Brahminism in several respects, it agreed with it on the fundamentals and ultimately got itself reconciled to it.

CHAPTER—FOUR

PHILOSOPHERS OF KASHMIR AND

KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

PART 1—KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

Rhetorics and Philosophy do not mutually seem to agree, though fundamentally they are one. The Upaniṣadic pronouncement on final reality as 'सो वै सः' stands testimony to this. Illustration of the identity between the two is visible in the practical world in Kashmir. Many great Rhetoricians and Poets are also great Philosophers here. We may say that the original cult of the country was predominantly a kind of Śaivism consisting of the worship of Śiva and Śakti. Sir John Marshall says "Śakti worship is of great antiquity in India; it originated out of the cult of the Mother Goddess; and it was closely connected with the cult of Śiva."¹ The Archaeological excavations of the Mohenjo-Daro seem to definitely point at the prevalence, in that very old civilisation, of a form of Śivaliṅga-worship accompanied by that of the Bull (Nandī).²

1) Mohenjo-Daro and Indian civilisation by Sir

John Marshall p. 57.

2) Ibid. pp. 58 to 60.

It may be stated here that while Buddhism was a protest against Brahminism in several respects, it agreed with it on the tantras and ultimately got itself reconciled to it.

An interesting anecdote which gives an idea of the faith that was prevailing in Kashmir at the time of the visit of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya is narrated in the Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.¹ According to it Śrī Śaṅkarācārya travelled throughout India to eradicate the growing tendency then among people towards atheism. He preached the essentials of the Doctrine of Non-Dualism. When he came to Kashmir he had a contest with the Śākta Pandits there which finally resulted in his victory over them. It was the mission of Śrī Śaṅkara to establish his Advaitavāda. It was not an easy task for him to succeed in Kashmir, the abode of Śrī Śāradā; for, when he challenged the existence of the all-pervading supreme power of Śakti it miraculously resulted in the complete disappearance of all human energy (Prāṇaśakti) from him. He became so weak that he could not even get up. Just then a milk-maid was shouting 'curds' outside. When he called out to her she replied with a cunning laugh, "Sir, you have succeeded in banishing the doctrine of Śakti from here; so how can any Śakti be left in you?". It was then that the Ācārya appears to have realised that it was a transgression on his part to have attacked the doctrine of Śakti or supreme energy, which is the prime cause of the existence of the entire universe. Just to atone for this transgression on his part Śrī Śaṅkara composed and sang

1) B. B. M. P. Vol. IX Parts I & II 1955, p. 35

then and there 102 verses in praise of the Divine Power (Śakti) in the beautiful Śikharīṇī metre the first of which stresses the importance of that Supreme Power. As these verses came out spontaneously from his heart the immediate effect of their recitation was the complete recovery of his human energy. These constitute the most popular prayer-poem in South India namely the Soundaryalaharī. Many commentaries have been written on it, the principal one being that of Śrī Lakṣmīdhara, the famous Śākta scholar who lived in the 13th century A.D. This anecdote indicates the existence of the cult that was prevalent in Kashmir at the time of Śrī Śaṅkara's visit there. Nothing can be had from the authentic writings of Śrī Śaṅkara that would directly oppose the concept of Śakti. However, the anecdote reveals the influence of sectarian Śakti doctrine in Kashmir.

The Sivasūtras which form the basis for Kashmir Śaivism are stated to have been revealed in a dream to Vasugupta (8th century A.D.) by Lord Śiva himself who took pity on the suffering humanity. Vasugupta, in turn, handed them down to his disciple Kallaṭa. There are several interpretations of the sūtras by different scholars like Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara who, no doubt, agree in regard to the Philosophical view-point. The purpose with which the sūtras were promulgated was

- 1) शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुं
न चेदेवं देवो न खलु कुशलः स्पन्दितुमपि ।
अतस्त्वामाराध्यां हरिहरविरिंचादिभिरपि
प्रणन्तुं स्तोतुं वा कथमकृतपुण्यः प्रभवति ॥ (S. L. v. 1)

not merely to enunciate the principles of Kashmir Śaivism i.e., to serve merely a theoretical or intellectual object, but also to show man a practical way of realising by experience the fact that man is essentially (in his real and inner-most self) none other than the Deity. This is considered as the main object of the Śiva-sūtras. The means by which the supreme divine state of power and energy is attained are called Upāyas in Kashmir Śaivism which are three-fold namely Sāmbhava, Śākta and Ānava.

So Kashmir Śaivism took a definite form from Vasugupta (i.e., perhaps about the 8th century A.D.) and began to flourish as a system of philosophy.¹ Many writers like Somānanda, Kallaṭa, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and Bhāskara wrote big compendia on this system and developed it in a way peculiar to their own. Besides these writers there were many Buddhist or Non-vedic (Heterodox) Philosophers and other writers who wrote many books on different systems of philosophy. While most of the valuable works on Kashmir Śaivism have been unearthed by the Research Department of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and are being published one by one in Kashmir Series, most of the works of the Buddhist or Non-vedic Philosophers have been lost once for all. But some of them exist in translations in the Tibetan language and attempts are being made now in some quarters to retranslate them into Sanskrit. In this Chapter, a detailed account of Kashmir Śaivism and

- 1) Philosophy is used here in the Indian significance of the term.

the works thereof with biographical sketches and the philosophical works of Buddhists and other writers are given with a view to indicate the contribution of Kashmir to philosophy in Sanskrit Literature.

EARLY HISTORY

The beginnings of Kashmir Śaivism, as already stated, have to be traced to the Śiva Sūtras. They contain the teachings and practices of the Trika Śāsana or simply Trika including the Spanda which refers to the triple principle namely शिव-शक्ति-अणु or पति-पाश-पशु and are often referred to as the Rahasyasampradāya.¹ It is also called the Pratyabhijñā and is treated as such in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha.

Kashmir Śaivism is fundamentally different from Śaivism, pure and simple, which has existed from a great antiquity and which is often spoken of as Śivāgama the beginnings of which can be traced even in the Vedas. As a system of philosophy Kashmir Śaivism may be called a type of Advaita. The opening verse of the Śivadṛṣṭi of Somānanda supports this.² Dr. Bühler is of the opinion that Kashmir Śaivism is identical with the Śivāgama. His view may not be correct, in view of the fundamental differences that exist between them. More-

- 1) ज्ञानाज्ञानस्वरूपं यदुक्तं प्रत्येकमप्यदः ।
द्विधा पौष्ट्यबौद्धत्वविधोक्तं शिवशासने ॥ (T. A. I. v. 36)
- 2) अस्मद्रूपसमाविष्टः स्वात्मनात्मनिवारणे ।
शिवः करोतु निजया नमः शक्त्या ततात्मने ॥ (S. Dr. I. v. 1)

over the *Sivāgama* is *Pañcasrotorūpa* as will be explained in the succeeding paragraphs; whereas Kashmir Saivism is *Urdhvasrotorūpa*.

The history of the *Sivāgama* may be stated briefly as follows: All *Śāstras* may be defined as thoughts expressed in the form of speech. Before manifestation they existed in the form of *Parāvāk* (all-transcending word) the most germinal of them. As the manifestation of the Universe begins, the *Parāvāk* puts forth another form called the *Paśyantī* which is the vision of the entire universe (पर्यन्ती दर्शनादिमका). As the manifestation progresses, i. e., as the objects become more and more distinguishable from one another the *Paśyantī vāk* assumes the *Madhyamā* form which is practically the connecting link between the *Paśyantī* and the *Vaikhari Vāk* or the spoken word.¹

When the *Madhyamā Vāk* assumes various forms and flows out as the *Vaikhari* in five streams namely *Cit*, *Ānanda*, *Ichhā*, *Jñāna*, and *Kriyā* which are respectively called *Īśāna*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Sadyojāta*, *Aghora* and *Vāmadeva* (the five faces of the deity) the *śāstras* are created. This is the *Pañcasrotorūpa* of the *Sivāgama* which was mentioned before. These *śāstras* originally consisted of sixty-four systems representing as many aspects of thought and suited to the diverse needs of the people and divided broadly into three categories namely *Abheda*, *Bheda* and *Bhedābheda*. Most of these sixty-four systems disappeared under the influence of the *Kali* age. As the

1) स्थानेषु विवृते वायौ कृतवर्णपरिग्रहा ।

वैखरी वाक्प्रयोक्तृणां प्राणवृत्तिनिबन्धना ॥ (S. Dr. II. v. 7)

sages who were the repositories of all spiritual knowledge also disappeared from the world, darkness enveloped it. Śiva then took pity on the suffering humanity, appeared as Śrīkanṭha on the Kailāsa mountain and commanded the great sage Durvāsa to spread the knowledge contained in the śāstras in this world again. Being thus commanded the sage created three Mānasaputras namely Tryambaka, Āmardaka and Śrīnātha and entrusted them with the task of spreading the three aspects of the doctrine mentioned above. Accordingly Abhedā was spread by the eldest, Bheda by the second and Bhedābheda by the third of the three sons of the sage Durvāsa. It is this Abhedā teaching that was retaught to the world by Tryambaka that goes by the name of Trika in Kashmir Śaivism.¹

The Literature of the Trika thus created can be classified into three broad divisions namely Āgama, Spanda and Pratyabhijñā. The Āgama is considered as one of divine origin. It consisted of both the doctrines and the practices of the system as handed down from the teacher to the student. Many works appear to have existed long before the creation of the Trika as there are frequent references to them in the comparatively recent works on Kashmir Śaivism. The names of the most important of these works are Mālinīvijaya, Svacchanda, Vijñānabhairava, Ucchuṣmabhairava, Ānandabhairava, Mṛgendra, Mataṅga, Netra, Naiṣvāsa, Svayambhu and Rudrayāmala. From the last mentioned work the verses of the Parātrimṣikā have been taken. All these

1) वेदान्तैवं ततो वामं ततो दक्षं ततः कुलम् ।

ततो मतं ततश्चापि त्रिकं सर्वोत्तमं परम् ॥

(P. T. V. p. 93)

works consisted of doctrines which were based on dualistic and sometimes even pluralistic teaching. In order to put a stop to the spread of this kind of teaching, as it were, and to show that the highest form of the Śivāgama taught only Advaita or non-dualism, the Śivasūtras were revealed. These are most important in Āgama śāstra and are, in fact, spoken of as Sivopaniṣatsaṅgraha whose authority has been attributed to Siva himself.¹

Thus, the origin of Kashmir Saivism is in the Śivasūtras which came down to the world from Siva himself through Vasugupta, the originator. The Spanda śāstra which is the second division of the Trika system lays down the main principles in greater detail and in a more amplified form than in the Śivasūtras. It may be called a sort of running commentary on the Śivasūtras. But the philosophical argument of the system is contained in the third division namely the Pratyabhijñā which is, in fact, the fully developed form of the Trika. It was founded by Siddha Somānanda who was probably a pupil of Vasugupta. He is also spoken of as the originator of reasoning or logical sequence in the enunciation and establishment of philosophical propositions.² He gives an exhaustive treatment of the doctrines of his own system and that of his opponents.³

- 1) सूत्रमाह महेश्वरः—शिवः सूत्रमरीरचत् ।
- 2) तर्कस्य कर्ता तेषां—सोमानन्दपादानां हि ईदृशो शैली ॥
- 3) स्वपक्षान् पक्षान्श्च निःशेषेण न वेद यः ।
स स्वयं संशयाभोधौ निमज्जन्स्तारयेत्कथम् ॥
.....तर्को योगाङ्गमुत्तमम् । (P. T. V. p. 170)

Even Abhinavagupta makes a clear reference to Somānanda as the learned originator of Pratyabhijñā and Utpala as the learned commentator on it.¹ Speaking of this system of philosophy Dr. S. Radhakrishnan says "Though they were also the basis of Kashmir Saivism, the later works show a distinct leaning to Advaitism."²

Besides these three divisions there are also Stotras or Prayer-poems breathing the philosophical essence of Kashmir Saivism and compositions on the daily practices of a Śaiva. The followers of this system of philosophy recognise the three-fold classification namely Parā (higher) Aparā (lower) and Parāparā (higher-lower.) The first of these is Jñānapradhāna, the second Kriyā-pradhāna and the third a combination of both Jñāna and Kriyā. The third is considered to be superior to the other two as it is a combination of both these classifications.

Many stories are told about how Vasugupta, the originator of Kashmir Saivism, got at these Śivasūtras. One of them is recorded in the Śivasūtravimarśinī as follows:—Vasugupta, according to it, had one night, while living in his hermitage on the Mahādeva Peak, a dream in which Lord Śiva, who was moved to compassion when he saw the world submerged in spiritual darkness, appeared and disclosed the fact of the existence of certain

- 1) इत्याद्युक्त्वा परमोदयस्वप्रकाशस्वात्मेश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञानपरस्य
तर्कस्य कर्तारो व्याख्यातारश्च नमस्कर्तव्या इति —.....आह —
श्रीश्रीमानन्दबोधभीमदुत्पलविनिःसृताः ।
जयन्ति संविदामोदसन्दर्भो दिक्प्रसारिणः ॥ (T. A. L. v. 10)
- 2) I. P. Vol. II. p. 731.

sūtras inscribed on a rock which was at that time lying in a certain part of the fertile valley of Kashmir with the inscribed side downwards. The Lord appears to have told him that the rock would turn over by his very touch. He further commanded him to learn the sūtras and teach them to worthy pupils who would spread their purport to the suffering people in a proper manner. The rock exists even now in Kashmir by the name Sankarpal (from the Sanskrit word Sankaropala meaning the rock of Sankara). The sūtras found on the rock are, according to the version given by Kṣemarāja, the very ones which were expounded by him in the Śivasūtravimarśinī which have now been printed. Kallaṭa lends support to this anecdote.¹ He, in turn, taught the sūtras which he learnt from his teacher Vasugupta to his pupils and instructed them to preach the essentials of the doctrines to the suffering humanity. This version is corroborated by Bhāskara who further states that Kallaṭa got from his teacher four divisions of the system on the first three of which he wrote the commentary called Madhuvāhinī and on the last one a commentary called the Tattvarthacintāmaṇi.²

- 1) दृष्टं महादेवगिरौ महेशखण्डोपदिष्टाच्छिवसूत्रसिन्धोः ।
सन्दाभृतं यद्वसुपुत्रपदै श्रीकल्लटस्तत्प्रकटीचकार ॥
(S. K. V. p. 40, v. 2)

- 2) श्रीमन्महादेवगिरौ वसुपुत्रपुरोः पुरा ।
सिद्धादेशात्प्रादुरासन् शिवसूत्राणि तस्य हि ॥
सरहस्यमतः सोऽपि प्रादान्द्रुद्राय सूर्ये ।
श्रीकल्लटाय सोऽप्येवं चतुःखण्डानि तान्यथ ॥
व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्ततः ।
तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्याख्यटीकया खण्डमन्तिमम् ॥
(S. S. V. pp. 2 & 3, vv. 3, 4 & 5)

A different version of this story, however, is recorded at least by three writers namely Rājānaka Rāma or Rāmakanṭha (author of the Spandavivṛti), Utpala (son of Trivikrama and the author of Spandapradīpikā) and Bhāskara (son of Divākara and author of Śivasūtravārtika). According to Utpala's version the Śivasūtras appear to have been taught to Vasugupta by a Siddha.¹ Whatever may be the stories that are current regarding the origin of the Śivasūtras, it is learnt that Vasugupta got them directly from Lord Śiva. In the account given by Bhāskara referred to in the previous paragraph there is a mention of the word Trika. It may not be the name of the system but it may refer to the three divisions into which the Śivasūtras were divided. These divisions probably form the basis of the Spandasūtras or Kārikās.

That Kallaṭa wrote two commentaries (one on the first three divisions and the other on the last division) is also clear from a reference made to them by Abhinavagupta in his Pratyabhijñānavivṛtivismarśinī (Bṛhat).² Kallaṭa also wrote a short vṛtti on the Spandakārikās and called it the Spandasarvasva in which he has gathered together the meaning of the Śivasūtras. This is in addition to the two commentaries that he wrote on them.

- 1) अयमत्र किलाम्नायः सिद्धमुखेनागतं रहस्यं यत् ।
तद्वद्वक्त्रेन्दुर्वसुगुप्तं रोषाप्य शिष्याणाम् ॥
अवज्ञेयार्थमनुष्टुप् पञ्चाशिकयात्र संग्रहं कृतवान् । (Sp. p. Int.)
वसुगुप्तादवाप्येदं गुरोस्तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनः ।
रहस्यं इलोकयामास सम्यक् श्रीमद्वक्त्रः ॥ (Ibid End)
- 2) तदुक्तमिति शिवसूत्रवृत्त्योर्मधुवाहिनीतत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्योर्भट्टश्रीकल्लटापादैः ,

Bhāskara has also given an account¹ of how the secrets of the Śivasūtras were handed down from Kallaṭa to him through a long line of disciples.

Thus Kallaṭa got the Śivasūtras directly from his spiritual guru Vasugupta who is stated to have got them from Śiva himself. He handed them over to worthy pupils who were instructed to propagate them among the people for their spiritual enlightenment. Of these pupils the name of Somānanda must be mentioned as it was he who supplied a logical reason based on the principles laid down in the Śivasūtras and brought out the new system of Advaita philosophy embodied in Kashmir Śaivism and became the promulgator of the Pratyabhijñā śāstra in it at a time when Kashmir was completely under the influence of Buddhism. This, in brief, is the early history of Kashmir Śaivism explaining how and when it came into existence in Kashmir.²

- 1) एवं रहस्यमप्येष मातुलेयाय चावदत् ।
 श्रीमत्प्रद्युम्नमहाय सोऽपि स्वतनयाय च ॥
 श्रीमत्प्रज्ञार्जुनाख्याय प्रादात्सोऽप्येवमावदत् ।
 श्रीमहादेवमहाय स्वशिष्यायाप्यसौ पुनः ॥
 श्रीमत्श्रीकण्ठमहाय प्रददौ स्वसुताय च ।
 तस्मात्प्राप्य करोम्येष सूत्रवार्तिकम दरात् ॥
 दैवाकरिर्मास्करोऽहमन्तेवासिगणेरितः ।

(S. S. V. p. 3. Int. vv. 6 to 9)

- 2) Somānanda in the 20th generation from the start, takes the antiquity of the system to the third or the fourth century A.D.

ESSENTIAL DOCTRINES OF THE SYSTEM.

In order to have a clear idea of the Essential Doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism, the main points of difference between Trika, Spanda and Pratyabhijñā should be correctly grasped. Trika is based on Pati, Paśu and Pāśa. Pati is Paramaśiva; Paśu is the imprisoned Jīva and Pāśa constitutes the shackles that separate the Jīva from Paramaśiva, placing it in the midst of wordly existence. When the Jīva realises that he is not different from Śiva, the shackles disappear. In this system Pāśa is often referred to as Mala or dirt. The freedom from Mala is the attainment of salvation or Mukti.

By Spanda is meant that Śiva is supreme, complete and infinite. In order to manifest the universe which is limited he has to manifest his powers from the first state. In this act the first manifestation is called the Spanda. It is also often referred to as Kampana or Calana or Sphurattā or Unmeṣa. It can, therefore, be defined as the act of manifesting the glory of Śakti which is in the Lord without in any way affecting the origin. The differences of the objects in the universe are endless as every object appears different by virtue of its guṇa, kriyā, rūpa, vyavahāra and pariṇāma. The universe is not, in any way, different from Śiva and all transactions of the Universe take place through Spanda. No alteration occurs in Śiva, the supreme Lord. This will be experienced by the person who follows and practises the Spandatattva. He realises that all differences are due

to the influence of this Spandaśakti and ultimately the true state of his form.

Pratyabhijñā reveals the secret of Kashmir Saivism. According to it the person is at first surrounded by Mala and ultimately when he casts it off he recognises that he is Paramaśiva himself. The purpose with which the Pratyabhijñā is elucidated is clearly mentioned in the first aphorism of the Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī and quoted in the Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha at the very commencement.¹ The definition of the terms as given by Utpala is also referred to in it.² All living beings experience this recognition in one way or the other as the definition of Pratyabhijñā makes it clear.³ There are three different types of Pratyabhijñā namely प्रत्यक्ष (positive proof), अनुमान (inference) and शब्द (sound). Concrete instances can be given to each one of these types to enable a rough grasp of what this Pratyabhijñā means. Under the first kind can be classed the returning of a person to his own house after leaving it because he recognises it by positive proof. The second type may be illustrated thus. Let us say that a prince is lost in the forest. Some years later the minister in his search

1) कथंचिदासाद्य महेश्वरस्य दास्यं जनस्याप्युपकारमिच्छन् ।
समस्तसंगतमवामिहेतुं तत्प्रत्यभिज्ञानमुपपादयामि ॥

(I. P. V, I. 1-1 Vol. I pp. 5 & 6)

2) तदुक्तं उत्पलाचार्यैः—भक्तिरक्षमोसमृद्धानां किमन्यदुपयाचितम् ।
एतया वा दरिद्राणां किमन्यदुपयाचितम् ॥

प्रतिस्वधनेनाभिमुखोभूते वस्तुनि ज्ञानं प्रत्यभिज्ञेति व्याह्रियते ।

(S. D. S. Prat. Com.)

3) ग्रहणस्मरणयोरैक्यं प्रत्यभिज्ञा ।

recognises him by his physical features and infers that he should be the prince who was lost in the forest. The prince, on his part, thinks that he is so by the word of the minister. The recognition of the prince by the minister is by inference and that by the prince himself is by sound. Another fine example of this recognition by inference and sound is furnished by Abhinavagupta.¹ It has been quoted and fully explained by Sāyana Mādhavācārya.²

From the philosophical or abstract point of view also, the intricacies of this system can be understood. Śiva is the prime cause of this universe. He alone is independent and omnipotent. The universe which is full of differences is nothing but a manifestation of his power of independence. In whatever form the universe exists, whether animate or inanimate, moveable or immoveable,

- 1) तैस्तैरप्युपयाचितैरुपनतस्तस्याः स्थितोऽप्यन्तिके
कान्तो लोकसमान एवमपरिज्ञातो न रन्तुं यथा ।
लोकस्यैव तथानवेक्षितगुणः स्वत्मापि विश्वेश्वरो
नैवायं निजवैभवाय तदियं तत्प्रत्यभिज्ञोदिता ॥
(I. P. V. IV. 2-2 Vol. II pp. 273 & 274)

- 2) नायकगुणगणसंक्रमणप्रवृद्धानुरागा काचन कामिनी मदनविह्वला
विरहक्लेशमसहमाना मदनलेखावलम्बनेन स्वावस्थानिवेदनानि
विधत्ते । तथा वेगात्तन्निःकटमटन्त्यपि तस्मिन्नवलोकितेऽपि
तदवलोकनं तदीयगुणपरामर्शाभावे जनसाधारणत्वं प्राप्ते हृदयङ्गम-
भावं न लभते । यदा तु दूतीवचनात्तदीयगुणपरामर्शं करोति तदा
तत्क्षणमेव पूर्णभावमभ्येति । एवं स्वात्मनि विश्वेश्वरात्मना
भासमानेऽपि तन्निर्मासं तदीयगुणपरामर्शं विरहसमये पूर्णभावं
न सम्पादयति । यदा तु गुह्यवचनादिना सर्वशत्वसर्वकर्तृत्वादि-
लक्षणपरमेश्वरोत्कर्षपरामर्शो जायते तदा तत्क्षणमेव पूर्णात्मतालभः ॥
(S. D. S. Prat. End.)

grāhya or grāhaka (subject and object), it is not different from Śiva who, by his inherent power, manifests it within himself. This manifestation occurs by the five principal acts called Pañcakṛtyas namely Creation (सृष्टि) Preservation (स्थिति) Destruction (संहार) Disappearance (विरोधान) and Favour (अनुग्रह). In the same manner the Supreme Lord or Paramaśiva is full within himself by Sat, Cit, Ānanda, Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā Śakti.

Lord Śiva is, thus, the Soul of the universe and exists in the form of thirty-six Tattvas which may now be dealt with in detail. The Pañcabhūtas constitute the materiality of the sensible universe. They are earth, water, fire, wind and space. The five karmendriyas namely upasthā, pāyu, pāda, hasta and vāk are the centres of the motor nervous system. The five tanmātras namely gandha, rasa, rūpa, sparśa, and śabda constitute the general elements of sense perception. The five Jñānendriyas namely ghrāṇa, rasana, darśana, sparśa and śravaṇa are also called the buddhīndriyas. The three capacities of mental perception namely manas, ahankāra and buddhi constitute what is called the heart or the antahkaraṇa. The two principles of the limited individual are the prakṛti and puruṣa. The six principles of subjective limitation namely Kāla, niyati, rāga vidyā, kalā and māyā are known as the sheaths of the puruṣa. The five principles of universal subject-object namely Śuddhavidyā, Īśvara Tattva, Sadāśiva Tattva, Śakti Tattva and the Śiva Tattva constitute the universe which, as already stated, is only a manifestation of the power or Śakti of Paramaśiva. These are the thirty six Tattvas which are often referred to in this system of philosophy.

Siva also exists in the form of the seven pramāṭṛs namely Sakalā, Pralayākālā, Vijñānākālā, Mantra, Mantreśvara, Mantramahēśvara and Siva. He is also identified with the Parā, Paśyanti, Madhyamā and Vaikhari (विखरे शरीरे भवत्वाद् वैखरी) Saktis. The manifestation of his power carries on transactions limited by space, time and form. That power itself ultimately reaches a stage of tranquility unlimited by space, time and form. The person gradually recognises, by philosophical speculation and discipline, his real form and gains true knowledge which helps him to plan his future actions. At first he should practise to meditate upon the consciousness of differences. By this constant meditation he experiences a peaceful state. Only then he will be capable of understanding creation, preservation and destruction which are full of vikalpas. He then proceeds to realise disappearance free from those vikalpas and will be able to guess the nature of grace. By this practice he will clearly gauge and be able to judge the worth of pleasures and pains which occur in the three stages of wakefulness, dream and deep sleep. Then he realises that the Lord in the form of Cit (which is responsible for all this), is निर्विकार i.e., unaffected. So the person through speculation and experience becomes eligible for meditating upon the real nature of his form. It is through this process that he will be capable of performing all the pañcakṛtyas or five acts like the Lord and ultimately recognises that he is Śiva himself. Thus Pratybhijñā, like other systems of philosophy, is a harmonious blending of two important factors namely a right knowledge of the Śāstras and the practical realisation of one's identity with the supreme Lord Śiva.

The most important thing about this theory of Pratyabhijñā is that 'I' ness (अहंता) is one with 'It' ness (इदंता) which is, limited by space, time and form, different and also, at the same time, not different. The former is free from limits. The common people only differentiate between grāhya and grāhaka because they are unaware of this fundamental concept. They have, what is called, a vision of Śivābhinnadr̥ṣṭi. This fact is nicely referred to in the Vijñānabhairava.¹ Briefly then, Paramaśiva is Mahāgrāhaka who is endless and who is in the form of Cit; the universe is grāhya and the person or the individual is mitagrāhaka. The universe is a manifestation of Śiva and is not different from him. This recognition of the reality is called Pratyabhijñā.

The difference between this system and the Vedānta may now be stated. In the Vedānta the main idea on which the system is built up is 'ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या'. The Advaita Vedānta categorically states that, from the ultimate stand-point, creation which is full of duality is unreal as compared with the final reality which is free from any duality and modification; while in Śivādvaita no such emphasis on the transitory nature of the world is to be found. Śiva supports the universe which is manifestation of his supreme power and so is not different from it. He never creates the universe from a thing outside or different from him. Whatever exists within himself in a minute form, he expands it in the form of the universe. The Stage which is beyond the

1) ग्राह्यग्राहकसंविद्धिः सामान्या सर्वदेहिनाम् ।

योगिनां तु विशेषोऽयं सम्बन्धे सावधानता ॥

manifestation of his power is Viśvātita or Paramaśiva. The stage when there is manifestation of this power consists of the thirty-six Tattvas mentioned previously. So the secret of this science of recognition is not only to help the individual to understand that he is Śiva but also to experience it by stages gradually reaching the final one of bliss.

The form of 'Cit' is Paramaśiva. The universe is associated with Nīla, Sukha, Deha and Prāṇa. Nīla consists of those things which could be measured by the external sense organs. Sukha is cognisable by the internal sense organs. The Deha is the place of shelter for the external as well as internal experiences. The dynamic force which helps the movement of the body is called Prāṇa. In the same manner it is of four types namely Pramāṭṛ, Pramāṇa, Prameya and Pramiti. The individual is Pramāṭṛ. The universe is Prameya. The knowledge of the universe is Pramiti. The means by which the person ascertains perceptual or conceptual knowledge is called Pramāṇa. Cit is independent. The beauty of the independence of its force is wonderfully described by Abhinavagupta.¹

चैतन्यम् आत्मा is the first aphorism of the Śivasūtras.² According to it the Ātman i.e., the true and the

- 1) चित्तिः प्रत्यवमर्शात्मा परा वाक् स्वरसोदिता ।
 स्वातन्त्र्यमेतन्मुख्यं तदैश्वर्यं परमात्मनः ॥ (I. P. V. I.-5-13)
 विमर्शो हि ससहर्वः परमपि स्वात्मीकरोति स्वात्मानं च
 परीकरोति स्वीकृतं द्वयमपि न्यग्भावयति इत्येवं स्वभावः ॥
 (Ibid Vol. I. p. 205)

- 2) S. S. 1. 1.

innermost self in every being, is a changeless reality of the nature of a purely experiencing principle,¹ as distinguished from whatever may be assumed to be formed of either the experienced or of the means of its feeling. It is called Caitanya or Cit and also Parāsamvit. It is an untranslatable word like Dharma. It is the reality, individually and totally and is identical with Paramaśiva who is eternal and infinite and at the same time all-prevading and transcending. There are two aspects to him namely the Viśvātmaka or the Immanent (in which he prevades the universe) and the Viśvottīrṇa or the transcendental aspect (in which he is beyond all universal manifestation). This is nicely expressed and elucidated by both Kṣemarāja² and Somānanda³. These aspects constitute what is called Śakti which, being only aspects, is not different from or independent of Paramaśiva, but is identical with him as stated in the works of the two authors

- 1) अच्छेद्योऽयमदाह्योऽयमक्लेद्योऽशोष्य एव च ।
नित्यः सर्वगतः स्याणुरचलोऽयं सनातनः ॥ (B. G. II. v. 24)
- 2) श्रीमत्परमशिवस्य पुनः विश्वोत्तीर्ण-विश्वात्मक-परमानन्दमय-
प्रकाशैकधनस्य-अखिलमभेदेनैव स्फुरति न तु वस्तुतः
अन्यत् किञ्चित् ग्राह्यं ग्राहकं वा । अपि तु श्रीपरम-
शिवमद्वारक एव इत्थं नानावैचित्र्यसहस्रैः स्फुरति ।
चिदेव भगवती स्वच्छस्वतन्त्ररूपा तत्तदनन्तजगदात्मना
स्फुरतीत्येतावत् । (P. H. p. 8. s. 2)
- 3) आत्मैव सर्वभावेषु स्फुरन्निवृत्तचिद्विभुः ।
अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसरः प्रसरद् दृक्क्रियः शिवः ॥ (S. Dr. I. v. 2)

mentioned above.¹ Sakti in its turn is stated to possess an infinite number of aspects of which five are the most fundamental as explained by Abhinavagupta.² The five fundamental aspects are self-revelation (चिच्छक्ति), realisation of bliss (आनन्दशक्ति), the realisation of supreme capacity and absolute irresistibility (इच्छाशक्ति) and the power of bringing together all objects and holding them in conscious relation with oneself and with one another (ज्ञानशक्ति) and the power of assuming any and every form (क्रियाशक्ति). Thus the universe is only an effervescence of the power of Paramaśiva himself.

When Śakti commences its operation the universe comes to existence and when it contracts it disappears. There is, thus, not one universe but many universes have been in the past and there will be many more in the future. Thus Śakti alternates externally between a phase of manifestation and a phase of potentiality bringing a universe into existence when it assumes the manifesting phase and reducing it to a seminal state when it passes

- 1) पराशक्तिरूपा चित्तिरेव भगवती शिवमद्वारकामिना । (P. H. p. 2. s. 10)

न शिवः शक्तिरहितो न शक्तिर्व्यतिरेकिनी ।

शिवः शक्तस्तथा भावान् इच्छया कर्तुमीशते ॥

शक्तिशक्तिमतोर्भेदः शैवे जातु न वर्ण्यते ॥ (S. Dr. III. 2 & 3)

- 2) शक्तयश्च-असंख्येयाः । मुख्याभिः पञ्चभिः

शक्तिभिर्निर्भरः परमेश्वरः पञ्चभिः शक्तिभिर्युक्तः-

तन्त्रसारः आह्निक १-२

इत्येवं मुख्याभिः पञ्चभिः शक्तिभिर्युक्तोऽपि

वस्तुतः इच्छा-ज्ञान-क्रियाशक्तियुक्तः-शिवरूपः ॥

(T. S. pp. 6 & 28)

into the potential phase.¹ The former is called *Sṛṣṭi* and the latter *Pralaya*. These two together constitute a *Kalpa*.

ĀBHĀSAVĀDA

Ābhāsavāda is the theory in which an object shines by the fullness of its own individuality. There are two main factors in it. One of them is the external experience and the other internal. There may be many Ābhāsās in the knowledge of a single object. For instance, a book is not merely one object but many as it includes in it the language in which it is written, the style and the matter that is dealt with in it. Utpalācārya mentions another aspect² and Abhinavagupta supports it.³ There is a doctrinal difference in these two illustrations of Ābhāsa. When there is manifestation or shining out of the universe or Ābhāsa as it is called, it appears in diverse forms. In the Ābhāsa the product is brought into existence without, in any way, affecting the source. It is, in effect, a process in which the involved Bhāvas flash out externally.⁴

- 1) अस्यां हि चिति-प्रसरन्त्यां जगदुन्मिषति व्यवतिष्ठते च
निवृत्तप्रसरायां च निमिषति । (P. H. p. 2. s. 1)
- 2) इयमेतादृशित्वेयं यद्वशाद् व्यवतिष्ठते ।
वस्तुप्रमाणं तत्सोऽपि स्वाभासोऽभिनवोदयः ॥
(I. P. V. II.-3-1 Vol. II. p. 63)
- 3) निर्मले मुकुरे यद्वद् भान्ति भूमिजलादयः ।
अमिश्रास्तद्वदेकस्मिन् चित्राये विश्ववृत्तयः ॥ (T. A. Ahn. III. v. 4)
- 4) वर्तमानावभासानां भावानामवभासनम् ।
अन्तः स्थितवतामेव घटते बहिरात्मना ॥
(I. P. V. I-5-1 Vol. I. p. 153)
उन्मीलनमवस्थितस्यैव प्रकटीकरणम् ॥ (P. H. n. 3 p. 6)

BIMBA - PRATIBIMBA - NYĀYA

According to this theory which plays a prominent part in the proper understanding of the philosophy of Kashmir śaivism, the mirror is different from the image but the image does not appear different from the mirror. Even if a big object is reflected in a small mirror the latter does not suffer any alteration or distortion. Still, the big object is fully reflected in the small mirror. Even if a large number of objects is reflected there is no mixture among their several images. Or, only the physical form is reflected and so there may not be any mixing up among the images. The reason for this reflection is the cleanliness of the mirror; the greater the cleanliness the cleaner is the reflection. For instance, the face can be easily reflected in the mirror but the mirror cannot be reflected in the face. Besides, the existence of a definite shape for the object is essential for its reflection being possible in the mirror.

This theory of reflection is peculiar when applied to Paramaśiva and the universe. For, Śiva who is in the form of Cit is the mirror, the object and the image. Cit is always as clear as a crystal and therefore is capable of reflecting rūpa, rasa, and even bhāra. This reflection is both external and internal. It takes place with regard to all the objects of the universe through the senses and results in joys and sorrows. The truth about these joys and sorrows will also be realised by a proper understanding of this theory of reflection. For, all our realisations are only images. The entire universe is reflected in the

Cit. The moment this is ensured then the individual is free from passion and hatred. He is then said to attain eternal bliss.¹

TAT means that and TATTVA means the real form. Just as the nine digits are the cause of the entire transactions of numbers in mathematics which give rise to an infinity of them, so also the thirty-six tattvas are responsible for the development and proper understanding of the universe. Just as number 8 is included in the number nine so in the Śiva Tattva all the remaining thirty-five tattvas are included. The wonder of creation is that all these thirty-six tattvas are centralised in an individual as in a cabinet. The constitution of these tattvas is indicated in the table furnished on the next page. The five tattvas commencing from Śiva tattva will now be briefly explained.

SIVA TATTVA — This is the first stage in the process of the manifestation of the universe. In it the Cit aspect of Śakti is most manifest. All the other aspects are there but held, as it were, in suppression or suspense. It is excellently defined in the Tattvasandoha.²

- 1) तेन संवित्तिमुकुरे विश्वमात्मानमर्षयत् ।
नाथस्य ददतोऽमुष्य विमलं विश्वरूपताम् ॥ (T. A. Ahn, III. v. 44)
- 2) यदयमनुत्तरमूर्तिर्निजेच्छया निखिलमिदं जगत्स्रष्टुम् ।
पस्पन्दे स स्पन्दः प्रथमः शिवतत्त्वमुच्यते तज्ज्ञैः ॥ (Tat. S. v. 1)

TABLE REFERRED TO IN THE PREVIOUS PAGE

Paramaśiva Viśvottirṇa Parāvasthā Pūrṇāhambhāva

1	Sīva	These five are	Parāparā-	I-ness and
1	Sakti	Suddhādhvas	vasthā	It-ness are
1	Sadāśiva			both here
1	Īśvara			
1	Suddhavidyā			

1	Māyā	The Tattvas	Aparā-	The Thirty-
1	Kalā (shows kiñcit	are Aśuddhā-	vasthā	below Māyā
1	karṭṛtva)	dhvas.		one Tattvas
1	Vidyā (kiñcit jñāna)	The Ṣaṭkañ-		are comple-
1	Rāga (creates	cukas are		tely enve-
1	desire)	from Māyā		veloped by
1	Kāla (time)	to Niyati		this-ism.
1	Niyati (gives result according to kārya and karaṇa)			Or It-ness

SAKTI TATTVA— This is the second element which enters into the composition of the manifested universe. By its operation the Śiva Tattva becomes possible. It is, in fact, the Ānanda aspect of the divine Śakti. For, the nature of Ānanda is absolute bliss. If the Śiva Tattva is considered as the first vibratory movement (as Prāṇa in this sense) towards a universal mani-

festation, then the Śakti Tattva must be considered as that power which controls and regulates the movement of life and that which acts as the principle of restraint.

SĀDĀKHYA TAITVA:—From the Śiva-Śakti state there develops the experience which is formulated in the thought 'I am'. This is the stage of the Sādākhyatattva in which there is, for the first time, the notion of 'being' in the experience. It is defined as such by Abhinavagupta.¹ The Icchā aspect of the divine Śakti is the dominant feature in this state. Though it is the third Tattva, it may be stated that it is the first manifestation in the universal process as the first two Tattvas are eternally existent. This Tattva, therefore, comes into manifestation as the principle of pure being.

As it begins to stir there the experiencer begins to recollect his true character and the state which has made him completely forget about himself. This has also been explained by Abhinavagupta.² The divine Śakti is the heart of the experiencer.³

AIŚVARA TATTVA—This is the next stage in which there is a sort of mental stock-taking on the part of the divine experiencer whose experience is mainly occupied with a survey of the ideal universe and the

1) सदाख्यायां भवं यतः प्रभृति सदिति प्रख्या ॥

(I. P. V. III-1-2. Vol. II. p. 1919.)

2) ईश्वरो बहिरुन्मेषो निमेषोऽन्तः सदाशिवः ।

सामानाधिकरण्यं च सद्ब्रह्माहमिदं द्वयोः ॥ (Ibid. 1. 3. p. 193)

3) विश्वात्मिकां समुत्तीर्णा हृदयं परमेशितुः ।

परादिशक्तिरूपेण स्फुरन्तीं संविदं नुमः ॥ (P. P. Inv.)

identification of the 'so-and-so-ness' with the 'I-ness'. The experience in these two latter Tattvas may be formulated in the thoughts 'I am this' and 'this am I'.

SADVIDYĀ—This is the fifth stage in which the 'I' and the 'this' are realised clearly.¹ In this state of experience the true relation of things is realised. It is therefore called the state of Sadvidyā or Śuddhavidyā or Parāparaśā.² It is also defined as the state in which the difference and the non-difference between things is critically investigated.³ The experience of the individual in this state is one of diversity in unity and also identity. It assumes a form which may roughly be stated as follows. I am all this and all this is mine as part and parcel of myself or I am the author of this.⁴ So far the manifestation of the universe is a purely ideal one and is therefore called the perfect and the pure way of realisation.

In conclusion we may say that to understand that an object which does not exist or is, and that which exists, is not is what is called ignorance (अज्ञान or अख्याति or मिथ्याज्ञान). Thus there is at first understanding, then desire and effort followed by final realisation (साक्षात्कार).

1) सामानाधिकरण्यं हि सद्विद्याहमिदं द्वयोः । (I. P. V. III. 1-3)

2) तत्रापरत्वं भावानामनात्मत्वेन भासनात् ।
परताहंतयाच्छादात्परापरदशा हि सा ॥ (I. P. V. Vol. II. p. 199)

3) भेदाभेदविमर्शनात्मकमन्त्ररूपा-सद्विद्या- (S. Ch. IV. 95)

4) सर्वो ममायं विभवः इत्येवं परिजानतः ।

विश्वात्मनो विकल्पानां प्रसरेऽपि महेशता ॥

(I. P. VI. IV. 1-12. Vol. II. p. 266)

Desire arises according to our *samskāras*; effort is proportional to our devotion and interest. Then the five *Suddhādhvas* (right paths) and their true forms are indicated. Thus in the first stage namely *Śiva Tattva*, the experience of पूर्णहिता which is pure *Cit* is felt. In the second stage i. e., *Śakti Tattva* there is the springing up of the powers of desire (इच्छा, ज्ञान and क्रिया) knowledge and action. In the third stage namely *Sādākhyā Tattva* the idea of *grāhya* and *grāhaka* comes up for the first time. In the fourth namely *Aiśvara Tattva*, the importance of these two is realised. Finally in the *Sadvidyā*, the notion of *grāhya* (in which differentiation is prominent) and of *grāhaka* takes place.

ASUDDHĀDHVĀS

After experience of the universal manifestation the limited individual experience begins. What is pure till now becomes impure and the *Suddhādhvās* assume the form of *Asuddhādhvās*. It is here that the notion of *Māyā* occurs. It creates in the individual an attachment for objects and is the prime cause for *Bhedajñāna*. The function of *Māyā* is to obscure and limit the experience.² The relations of the universal experience of the

1) The *Māyā* referred to here is not exactly the same as that in the ideology of *Sri Śaṅkara*, though the general notion may appear to be similar.

2) तस्यैश्वर्यस्वभावस्य पशुभावे प्रकाशिका ।

विद्याशक्तिस्तोरोधानकरी मायाभिधा पुनः ॥

भेदे त्वेकारसे भातेऽहंतयानात्मनीक्षिते ।

शून्ये बुद्धौ शरीरे वा मायाशक्तिर्विजृम्भते ॥

(I. P. V. III-1-7 & 8. Vol. II. pp. 202-204)

Suddhavidyā to the universal 'all this' are only five namely Nityatva, Vyāpakatva, Pūrṇatva, Sarvajñatva and Sarvakartṛtva. The all-experiencer assumes a sleepy aspect when the above-mentioned respectively assume the forms Kāla (time), Niyati (restriction), Rāga (limited interest), Vidyā (limited consciousness), and Kalā (limited authorship). Thus when Māyā comes into play the experiencer is, as it were, enwrapped and forgets his own glory. He then falls into a sleep in which he has only a vague idea of the previous state.¹

This kind of being wrapped up in Māyā and in the five types mentioned above (usually called the progeny of Māyā) results in the bringing up of the Puruṣa into existence. Not only a single Puruṣa is produced but also an indefinite number of such puruṣas. This production does not in any way tire the all-experiencer. The process of this production is unusually defined as Ābhāsa in the books on Kashmir Śaivism.² Each of these numberless puruṣas becomes an Aṇu.³ Along with the puruṣa there is an indefinite something which also manifests itself. It is called the universal 'all-this' or

1) माति याति इति माया-माति-विश्वमात्मसात्करोति ।

याति विसृजति सूत्रौ ॥

2) मायाविभेदबुद्धिर्निर्जांशजातेषु निखिलभावेषु ।

नित्यं तस्य निरंकुशविभवं वेलेव वारिधी रन्ध्रे ॥ (Tat. S. v. 5)

3) पूर्णत्वाभावेन परिमितत्वादगुर्वस्त्वम् ॥

(P. V. III. ii. v. 4)

his prakṛti which affects the puruṣa. This has been explained by Abhinavagupta.¹

The prakṛti dealt with in the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy is somewhat similar to the Māyā of the Trika system.² When thus the puruṣa and prakṛti are manifested by the all-experiencer assuming a sleeping aspect, the three factors namely Buddhi, Ahankāra and Manas are generated one after the other in succession. In order to understand this process we must analyse the psychical transformations that are taking place in us daily and even hourly. When we see a thing and think of it, at least four well-defined operations take place namely sensation (ālokana), desire (saṅkalpa or eṣāṇā), selection (vyavaccheda) and exclusion (bheda). Manas

- 1) एवं कलास्थतत्त्वस्य किञ्चित्कर्तृत्वलक्षणे ।
विशेष्यभागे कर्तृत्वं चर्वितं भोक्तृपूर्वकम् ॥
विशेषणतया योऽत्र किञ्चिद्भागस्तदुत्थितम् ।
वेद्यमानं स्पृष्टं भिन्नं प्रधानं सूयते कला ॥
सममेव हि भोग्यं च भोक्तारं च प्रसूयते ।
कला भेदाभिसन्धानादविमुक्तं परस्परम् ॥
एवं संवेद्यमानां यत्सुखदुःखविमोहितः ।
भोत्स्यते यत्ततः प्रोक्तं तत्साम्यात्मकमादितः ॥
तच्च-प्रधानं भिन्नं प्रतिदुनियतत्वाद् अनेकमिति यावत् ।
कलादीनां च तथात्वेऽपि स्पृष्टं तदपेक्षया स्थूलमित्यर्थः ॥

(T. A. Ahn. IX. vv. 213, 214, 330 & 221
Vol. IV p. 172 Com.)

- 2) मनः-सामान्यत इन्द्रियेण गृहीतमर्थं सम्यक् कल्पयति
इति विशिष्टशिवतत्त्वम् ।
अध्यवसायो बुद्धिः सोऽयमध्यवसायो गवादिषु ॥
(Sān. Ch. 27)

desires, Ahaṅkāra collects and finally Buddhi dispossesses. Buddhi is thus the impersonal or super-personal state of consciousness or experience in a limited individual. As the puruṣa wakes up, the first waking consciousness after sleep is otherwise called as Buddhi which is the manifestation of the sattvaguṇa. This idea has been visualised by Abhinavagupta and others.¹

Thus we may say that a reference to Buddhi is necessary before a person is capable of ascertaining and defining his concept of a concrete object that he has seen. But Manas is virtually active and Ahaṅkāra is comparatively static. Manas is also the seat of desire. It comes into manifestation from Ahaṅkāra. It is not the only product. The others are also produced in groups namely the five jñānendriyas and the five karmendriyas (one group) and the five tanmātras (other group) already mentioned above. This is the three-fold production which is evolved from Ahaṅkāra. They do not exist independently by themselves but as the endowments of the puruṣa who, at this stage, is Ahaṅkāra together with Buddhi behind it and all the rest in the background. The individual thus endowed is the individual soul (Jīva).

The individual soul is then ready for its round of existence and experience. The last step in the process is what is called the materialisation of the individual soul.

1) सुखं सत्त्वं प्रकाशत्वात्प्रकाशो ह्लाद उच्यते ।

ज्ञानमपि सत्त्वाख्या निर्णयबोधस्य कारणं बुद्धिः ।

तस्य क्रिया तमोमयमूर्तिर्मना उच्यते विकल्पकारी ॥

(Tat. S. pp. 10 & 15)

The five elements are produced, in general, from the variations that occur in the corresponding Tanmātras. That is, Ākāśa, for instance, is produced from the variations in the Śabdatanmātra, Vāyu from the Sparśatanmātra, Agni from Rūpatanmātra, Ap or Water from the Rasatanmātra and Pṛthvī or the principle of stability and solidarity from the Gandhatanmātra. Only vitality or life is not included in the above factors. But really it is not omitted. Because, Prāṇa is only the Śivatattva which serves as the inner life and at a lower stage it is Ahāṅkāra which holds together organic forms and is therefore Prāṇa in the physical world.

In Kashmir Śaivism 'ignorance' is not the absence of knowledge but only limited knowledge. The causes for this limitation are Āṇava, Māyīya and Kārma Malas. Abhinavagupta has shown by a beautiful simile how these Malas or impurities are generated in a person and what their form and nature are.¹ According to it the rice grain not covered by fine rice-dust, thick dust and husk cannot create the sprout. In the same manner, the soul free from the three impurities mentioned above cannot create the sprout of existence. Impurities occur only when the power of the supreme contracts. The moment the individual is free from these he transcends births and deaths and is not subjected to pass through the cycle of rebirths. In other words contraction or saṅkoca is

- 1) तुषकम्बुकर्किशारकमुक्तं बीजं यथाङ्कुरं कुस्ते ।
 नैव तथाणवमायाकर्मविमुक्तो भवाङ्कुरं ह्यात्मा ॥ (P. S. P. 109. v. 57)

impurity and expansion or vikāsa is salvation. This is further explained by Abhinavagupta.¹

CAUSES FOR BANDHANA

Action can be classified into three types namely Sātvika, Rājasa and Tāmāsa. They induce sukha (pleasure), duhkha (pain) and moha (illusion) respectively. Those acts which enlighten are called Sātvika; those that increase passion and anger are Rājasa and those that cause illusion or attachment and result in sin are Tāmāsa. One act leads on to another. The acts of to-day become the samskāras of tomorrow. The impurity arising out of the performance of an act dies out according to the ripeness of knowledge. When Māyā or Moha disappears there is pure knowledge. At this stage there is a kind of equipoise between pleasure and pain. Abhinavagupta has suggested a simple way of meditating upon the seven Pramāṭṛs namely Sakalā, Pralayākalā, Vijñānākalā, Mantra, Mantreśvara, Mantramaheśvara and Śiva. The first of these Pramāṭṛs has all the impurities; The second has only two namely Māyīya and Āṇava and the rest upto the sixth have only one impurity namely Āṇava. Only the seventh Pramāṭṛ i. e., Śiva is free from all impurities. In the waking stage the individual's experience is Sakalā; in the sleeping stage it is Pralayākalā and in the semi-conscious (svapna) stage it is Vijñānākalā. The following table gives an idea of the entire process.

1) परमावरणं मल इह सूक्ष्मं मायादिकंचुक्रं स्थूलम् ।

कालं विग्रहरूपं कोशत्रयवेष्टितो ह्यात्मा ॥

(P. S. p. 55. v. 24)

Sl. Avasthā Pramātṛ Power Impurity Remarks
No.

1.	Jāgrat	Sakalā	All the five from Cit.	All the three impu- rities.	Great opportu- nity for action.
2.	Svapna	Pralayā kalā	Four from Cit.	Āṇava and Māyīya.	-do- for knowledge
3.	Suṣupti	Vijñānā kalā	Cit, Ānan- da & Iccha	Āṇava only.	-do-for desire.
4.	Turyā	Mantra Mantre- śvara & Mantra- maheśvara.	Cit, Ānan- da	-do-	nil
5.	Turyā- tīta	Siva	Cit only	No impurities.	Bliss.

UPĀYAS

Upāya is the means of realisation and Upeya is the thing to be realised. There are three such means namely Sāmbhava, Śākta and Āṇava. These are stated and defined by Abhinavagūpta.¹ In addition to these three there is one other Upāya which is called Anupāya in which the capacity of the individual plays a very promi-

1) अमेदोपायमत्रोक्तं शांभवं शाक्तमुच्यते ।
भेदाभेदात्मकोपायं भेदोपायं तदाणवम् ॥ (T. A. Ahn. I. v. 230)

ment part. It only means that *Sivatva* can be attained by him either by the help of his guru or by some other *Pramāṇa*. In other words it only means that there is no other way of attaining realisation and that it is also not necessary. For instance it is a well-known fact that the knowledge of the *Sāstras* is not necessary for an individual to recognise his own parents. When the qualities of gold are known by a person it is not difficult for him to recognise it in whatever place it occurs. By means of these *Upāyas* it is possible to recognise the supreme Lord wherever he is and in whatever form he exists. By means of the *Sāmbhavopāya* an individual attains *Śakti-vikāśa* mainly by the power of desire. It is nicely defined in the *Mālinīvijaya*,¹ *Tantrāloka*² and *Sivasūtravimarsinī*.³

An individual lives by the *Vikalpas* that arise in his mind. These *vikalpas* should be first harnessed. The means to harness them are in the form of *Bheda*. The means of attaining firmness in the state of *Nirvikalpa* is *Abheda*. Because both these are present in the second *Upāya* mentioned above it is also called *Bhedābhedopāya*. He who attains realisation by this means experiences eternal bliss even in the state of wakefulness. By meditating upon that supreme *tattva* which cannot be

- 2) अकिञ्चिन्तकस्यैव गुरुणा प्रतिबोधतः ।
यं समावेशमाप्नोति शांभवः स उदाहृतः ॥ (M. V.)
- 3) मत्तः स्वोदितमिदं मन्येव प्रतिबिम्बितम् ।
सदभिन्नमिदं चेति त्रिधोपायः स शाम्भवः ॥
(T. A. Ahn. III. v. 280)
- 4) जायते यः समावेशः शाम्भवोऽसावुदीरितः । (S. S. V. p. 19)

expressed in speech, the individual attains bliss by the Śāktopāya.¹

Sāmbhavopāya is taught to those people who are capable of recognising the Citsvarūpa which is entirely different from body, sense, prāṇa and puryaṣṭaka. In this remedy or means the meditation upon Icchāśakti is predominant. Śāktopāya is taught to those who are eligible to get Cidvikāśa by developing the different vikalpas. Āṇavopāya is taught to those who are able to get the Vikāśa by utilising deha, prāṇa and other animal instincts in Āsana, Prāṇāyāma, Mudrā and Bandha.

There are two phases for Prāṇaśakti. The power of Cit is also called Prāṇaśakti in external form by the descending order. It is indicated as 'प्राक् संवित् प्राणे परिणता'. Apāna which is the support and protection for the Pramāṭṛ is more external than Prāṇa. Samāna which is capable of uniting the several senses in the individual is next in order externally. There exists the unifying power of Pramāṭṛ and Prameya in the Udānaśakti. The last one is the Vyānaśakti in which all differences merge and blissful knowledge shines upon the individual. Thus the Pañcaprāṇas are the places of Nijānanda, Nirānanda, Parānanda, Brahmānanda and Cidānanda respectively. This is the first phase. The second phase exists in the form of alphabet which is nothing but indistinct and proportionate sound. All the letters of the alphabet from क to म are साचूक and आनचूक. By the pronunciation of these

I) उच्चारणहितं वस्तु चेतसैव विचिन्तयत् ।

यं समावेशमान्नोति शाक्तः सोऽत्रोभिधीयते ॥

(S. S. V. p. 22)

letters there is what is called the touch of Samvitspanda. This is the secret of letters and their utility. All these help the individual to attain bliss while he is alive and he need not also renounce the world for attaining it. While he lives he sees pleasures and pains with 'It'ness and not 'I'ness. These, in brief are the means or Upāyas for realisation.

THE SIX PATHS

The paths for attaining bliss are six namely Mantra, Vāma, Pāda, Kalā, Tattva and Bhuvana. Abhinavagupta has described in detail the six-fold path and the method of attaining each one of them. First the individual should think that the entire universe is within him and meditate his body in Prāṇaśakti, Prāṇa in Dhiśakti, Dhi in Sāmya and Sāmya in Cit. When he experiences this ascending order he understands not only the nature of the thirty-six Tattvas but also knows that Paramaśiva or the supreme Lord is Viśvamaya.¹

ŚAKTIPĀTA

Yāga, Yoga, Japa, Dhyāna, Vrata and Dikṣā are acts which help the individual in the acquisition of right knowledge. Dāna, Homa and Yajña are acts which are

- 1) अथ देशाध्वा-तं समस्तमध्वानं देहे विलाप्य देहं च प्राणे
तं धियि तां शून्ये तत्संवेदने निर्भरपरिपूर्णसंविस्संपद्यते
षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वस्वरूपज्ञः तदुत्तीर्णां संविदं परमशिव-
रूपां पश्यन् विश्वमयीमपि संवेदयेत् ।
अध्वा समस्त एवायं चिन्मात्रे संव्यवस्थितः ।
यत्तत्र न हि विश्रान्तं तन्नमःकुसुमायते ॥ (T. S. Ahn. VII. p. 63)

responsible for the prosperity of the individual both in this world and in the next. Śaktipāta is also called Bhagavadanugraha or the favour of the Lord. It is the result of acts performed without desire or attachment. This is elaborated by Abhinavagupta.¹ It consists of twenty-seven varieties approximately depending on the intellectual calibre of individuals. The performance of an act is within the power of the individual; but the result thereof depends on the will of Īśvara. Bliss cannot be attained without the favour of the Lord. This idea is also expressed in the Kaṭhopanīṣad.²

He who is tranquil in his mental outlook but carries on the transactions of his existence externally is called a Jīvanmukta. In whatever transaction he may be involved he is called a Yukta if he has the capacity to meditate incessantly upon the Cidrūpa which is his real form. The definition of a Yukta as given in the Spanda-śāstra is quoted by Kṣemarāja.³ Attainment of the state of a Yukta by an individual is the result of several factors the chief of which are previous saṃskāra, present environment, proper study of the śāstras, proper direction

- 1) दीक्षासिच्छिन्नपाशत्वान्नावना मांजितस्य हि।
विकासं तत्त्वमायाति प्रातिभं तदुदाहृतम् ॥

(T. A. Ahn. XIII. v. 174)

- 2) . नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यो स आत्मा विवृणुते तन् स्वाम् ॥

(K. U. I.-2-23)

- 3) यथोक्तं ह्यनन्दशास्त्रे- इति वा यस्य संवित्तिः क्रीडाल्वेनाखिलं जगत्।
स पश्यन् सततं युक्तो जीवन्मुक्तो न संशयः

(P. H. p. 37)

by a capable preceptor, self-effort, incessant practice and self-introspection.

Improvement in the spiritual sphere can be attained by any one of the four ways namely *Parīśilana*, *Anuśilana*, *Anusandhāna* and *Parāmarśa*. The proper understanding of the various topics which are dealt with in the śāstras is called *Parīśilana*. The recognition of *Dharma* which is the main cause for the existence of differences amongst them is *Anuśilana*. Concentration upon the peaceful and the non-different self in spite of these differences is *Anusandhāna* or meditation. The state of remembering again and again the pristine state in spite of temptations is called *Parāmarśa*. One kind of self-introspection is meditating upon the *Turyā* and *Turyātīta* by examining the three states of wakefulness, dream and deep sleep. The study of the śāstras helps us to understand that the universe consists of 36 *tattvas*. Another kind of introspection is to recognise the identity between *grāhya* and *grāhaka*. A third kind of *Parāmarśa* exists in climbing up the steps of the spiritual staircase commencing from *deha* and reaching up to *Mantramahēśvara* until the final goal namely *Śiva* who is performing the *pañcakṛtyas* namely creation, preservation, destruction, disappearance and favour, is attained.

There is the experience of pleasure and pain only in the first two *kṛtyas*. It does not exist in the last three. *Pañcakṛtyas* are obligatory even on such a great individual as Lord *Maheśvara* because though much more powerful than an ordinary individual he too has his limitations. Even though he is endowed with limited

power he also realises that he is capable of performing the five acts by gradual and continuous meditation until he feels that he is Paramaśiva. It is a result of the complete acquisition of ripe knowledge. When there is the expansion of power or śakti he realises that creation which was originally full of differences is free from them. This is another type of Anusandhāna. Words and speech are the means of communication. All words emanate from one indivisible entity at the origin and spread themselves in different forms. The fruit of Pratyabhijñā is the realisation of the identity of the individual with the supreme Lord by the study of the śāstras, Gurūpadeśa, self-effort and ultimate experience in the final state. This is suggested in the invocatory verse of the Stavacintāmaṇi.¹

Cit is the cause and universe is the effect. It is self-luminent. It is both grāhya and grāhaka. It can be understood neither by logic nor by argument but only by experience. It is impossible for ordinary men to understand the identity between grāhya and grāhaka. Only the great sages know it by the power of their yoga. Grāhya is the thing to be attained or understood and grāhaka is the individual who tries to attain or to understand it. In Kashmir Śaivism all the 36 Tattvas are grāhyas and the 7 Pramāṭṛs are grāhakas.

Sūnya is not the vacant state as it may normally be understood. It is a state where the speciality of name

1) नमः शिवाय सततं पञ्चकृत्यविधायिने ।

चिदानन्दधनस्वात्मपरमार्थविभासिने ॥

(S. Ch. p. 1. v. 2)

and form do not exist. Khyāti is knowledge. But Akhyāti is not complete absence of knowledge. Kṣemarāja is of the opinion that it is a type of understanding. For, according to him, even to know that a certain thing does not exist is knowledge.¹ When Cit contracts, the power of knowledge is satva, the power of action is rajas and the power of Māyā is tamas. Citta is the name for the mind in which the transactions of these three qualities take place. Cit is free from all qualities but Citta is not so. This is the fundamental difference between the two.

Śiva is one undivided complete unit. He has two forms or states namely the state of contraction and the state of expansion. Because he consists of the three impurities namely Āṇava, Māyīya and Kārma, he is Trimaya; because he has four parts he is Caturātmā. He is also the seven Pramāṭṛs, the five powers and the 35 Tattvas. Sūnya is the state of Cit where no distinction exists. Prāṇa is the power which is the cause for the movement of the body or Deha. Puryaṣṭaka is a fine tattva which is in the form of a knot consisting of eight tattvas including the five Tanmātras and the three entities Manas, Buddhi and Ahaṅkāra. Śarīra is the body which is made up of the five elements or Pañcabhūtas. Lord Śiva is resplendent with glory in the form of the universe. The moment we realise that the different tattvas are nothing but the blossoming of Cit power, we are emancipated; otherwise not. All these ideas are brought forth

1) अख्यातिर्यदि न ख्यातिः ख्यातिरेव वशिष्यते ।

ख्यातिश्चेत्ख्यातिरूपत्वात्ख्यातिरेवावशिष्यते ॥

(P. H. p. 10)

in a verse in praise of Śiva which occurs in the Śivasūtra-vimarśinī¹

Śiva performs the five acts even in the imprisoned state as in the free state. For instance, creation is defined as the knowledge of things by the senses. This is also called Ābhāsana. Preservation is the time during which the created object remains unaltered. Destruction is the state in which the external knowledge is converted into the internal. Finally there are the two states of Tirodhāna and Anugraha. The state of worldly existence is that in which the individual is illusioned by his own powers without the knowledge of the five acts.

Cit power creates the universe and causes worldly attachment for the Pramāṭṛs and therefore it is called Vāmeśvarī. It attains the Khecari form in the 'paśu' state by the forces known as Kalā and others. A definition of the Khecari mudrā is given in the Bhairvīya Mudrālakṣaṇa.² In the Gocari state it shines concealing its undifferentiated form and with a non philosophical form full of differences. By attaining the powers of

- 1) देहप्राणसुखादिभिः प्रतिकलं संदध्यमानो जनः
पूर्णानन्दधनामिमां न चिनुते माहेश्वरीं स्वां चितिम् ।
भव्ये दोधसुधान्धविश्वमभितस्तत्फेनपिण्डोपमं
यः पश्येदुपेदशतस्तु कथितः साक्षात्स एकः शिवः ॥
(S. S. VI p. 141. v. 4)
- 2) मनः स्थिरं यस्य विनावलम्बनं
वायुः स्थिरो यस्य विनावरोधनम् ।
दृष्टिः स्थिरा यस्य विनावलोकनं
स्यात्तैव मुद्रा विमला च खेचरी ॥

deities which help us to think upon the differences it assumes the Dikcari form. In the Bhūcari form the thought that the individual is different from the supreme Lord springs up. All these experiences are only when the individual is in the 'paśu' state. In the 'pati' state these powers arise with an enlightenment of the mind. The view of Bhaṭṭa Dāmodara in this connection is worthy of note ¹

Lord Śiva has the wonderful power of creation which is hidden in the 'paśu' state and self-luminent in the 'pati' state. While coming down, the power enters the physical body and assumes the prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna and samāna forms. The Prāṇa vāyu supports the body through the beating of the heart; Apāna is at the bottom and helps excretion; Vyāna pervades the entire body in the same manner as it does the universe; Samāna is in the naval region and helps digestion; but Udāna is situated in the suṣumnānāḍī in a minute form in the vertebral column. Śiva resides in the Brahma-randhra and suṣumnā spreads from thence to the end where the kuṇḍalinī exists. That the Lord is the main support for the entire universe is expressed in a verse in praise of him in the Kakṣyāstotra.²

- 1) पूर्णविच्छिन्नमात्रान्तर्बहिष्करणभावनाः ।
वामेशाद्याः परिज्ञानात् शानान्निर्मुक्तिबन्धदाः ॥
- 2) सर्वाः शक्तीश्चेतसा दर्शनाद्याः
स्वे स्वे वेषे यौगपद्येन विष्वक् ।
क्षिप्त्वा मध्ये हाटकस्तम्भभूत-
स्तिष्ठन्निश्वाधार एकोऽवभासि ॥

When the transaction of the Prāṇavāyu and others stop, the separation of the soul from the body takes place and the person dies. There are altogether seventy-two thousand nāḍīs in the human body of which only 101 are very important. These are mentioned in the Kaṭhōpaniṣat also.¹ Of these, ten are controlled by the Prāṇaśakti. Of these ten, three are extremely important. They are the well-known Idā, Piṅgalā and Suṣumnā nāḍīs, the last one being of exceptional importance as it is the centre of all thoughts that originate in the mind and goad the individual to action. The powers that are going out through the senses must be controlled. Then only the individual experiences Cit. This is called उन्मुखीकरणम्. This state is very well defined in the Jñāna-g rbha stotra.² But Lord Śiva is independent being the supreme Lord of the entire group of Cit-forces which contain the संविद्देवताचक्र. He shines gloriously, All these forces start from him and are responsible for the good of the universe as a whole.

In conclusion we may say that with the exception of some philosophical niceties, the broad principles of most of the Indian theistic schools of philosophy are followed by Kashmir Śaivism in the Pratyabhijñā Darśana. The observation of Mr. R. W. Frazer in this

1) शतं चैका हृदयस्य नाड्यः..... । (K. U. VI. v. 16)

2) विहाय सकलाः क्रियाः जननि मानसीः सर्वतो
विमुक्तकरणक्रियानुसृतिपारतन्त्र्योज्ज्वलम् ।

स्थितैस्त्वदनुभावतः सपदि वेद्यते सा परा ।

दशा नृभिरतन्द्रिता समसुख मृतस्यन्दिनी ॥

॥ ज्ञानगर्भस्तोत्रम् ॥

respect is very correct.¹ Scholastic writings on the Pratyabhijñā Darśana are also of a very high order in point of speculative merits as Prof. Suryanarayana Sastry suggests that the line of difference between the Pratyabhijñā school and the Advaita School as represented by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya is very thin.² It will, therefore, be interesting to deal with them here.

SPECULATIVE DISSERTATIONS

1—VASUGUPTA (800–850 A. D.)

Amongst the writers on Kashmir Śaivism so far known to us, Vasugupta is, probably, the first as already stated. He was a great Maharṣi who lived in retirement in the charming valley of what is now called the Harwan stream (the ancient Śaṣṭarhavana) behind the Salimar

- 1) These Tattvas transcend all physical notions of reality, but are believed capable of being realised through the long-trained thought of Eastern sages..... The system teaches that through a knowledge of the Tattva the soul can realise God as identical with the individual soul, as pure unconscious soul of the universe.

(Encyclopaedia of Religion and
Ethics Vol. XI. pp. 94 & 95)

- 2) The dividing line between the Advaita Vedānta and this School of Śaivism (Trika) is, as is well-known, very thin.

(Paramāthasāra of Adiśeṣa. Int. p. viii)

Gardens near Srinagar. Nothing is known either about his parentage or his ancestry. He was a great devotee of Śiva. When he was living in a hermitage on the Mahādeva Peak in Kashmir, Lord Śiva appears to have revealed the Śivasūtras to him in a dream. The traditional account of how he got the Śivasūtras has already been narrated.¹ It is also known that Kallaṭa was his direct disciple.

The date of Vasugupta can be approximately determined by certain references to him. There is, besides, a reference to Kallaṭa by Kalhaṇa to the effect that he was a great Siddha or a person who had attained realisation along with others.² It is stated therein that Kallaṭa lived during the time of king Avantivarman who ruled in Kashmir during the second half of the 9th century A. D. So the date of Vasugupta, his guru, can be placed at the commencement of the 9th century A. D. or at the end of the previous century. The guruparamparā furnished in the commentary of the Śāradātilaka indicates that Vasugupta was the founder of Kashmir Śaivism after Lord Śiva and that Abhinavagupta was the fourth disciple in succession from him.³ Since the date of Abhinavagupta is known to be the latter half of the 10th century and first quarter of the 11th century A. D., the

1) Cf. pp. 329 to 332.

2) अनुग्रहाय लोकानां भट्टश्रीकल्लटादयः ।

अवन्तिवर्मणः काले सिद्धा भुवमवातरन् ॥

(Rāj. V. v. 66.)

3) श्र कण्ठं वसुमन्तं वसुगुप्तं सोमानन्दं तथोत्पलाचार्यम् ।

लक्ष्मणमभिनवगुप्तं वन्दे श्रीक्षेमराजं च ॥

(Sa. T. v. 3. Comm. p. 7)

date of Vasugupta can be arrived at by computing backwards. On the basis of this also his date almost coincides with the one already mentioned namely the early part of the first half of the 9th century A. D.

The authorship of about five works, in all, is ascribed to Vasugupta. The first of them is the Śivasūtras which are of divine origin as we have already seen. The work is divided into three chapters called Prakāśas dealing in succession, with the three paths to final emancipation pointed out by the non-dualistic tantras. There are altogether 79 Sūtras of which 23 are in the first, 10 in the second and the rest in the third. The work is printed in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (Vol. XLIII) along with the Vārtika of Varadarāja.

The sūtras are framed in the form of Vedic commandments which are composed in the style of the Upaniṣads and it is believed that they are of divine authorship. Though there is algebraic conciseness in the form in which they have been composed, the truths have been expressed with precision. The first chapter contains a description of the general characteristics of the soul and deals with the impurities that envelop it in the worldly existence pointing out the general traits of the three states of wakefulness, dream and deep sleep right up to the rise of Śuddhavidyā.¹ In the second chapter the secrets of the mantras and the effort that

- 1) चैतन्यमात्मा । ज्ञानं बन्धः । योनिवर्गः कलाशरीरम् ।
 ज्ञानाधिष्ठानं मातृका । शुद्धविद्योदयत्वाच्चक्रेष्वश्वसिद्धिः ।
 महाहृदानुसन्धानान्मन्त्रवीर्यानुभवः । (S. S. I. 1, 2, 3, 21 & 22)

should be directed towards a proper understanding of them are elucidated.¹ The third chapter deals with the characteristics of Aṇu, Māyā and the Śuddhādhvās and the final result of yoga after describing in detail the effect of pleasures and pains on the individual and the means of getting rid of them.² The Śivasūtras is the first work on Kashmir Śaivism and contains the broad principles and essential truths of that system of philosophy in the form of aphorisms. This is, probably, the starting point for the mass of literature that came to be written in the course of about six or seven centuries commencing from the 9th century A. D.

Spandakārikās is the name of the second work that is ascribed to Vasugupta by Kṣemarāja as could be seen from one of his verses.³ But Utpala Vaiṣṇava ascribes it to Kallaṭa on the basis of an authority found in the Spandaprādīpikā.⁴ This work is simply an amplification of the fundamental concepts of Kashmir Śaivism in which particular attention is paid to the Spanda aspect of the system. It is also called Spandasūtra or more popularly Spandaśāstra.

- 1) चित्तं मन्त्रः । प्रवक्तुः साधकः । विद्याशरीरसत्ता मन्त्ररहस्यम् ॥
(S. S. II. 1, 2 and 3)
- 2) आत्मा चित्तम् । ज्ञानं बन्धः । कलानां तत्त्वानामविवेको माया ।
स्वशक्तिश्चयोऽस्य विश्वम् । भूयः स्यात्प्रतिनिमीलनम् ।
(S. S. III. 1, 2, 3, 30 & 45)
- 3) लब्ध्वाप्यलभ्यमेतद् ज्ञानधनं हृद्गुहान्तःकृतनिहितैः ।
वसुगुप्त्रवान् शिवाय हि भवति सदा सर्वलोकस्य ॥ (S. N. p. 76. v. 2)
- 4) वसुगुप्त्रादवाप्येदं गुरोस्तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनः ।
रहस्यं श्लोकयामास सम्यक् श्रीभट्टकलटः ॥ (S. P. p. v. 53)

'Spandāmṛta' is the name of the third work that is ascribed to Vasugupta. It is stated that it is a separate work of Vasugupta without mentioning any authority therefor. It is possible that the work is the same as the Spandakārikā with a different name, as the word Spandāmṛta seems to have been used more in a metaphorical sense according to Kṣemarāja.¹ Even Kallaṭa uses the word Spandāmṛta in the same sense as Kṣemarāja.²

The last two works which are ascribed to Vasugupta are (1) Vāsavitikā which is a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā and (2) Siddhāntacandrikā. A complete manuscript of the former has not yet been discovered. The first six chapters are probably mixed up in another commentary on the Bhagavadgītā called Lāsakī written by Rājānaka Lāsaka, the manuscripts of which are, however, available. The latter work is noticed by Dr. Bühler.³

There are several commentaries on the Śivasūtras of Vasugupta. They are all written by well-known Kashmirians like Kṣemarāja, Varadarāja and Bhāskara. The most authoritative and popular of these is that of Kṣemarāja which is called the Śivasūtravimarsinī, printed

- 1) स्पन्दामृते चर्वितेऽपि स्पन्दसन्दोहतो मनाक् ।
पूर्णस्तर्चवर्णाभोगोद्योग एव मयाश्रितः ॥ (S. N. p. 1. v. 2)
- 2) दृग्धं महादेवगिरौ महेशस्वनोपदिष्टान्निष्ठवयसिन्धोः ।
स्पन्दामृतं यद्वसुगुप्तपादैः श्रीकल्लटस्तत्प्रकटीचकार ॥
(S. K. V. p. 40. v. 2)

- 3) B. K. R. 1877 Cat. No. 501 Mss.

in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (Vol. X). The commentary of Varadarāja is called Śivasūtravārtika. The date of Varadarāja is not definitely known. But the interpretation of the sūtras in his vārtika is different from that of Bhāskara, another commentator of repute on the Śivasūtras. Spandasandoha is the name of the commentary of Kṣemarāja on the first verse of the Spandakārikā. It gives the purport of the entire work of Vasugupta. The commentary of Bhāskara on the Śivasūtras is also called Śivasūtravārtika. There is still another commentary called Śivasūtravṛtti on the Śivasūtras; but the name of the commentator is not known. It is probably an abstract of the commentary of Kṣemarāja as every word of it is found inter-spersed in the Vimarśinī. Kallaṭa, Rāmaṇanṭha and Utpalavaiṣṇava have also written commentaries on the Spandakārikā of Vasugupta. They will be dealt with in the respective sections of this chapter.

2.—KALLAṬA (850–900 A. D.)

Kallaṭa is the first disciple of Vasugupta. He learnt the Śivasūtras and their implications directly from his master. He is referred to by Kalhaṇa as a Siddha who lived during the time of king Avantivarman of Kashmir as already stated.¹ No information is available regarding his parentage. But his date can be determined from certain references. As he was a contemporary of king Avantivarman his date may be approximately placed in

1) Rāj. V. v. 66 Cf. p. 366.

the second half of the 9th century A. D. There is no writer on Kashmir Śaivism in the later period who does not refer to Kallaṭa as an authoritative writer on the Trika system of philosophy. He is referred to with great respect as Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and Śrī Kallaṭapāda. He had, probably, mastered his subjects by the special favours conferred upon him by Vasugupta at whose feet he seems to have toiled for several years.

Vasugupta got the original Śivasūtras directly from Lord Śiva. Kallaṭa learnt them from him and spread their essence among the suffering people with the help of worthy disciples. He wrote two commentaries on the Śivasūtras explaining the doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism propounded in them. They are called Madhuvāhinī on the first three khaṇḍas or parts and the Tattvārthacintāmaṇi on the fourth khaṇḍa or the last part of the sūtras. But unfortunately both these commentaries are now lost. Two other works are ascribed to Kallaṭa. One of them is the Spandakārikā (probably different from the work of Vasugupta bearing the same name) and the vṛtti on them by Kallaṭa himself is the other. Utpalavaishṇava ascribes the authorship of the Spandakārikās to Kallaṭa only and not to Vasugupta. Both these works are, however, printed and published as one book in the Kashmir series of Texts and Studies (Vol. V.) under the name Spandakārikā-vṛtti. Both the Kārikās and the vṛtti are together popularly called Spandasarvasva.

The Spandakārikā-vṛtti consists of three chapters each of which is called a Niṣyanda. The first is called

Svarūpaspanda, the second Sahajavidyodaya and the third Vibhūtispanda. There are altogether 52 kārīkās in it and they have been lucidly commented upon by Kallaṭa. The work is noted for its brevity as it explains in a nutshell the essential features of the Spanda aspect of Kashmir Śaivism.

3.—SOMĀNANDA (900-950 A .D.)

Somānanda too was, probably, a pupil of Vasugupta. He gives a clear account of his ancestry in his famous work Śivadr̥ṣṭi according to which he traces his origin to the great sage Durvāsa who was commanded by Lord Śiva to maintain the secret of the Śivādvaita śāstra in tact. Trymabakāditya is stated to be the Mānasaputra of the great sage who deposited in him the secret of the śāstra mentioned above. He, in turn, created his Mānasaputra by virtue of the knowledge which he acquired by constant meditation in a cave which exists even now in Kashmir and is called after him. In the same manner the progeny continued until fourteen siddhas were born. The fifteenth Siddha married a brahmin woman belonging to some unknown place and got a son by name Saṅgamāditya who, in course of time, came to Kashmir. His son was Varṣāditya and grandson was Aruṇāditya who got a son called Ānanda. Somānanda was the son of this Ānanda. This is the

brief account given in *Sivadr̥ṣṭi*.¹ It can, thus, be seen that Somānanda was descended direct from the sage Durvāsa and belongs to a family of Siddhas who had

- 1) शैवादीनि रहस्यानि पूर्वमासन्महात्मनाम् ।
 ऋषीणां वक्त्रकुहरे तेह्वेवानुग्रहक्रिया ॥ १ ॥
 कलौ प्रवृत्ते यातेषु तेषु दुर्गमगोचरम् ।
 कलापिग्रामप्रमुखमुच्छिन्ने शिवशासने ॥ २ ॥
 कैलासादौ भ्रमन् देवो मूर्त्या श्रीकण्ठरूपया ।
 अनुग्रहायावतीर्णः चोदयामास भूतले ॥ ३ ॥
 मुनिं दुर्वाससं नाम भगवानूर्ध्वरेतसम् ।
 नोच्छिद्यते यथा शास्त्रं रहस्यं कुरु तादृशम् ॥ ४ ॥
 ततः स भगवान् देवादादेशं प्राप्य यत्नवान् ।
 ससर्ज मानसं पुत्रं त्र्यम्बकादित्यनामकम् ॥ ५ ॥
 तस्मिन् सन्क्रामयामास रहस्यानि समन्ततः ।
 सोऽपि गत्वा गुहां सम्यक् त्र्यम्बकाख्यस्ततः परम् ॥ ६ ॥
 ज्ञानमभ्यासकाष्ठां तन्नीतवान् स गुहान्तरे ।
 तन्नाम्ना चिह्निता सापि गुहां ख्यातात्र भूतले ॥ ७ ॥
 स तत्र ज्ञानसंसिद्धया ससर्ज मनसा सुतम् ।
 तस्योत्पतनसंसिद्धस्तत्पुत्रोऽपि यथा तथा ॥ ८ ॥
 सिद्धस्तद्वत्सुतोत्पत्त्या सिद्धा एवं चतुर्दश ।
 यावत्पञ्चदशः पुत्रः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ॥ ९ ॥
 स कदाचिद्रागवशात्कुतश्चिद् ब्राह्मणान् स्वयम् ।
 ब्राह्मणीमानयामास ततो जातस्तथाविधः ॥ १० ॥
 तनयः स च कालेन कश्मीरेष्वागतो भ्रमन् ।
 नाम्ना स संगमादित्यो वर्षादित्यस्तु तत्सुतः ॥ ११ ॥
 तस्याप्यभूत्स भगवानरुणादित्यसंज्ञकः ।

आनन्दसंज्ञकस्तस्मात्स बभूव तथाविधः ॥ १२ ॥

तस्मादस्मि समुद्भूतः सोमानन्दाख्य ईदृशः ॥ —शिवदृष्टिः

This ancestry may indicate the antiquity of Kashmir Śaivism.

attained perfection and peace by incessant penance in the caves of the Himālayas.

As regards his date there appears to be no clue anywhere. The names of his ancestors given in his work cannot also be identified with those of any historical or literary personalities of Kashmir. He is, however, later than Vasugupta as he seems to have been very well-acquainted with the Śivasūtras. He is earlier than Abhinavagupta who refers to him with great respect and admiration.¹ It would not, therefore, be wrong if he is placed in the first half of the 10th century A. D.

Sivadr̥ṣṭi is the name of the work on Kashmir Śaivism written by Somānanda. The speciality of Pratyabhijñā is first revealed in it. It is an attempt to present the Śiva idealistic non-dualism in a systematic and philosophical manner with a forceful reasoning behind. It consists of about 700 verses in Seven Chapters. But unfortunately the work in its entirety is not available now even in Kashmir. Only the first four chapters called Āhnikas are available, the fourth one being only in fragments. A well-known popular verse which is commonly recited in the families of Brahmins and scholars in Kashmir is, probably, from Sivadr̥ṣṭi.² Abhinavagupta, while dealing with the Anupāyamārga, states that he follows the authority of a work called

- 1) श्रीसोमानन्दबोधश्रीमदुत्पलविनिःसृताः ।
जयन्ति संविदामोदनिर्भरा दिक्प्रसर्पिणः ॥ (T. A. I. v. 10)
- 2) शिवो दाता शिवो भोक्ता शिवः सर्वमिदं जगत् ।
शिवो यजति यज्ञाश्च यः शिवः सोऽहमेव हि ॥

Ūrmimahāśāstra of the earlier writers and adds that that aspect has been dwelt upon by Somānanda and other teachers on the subject.¹ This reference suggests that Abhinavagupta was acquainted with the work of Somānanda and made use of it in elucidating certain doctrines of the Trika system. It also suggests that the work of Somānanda was, practically, an authority on Kashmir Śaivism. The authorship of a commentary on his own work is also ascribed to Somānanda. It is called the *vr̥tti* on *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*. It is now lost, probably, along with a few other works supposed to have been written by him.

4.—UTPALA (925–975 A. D.)

Utpala is the next writer on Kashmir Śaivism. He is also popularly called Utpaladeva or Utpalācārya. He is the son and disciple of Somānanda according to his own statement.² There is not much difficulty in fixing his date. Because he is the son of Somānanda who has been assigned to the first half of the 10th century A. D., his date may be placed in the second and third quarters of the same century. He is also often quoted by Abhinavagupta. His name is found in the list of the teachers

- 1) न चैतत्स्वोपज्ञमेवास्माभिस्त्वं अपि तु भगवता
पूर्वाचार्यैश्च सर्वत्रैवोक्तमिति :-
निखिलस्याह्निकार्थस्याविगीततां दर्शयितुमाह-
श्रीमदूर्मिमहाशास्त्रे सिद्धसन्तानरूपके ।
इदमुक्तं तथा श्रीमत्सोमानन्दादिदेशिकैः ॥ (T. A. II. p. 39. v. 48)

- 2) सोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणगुप्तायः ।

of Abhinavagupta who wrote commentaries on the works of Utpala.

Several works on the Pratyabhijñādarśana are ascribed to him. The chief of them are only two namely (1) Īśvara Pratyabhijñā (kārikās) and (2) Īśvara Pratyabhijñā vivṛti which is a vṛtti on the former. The other two works of importance are the Stotrāvalī and the Siddhitrayī. Besides these he has written several commentaries including a vṛtti on Śivadr̥ṣṭi (probably written at the request of his own son Vibhramākara and a Brahmācārī by name Padmānanda). The first two works mentioned above along with the Siddhitrayī are printed in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (Vol. XXXIV). The Siddhitrayī consists of three divisions as the name itself suggests. They are Ajaḍapramāṭṛsiddhi, Īśvarasiddhi and Sambandhasiddhi.

The Īśvara Pratyabhijñā ((kārikās) might have been written by him during the second quarter of the 10th century A. D. It consists of four chapters called Adhikaras in verses which are called sūtras. The general scheme of the work is as follows: The first Adhikāra is called Jñānādhikāra containing eight Āhnikās and eighty-eight kārikās; the second is called Kriyādhikāra containing four Āhnikas and fifty-three kārikās; the third is the Āgamādhikāra with two Āhnikas and thirty-one sūtras; and the fourth is the Tattva Saṅgrahādhikāra also containing two Āhnikas but only eighteen kārikās. Thus there are altogether 190 kārikās in the work. It is referred to by Abhinavagupta as the reflection of the wisdom taught by

Somānanda.¹ Bhāskari also supports this view.² This work became so important that Kashmir Śaivism came to be known as Pratyabhijñā darśana only after it was written and by its popularity and reputation outside Kashmir. This is the name under which Mādhavācārya also treats of the Trika system of Philosophy in his Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha.

The Siddhitrayī treats, in brief, the basic principles of the Pratyabhijñā School of thought. It was originally written with the main purpose of depopularising Buddhist propaganda that was exerting much influence on the people of Kashmir against the time-honoured vedic traditions. Later on it began to criticise the other philosophic doctrines also. For instance the Svabhāvavādins are criticised in the first part of the work itself.³ The theories of Brahmovādins are also criticised.⁴ Thus the work throws ample light on the subtleties of philosophical views and discusses the various aspects of the question and explains the view-point of the Pratyabhijñā

- 1) श्रीन्यम्बकसदृशमध्यमुक्तामयस्थिते ।
श्रीसोमानन्दनाथस्य विज्ञानप्रतिविम्बकम् ॥ (I. P. V. Vol. I. v. 2)
- 2) श्रीमानुत्पलदेवः स्वगुरुनिर्मितं शिवदृष्ट्याख्यं महाशास्त्रं
व्याख्याय तत्प्रतिविम्बकल्पं ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाख्यं
महाशास्त्रं प्रणीय --- भास्करि.
- 3) तथा च दर्शनत्यागः तत्र युक्ता स्वभावदृक् ।
तस्मात्प्रसिद्धं तन्वादि बुद्धिमत्कपूर्वकम् ॥ (S. T. II. p. 29. v. 52)
- 4) संविदप्यपरामर्शरूपा चेत्तदसावपि ।
अभावेन जडेनाथ तुल्यैव प्राग्बदात्मनि ॥
एतेन शान्तब्रह्मवादनिरासः कटाक्षितः । -इति व्याख्या-

(Ibid I. p. 5. v. 9)

School. There are altogether 104 verses in it. The first part contains 27 verses, the second 56 and the last 21. In these Utpala has brought out all the doctrines of the Pratyabhijñā propounded in the 190 kārīkās of his Īśvara Pratyabhijñā which was written prior to the Siddhitrayī as stated by him.¹

In the first part of the work which deals with Ajaḍapramāṭṛsiddhi, Utpala proves that the perceiver cannot but be sentient (Ajaḍa). In the second part which is called Īśvarasiddhi the conception of a limited perceiver being led on to the state of a supreme perceiver is defined and established. In the last part which is called Sambandhasiddhi the connecting link that binds the individual to the universal is dealt with along with the doctrines thereof.

The two chief works of Utpala are commented upon by Abhinavagupta. The name of the commentary on the Īśvarapratyabhijñā (kārīkās) of Utpala is Īśvara Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī which is popularly known as the Laghvi vṛtti. The name of the commentary on the Īśvara Pratyabhijñā (vṛtti) of Utpala is Īśvara Pratyabhijñā vṛtti vimarśinī which is also popularly called the Bṛhatī vṛtti as it is very lengthy compared to the other commentary. This is a commentary on the work of Utpala which is itself a commentary on his first work and which is incomplete as it contains the commentary upto verse No. 161.² Complete manuscripts of these com-

1) उक्तः स्वसंवित्सिद्धोऽयं निर्वाध उपयोगवान् ।

सम्बन्धः प्रत्यभिज्ञायां पूर्णः परिकरः पुनः ॥ (S.T. III. p. 15. v. 21)

2) I. P. III.-2-v. 9.

mentaries of Abhinavagupta are very rare even in Kashmir. The Laghvī vṛtti was printed in two volumes by the Kashmir Research Department and published in the years 1918 and 1922 successively. The Bṛhatī vṛtti has been recently published by the same Research Department. The manuscript purchased by Dr. Bühler and referred to by him is, however, complete.¹

Thus the contribution of Utpala to the Literature on Kashmir Śaivism is original and valuable. His works have thrown new light on the doctrines of the Trika system of philosophy and have inspired Abhinavagupta to write commentaries on them explaining their significance and utility.

5—RĀJĀNAKA RĀMAKANṬHA (925-975 A. D.)

Rājānaka Rāmakānṭha or Rāma may be a disciple of Utpala according to his statement occurring in the colophon to his commentary called the vivṛti on the Spandakārikās of Vasugupta. This may give some indication about his date also.² He might have lived in the second and third quarters of the 10th century A. D. or slightly later. No details are, however, available regarding his parentage and family history. He is more a commentator than an original writer. Rāmakānṭha is known to be the author of three works namely the

1) B. K. R. 1677, No. 464.

2) कृतिस्तत्रभवतो महामाहेश्वराचार्यशिरोमणिराजानकभीन्दु-

त्पलदेवपादपद्मानुजीविनो राजानकश्रीरामकण्ठस्य इति शिखम् ॥

(Sp. K. p. 168)

Spandavivṛti which is a commentary on the Spandakārikās and two other commentaries one on the Maṭaṅgatantra and the other on the Bhagavadgītā from the Śaiva point of view. The first work namely the vivṛti consists of four chapters each of which is called a Niṣyanda. The name of the first chapter is व्यतिरेकोपपत्तिनिर्देश, of the second व्यतिरेकस्वभावोपलब्धि, of the third स्वस्वभावशक्तिमात्रलोपपत्ति and of the fourth शक्त्यात्मकविश्रुत्यतिरेकोपलब्धि. There is a nice verse in it which praises the power of speech of his learned preceptor.¹ There are altogether 52 verses in it which deal with the main concepts of the Spandaśāstra. The first chapter contains sixteen verses, the second has eleven, the third three and the fourth twenty-two. The work is printed in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (Vol. VI).

6—UTPALA VAIṢṆAVA (950-1000 A. D.)

This Utpala is different from Utpaladeva or Utpalācārya, the famous author of the Īśvara Pratybhijñā. He is slightly later than that illustrious writer and is, unlike him, an exponent of the Spanda aspect of Kashmir Śaivism from the Vaiṣṇava point of view. So his date is placed in the second half of the 10th century A. D.

The name of his work is 'Spandapradīpikā' which is another commentary on the Spandakārikās of Vasugupta. It is also popularly called Utpalavaiṣṇavi and explains in

1) अगाधसंशयाभ्योदिसमुत्तरणतारणीम् ।

वन्दे विचित्रार्थपदां चित्रां तां गुरुभारतीम् ॥ (Sp. K. p. 165. v. 1)

detail the Svarūpaspanda, Sahajavidyodaya and Vibhūti-yoga from a different angle of vision. No other work of this writer has so far been discovered.

7—LAKṢMAṆAGUPTA (950-1000 A. D.)

Lakṣmaṇagupta was the teacher of Abhinavagupta in both the darśanas namely the Krama and the Pratyabhijñā. Abhinavagupta shows great respect to him at the beginning of his Tantrāloka.¹ Lakṣmaṇagupta was the son and the pupil of Utpaladeva. His period of literary activity appears to be in the latter half of the 10th century A. D. No work of his has so far been discovered. But there are frequent references to him by his student in his work. The name of his work that is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in one of his works appears to be Śrī Śāstra. But no information is available about the form and content of this work.

8—BHĀSKARA (980-1030 A. D.)

Bhāskara is the son of Divākara as stated by him.² Abhinavagupta refers to him as the son of Divākara and the author of Vivekāñjāna.³ Yogarāja also refers to a

- 1) तदास्वादपरावेशबृंहितां मतिषद्वदीमि ।
गुरोर्लक्ष्मणगुप्तस्य नादसंमोहिनीं नुमः ॥ (T. A. I. v. 11)
- 2) तस्मात्प्राप्य करोम्येव सूत्रवार्तिकमादरात् ।
दैवाकरिर्भास्करोऽहमन्तेवासिगणेरितः ॥ (S. S. V. p. 3. vv. 8 & 9)
- 3) यदाह भट्टदिवाकरवत्सो विवेकाञ्जने ।

son of Divākara as the author of Kakṣyāstotra.¹ These references indicate that Bhāskara was more popular as the son of Divākara than by his own name. They also suggest that Bhāskara may be a contemporary with them or slightly earlier than Abhinavagupta. So his date may be approximately placed in the second half of the 10th century A. D. and in the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

Bhāskara is known as the author of three works namely (1) Śivasūtravārtika (2) Vivekāñjāna and (3) Kakṣyāstotra. Of these three, the first work is the most important and popular one. It is the interpretation of the Śivasūtras by Bhāskara who claims to have received them in a direct line of spiritual and intellectual inheritance from Vasugupta through Kallaṭa, from whom he stands nearly four generations ahead. This interpretation of the sūtras appears completely different from that given by other writers on Kashmir Śaivism like Utpala and Kṣemarāja. In fact Kṣemarāja actually states that because there were several interpretations to the Śivasūtras he under-took to write a new commentary on them based on the elucidation given by Abhinavagupta.²

1) यथाह महर्षिवाकरवत्सः—जाते देहप्रत्ययद्वीपमङ्गे
प्राप्तैकाध्ये निर्मले बोधसिन्धौ ।
अव्यवर्त्यत्विन्द्रियग्राममन्त-
र्विश्वात्मत्वं नित्य एकोऽवमसि ॥

2) आसमञ्जस्यमालोक्य वृत्तीनामिह तत्त्वतः ।
शिवसूत्रं व्याकरोमि गुर्वाम्नायदिगानतः ॥ (S. S. V. p. 1. v. 1)

9—ABHINAVAGUPTA (980–1020 A. D.)

Abhinavagupta is the next writer on Kashmir Saivism. His date, parentage, ancestry etc., have already been furnished before.¹ According to Jayaratha, a commentator on the *Tantrāloka* of Abinavagupta, the popular idea was that he was a Yoginībhū. This is based on the authority of Abhinavagupta himself and is referred to in the commentary on the very first verse of his work.² He was also called Bāvalabhībhujaṅga as could be seen from a reference that is often quoted.³

Abhinavagupta has altogether written about 42 works out of which 37 are on philosophy. The names of all these works on philosophy are furnished below with relevant references in the form of a table.

SL. No.	NAME OF THE WORK	REFERENCES
1.	Bodhapañcadaśikā	Printed in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies Vol. XIV.
2.	Mālinivijayavārtika	Vol. XXXI
3.	Parātrimśikāvivṛti	Vol. XVIII
4.	Tantrāloka	Vol. XXVIII

1) Cf. pp. 46 to 50.

2) एवविधसिद्धयोगिनीप्रायपितृमेलकसमुत्थतया—

तादृग्मेलककलिकाकीलिततनुयौ भवेद् गर्भे ।

उक्तः स योगिनीभूः स्वयमेव ज्ञानभाजनं भक्तः ॥ (T. A. I. p. 14)

3) भवदेवः स्वकृते तौतातिलमततिलके मामध्ययनदशायामुवाच वाचम् ।

दशि स्वप्ने । बालवलभीभुजंगापरनामा त्वमसि भवेद्व ॥

SL. NO.	NAME OF THE WORK	REFERENCES
5.	Tantrasāra	-od- -do- Vol. XVII
6.	Tantrāvaṭadhānikā	-do- -do- Vol. XXIV
7.	Paramārthasāra	-do- -do- Vol. VII
8.	Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vimarśinī	Printed by the Kashmir Research Department in two Volumes in 1918 and 1922.
9.	Bhagavadgītārtha-saṅgraha	
10.	Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti-vimarśinī	This has been recently published by the Research Department of Kashmir.
11.	Kramastotra	Printed on pp. 409 to 412 of Abhinavagupta by Dr. K. C. Pandey.
12.	Dehasthadevatācakra-stotra	-do- p. 413 -do-
13.	Bhairava-stotra	-do- pp. 412 & 413 -do-
14.	Paramārthadvādaśikā	-do- pp. 405 & 406 -do-
15.	Paramārthacarcā	-do- p. 407 -do-
16.	Mahopadeśavimarśatikā	-do- pp. 407 & 408 -do-
17.	Anuttarāṣṭikā	-do- p. 404 -do-
18.	Anubhavanivedana	-do- p. 414 -do-
19.	Bimbaprathibimbavāda	B. K. R. No. 463. Ms. 469 of B. O. R. I. Poona.
20.	Paramārthasaṅgraha	B. K. R. No. 459
21.	Kramakeli	Not printed but referred to in P. T. V. p. 236.
22.	Śivadr̥ṣṭyālokana	-do- -do- p. 116
23.	Padārthapraveśa-nirṇayatikā	-do- -do- p. 162

SL. NO.	NAME OF THE WORK	REFERENCES
		Not printed but referred to in P. V. p. 236
24.	Pūrvapañcikā	-do- M. V. V. p. 135
25.	Prakaraṇavivarāṇa	-do- In P. S. v. 31
26.	Prakīrṇakavivarāṇa	-do- In T. A. VII. v. 31
27.	Kathāmukhatilaka	-do- In the Bṛhadvimar- śinī
28.	Bhedavādaavidāraṇa	-do- In the I. P. V. II. 158
29.	Laghvīprakriyā	-do- In B. G. S. IV. 28
30.	Devīstotravivarāṇa	-do- -do- VI. 30
31.	Tattvādhvaprakāśikā	-do- In T. A. XI p. 19
32.	Śivaśaktyavinābhava- stotra	-do- In B. G. S. XV. v. 19
33.	Tantroccaya	
34.	Anuttaraśataka	
35.	Prakaraṇastotra	
36.	Anuttaratattvavimar- śinī-vṛtti	Not printed but referred to in T. A. VI. 249
37.	Pāryantapañcāśikā	Edited by Dr. V. Raghavan in the Bulletin of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras Vol. II. No. 1.

It can be seen from the above table that ten works of Abhinavagupta on Kashmir Śaivism have been printed and published out of which nine have been brought forth by the Kashmir Research Department and one has been edited by Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras. Ten more works have also been printed in Dr. K. C. Pandey's Thesis. The remaining seventeen works have yet to be discovered and published. Of these

37 works it can be seen that four have been exclusively devoted for the Tāntric system of philosophy and its relation to Kashmir Śaivism. These four works will be dealt with in the next chapter which is set apart for a treatment of the Tāntric Works of Kashmir. There is also evidence in some of the published works that Abhinavagupta wrote many more works than those mentioned in the foregoing table. They may be commentaries on other Śaivāgamas or stotras as there are statements of the following type here and there in his existing works – ‘पूर्वप्रभृतिपञ्जिकासु’. He is said to have written a commentary on the Yogavāsistha also. But there is not sufficient material, at present, to establish the existence of such a commentary.

Both the Mālinīvijayavārtika (Sl. No. 2 of the Table and the Parātrimśikā-vivṛti (Sl. No. 3) are referred to in the Tantrāloka (Sl. No. 4) and so they are considered as works written earlier than the Tantrāloka. Of the two works mentioned above, the former precedes the latter chronologically as it is called the Pūrvaśāstra and is mostly controversial in its context. The Paramārthasāra, Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vimarśinī, Bhagavadgītārthasaṅgraha and Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛtī, vimarśinī (Sl. No. 7 to 10 of the table) are the names of the four philosophical works that Abhinavagupta wrote. Of these the Bhagavadgītārthasaṅgraha seems to have been written earlier than the other three and the vivṛtīvimarśinī appears to be the last-written work in the series. Even though all the 37 works mentioned in the table are written on one or the other aspect of Kashmir Śaivism, these four works alone are generally considered to be

highly philosophical in nature. A brief account of each of the available works of Abhinavagupta which are printed and published is now furnished.

1) *Bodhapañcadaśikā*—As the name itself indicates this work is a pamphlet of fifteen verses describing the basic principles of non-dualistic Śaivism for the benefit of the less intelligent pupils who were learning under Abhinavagupta.¹ It is printed along with another work called *Bhāvopahāra* in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (Vol. No. IV).

2) *Mālinīvijayāvārtika*—In order to understand the value and usefulness of this commentary of Abhinavagupta it is necessary to have an idea of a much bigger work called the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* which is also printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. No. 37). It represents the Śaivayoga as set forth in the Trika system of Kashmir. It is in the form of an interlocution between Śiva and Pārvatī (Devī). The original Tantra namely *Siddhayogīśvaratantra* consisted of nine crores of verses, the chief topic dealt with therein being the path of Yoga. It was later abstracted into three crores of verses under the name of *Mālinīvijaya*. It was further summarised into twelve thousand verses. The Tantra in the present form is the briefest possible resume of the above summary. It is affiliated to the *Āgamaśāstra* and is therefore considered to be of divine authorship. It consists of 23 chapters each of which is called an

1) सुकुमारम गौन् शिष्यान् प्रबोधयितुमञ्जसा ।

इमेऽभिनवपुत्रेन श्लोकाः पञ्चदशोदिताः ॥

(B. P. v. 16)

adhikāra. There are altogether 1261 verses in it. It describes the origin of the sacred lore and how it was revealed to the sages. The several stages in the development of Divine speech are clearly analysed and explained. Then the nature of Parā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī is brought forth and described vividly. For instance, it is stated that the Parā is the source of all the Sāstras. The definition of Tantra is then furnished. Tāntric worship and view of mokṣa and the potency of the mantra are described in detail.¹

Mālinīvijayavārtika or Mālinīvijayottaravārtika, as it is also popularly called, is an exposition of the most difficult verses of the Mālinīvijayatantra which is also called the Śrīpūrvaśāstra. The vārtika on the first verse² only is available at present. Only two chapters called kāṇḍas consisting of 1635 and 335 verses respectively of the Mālinīvijayavārtika have been published in the Kashmir Series (Vol. No. XXXI). But there is repeated reference to the 10th chapter. It might have been a much bigger work that Abhinavagupta wrote. But unfortunately only a fragment of this big work is available now. Even from the fragment that is available it

- 1) A perusal of the names of the Chapters furnished below gives an idea of the subject-matter dealt with in the work as a whole.

व्याप्ति-मन्त्रोद्धार-भुवनाध्व-देहमार्ग-मुद्रा-समया क्रियादीक्षा-अभिषेक-
दीक्षा-प्रथमधारणा-भूतजया-तन्मात्रधारणा-अक्षधारणा-धारणा-
परमविद्या-कुलचक्र-सर्वमन्त्रनिर्णय-चन्द्राकृष्टि-सूर्याकृष्टि ॥

- 2) जयन्ति जगदानन्दविपक्षक्षपणक्षमाः ।

परमेशमुखोद्भूतज्ञानचन्द्रमरीचयः ॥

(M. V. T. I. v. 1)

can be seen that it is a severe criticism of the Nyāya theory. The first kāṇḍa is devoted to the subject-matter dealt with in the first seventeen chapters of the Mālinīvijayottaratantra and the second kāṇḍa throws some light on the remaining portion. Thus this Vārtika appears to be an indispensable guide in the field of Tāntric Literature. That the Lord is omniscient, all-powerful and Nirvikalpa is nicely described in the first kāṇḍa.

3) Parātrimśikāvivṛti—The real title of this work of Abhinavagupta appears to be Parātriśikhā which means the mistress of the three powers Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā. It is also called more popularly, Parātrimśikāvivaraṇa. It embodies the Trikaśūtras on which the commentary of Abhinavagupta is called Tattvaviveka. It seems to have been very much liked by the people. It deals with Parā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikhari and is in the form of a dialogue between Bhairava and Bhairavi. This work is next in importance to the Tantrāloka from the point of biographical information. For, it is stated in it that it was written at the request of his beloved pupils

1) गतं न गम्यते तावदगतं नैव गम्यते ।

गतागतविनिर्मुक्तं नास्तीत्यादि स्वके नये ॥

तथा हि देवः सर्वज्ञो निर्विकल्पस्वभावकः ।

स चाध्यक्षस्वभावोऽपि नायाति व्यवहार्यताम् ॥

अविकल्पे विकल्पत्वा व्यवहारः कथं किल ।

विकल्पेन च सर्वोऽयं व्यवहारोऽवतन्यते ॥

(M. V. V. I. vv. 538, 539, 765 & 766)

Karṇa and Mandra.¹ Apart from the philosophical exposition of Trika system, there are, in it, the names of a few contemporaries including the ruling monarch. It may, therefore, be stated that the work has some historical importance also.

From the biographical information that is furnished in it, it is gathered that Vallabha was a brahmin minister of king Yaśaskara of Kashmir. His son was Śrī Sauri who married a very virtuous lady by name Vatsalikā. To them was born Karṇa who was vowed to celibacy

1) कश्मोरेषु यशस्करस्य नृपतेरासीदमात्याग्रणीः

श्रीमान् बल्लभ इत्युदाहृततनुयुः प्राग्र्यजन्मा द्विजः ।

तस्य स्वांगभवः प्रसिद्धपदवीपात्रं समग्रैर्गुणैः

श्रीशौरिःशिशुचन्द्रचूडचरणध्यानैकरत्नाकरः ॥

शोऽस्यायतनं परस्य यशसो जृम्भास्पदं नर्मभू-

र्वीत्सल्यस्य समग्रलोककरुणाधर्मस्य जन्मस्थितिः ।

श्रीमद्वत्सलिकाभिधा सहचरी तस्यैव भक्त्युल्लस-

त्प्रोद्विक्तान्तरवृत्ति शङ्करनुतौ यस्या मनो जृम्भते ॥

तस्यैवात्मभवो विभावितजगत्सर्गस्थितिः शङ्कर-

ध्यानार्चापरिचिन्तनैकरसिकः कर्णाभिधानो द्विजः ।

यो बाल्येऽप्यथ यौवनेऽपि विप्रयासक्तिं विहाय स्थिरा-

मेनामाश्रयते विमर्शपदवीं संसारनिर्मूलिनीम् ॥

आता ममैव शिवशासनरुदचित्तः

प्रेम्णुः परात्मनि मनोरथमुत्तनामा ।

यः शास्त्रतन्त्रमखिलं प्रविवेकतुक्कामः

प्राप्तं परं शिवपदं भवभेदनाय ॥

शिवशास्त्रैरुसिकः पदवाक्यप्रमाणवित् ।

रानदेवाभिधानश्च भूषितोत्तमजन्मकः ॥

एतत्प्रियहितकरणप्रबुद्धदृढयेन यन्मया रचितम् ।

मार्गप्रदर्शनं तत्सर्वस्य शिवाग्र्ये भूवाद् ॥

(P. V. End)

even from his childhood. He later on became a pupil of Abhinavagupta. The name of Manorathagupta, a brother of Abhinavagupta, is also given in the account. It is stated that the work was written for the benefit of these two persons and another pupil by name Rāmadeva. It is also stated in the work that it was written after critically examining the theories propounded by Śrī Somānanda.¹ In addition to this information Abhinavagupta has also supplied a family tree of his ancestry.

4. Bhagavadgītārthasaṅgraha—This is not, strictly speaking, a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā. It is only a summary of the subject-matter of the Gītā. The traditional interpretation is given in it from the Śaiva point of view along with original comments wherever necessary. It seems to have been written at the repeated requests of a certain pious brahmin by name Loṭaka who was a relative of the author. A sound and substantial knowledge of both the Gītā and the Trika is necessary for a clear and correct understanding of this work.

According to an account given in the Harivamśa Śrī Kṛṣṇa is stated to have been taught the sixty-four monistic Śaivāgamas by the sage Durvāsa. In the mokṣa parva of the Mahābhārata it is stated that he was instructed in all the 28 Dvaita and Dyaitā-dvaita Śaivāgamas by Upamanyu. The connection of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with the Trika system is based on the authority of these two accounts as it was thought by the Śaivas that

1) तत्त्वनिर्मलस्थितिविभाषि हृदये स्वयं प्रविष्टमिव ।

श्रीसोमानन्दमतं विमृश्य मया निबद्धमिदम् ॥ (P. V. End. v. 19)

Śrī Kṛṣṇa was a follower of the Trika system of philosophy. This may be the reason for including the Bhagavadgītā in the group of Āgamas.

5. **Paramārthasāra**—This work of Abhinavagupta which is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. No. VII) briefly states the essential principles of the Trika system. It is an adaptation of the Ādhārakārikās of Śeṣamuni or Anantanātha which briefly state the essentials of the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy. It consists of 105 verses. According to the Sāṅkhya system, limitation is the result of the nearness of its cause with what is limited and each has a separate independent existence. But according to the Trika system it is simply a result of the free will of the one who is all-powerful and independent and of whom nothing has or can have an existence. Abhinavagupta has retained, in this adaptation of his, so much of the language of the original as to say that one is an adaptation of the other.

6. **Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī**—This is Abhinavagupta's commentary in prose on the 190 sūtras of the Īśvarapratyabhijñā of Utpala, the general scheme of which has already been dealt with.¹ It is also called the Laghvimarśinī because of its less detailed character. It consists of 1,28,000 letters. Its extent is generally stated to be equal to 4000 verses working at the rate of 32 letters for one verse. It is, therefore, more popularly known as Catussahasrī. It is printed in two volumes by the Kashmir Research Department (published in the years 1918 and 1922 respectively).

1) Cf. pp. 376 & 377

7. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivismarśinī*—This is also a commentary written by Abhinavagupta on Utpala's own commentary called the 'vivṛti' on his *Pratyabhijñā sūtras* as stated in one of the introductory verses of the work.¹ It consists of 5,76,000 letters which is equivalent to 18,000 verses at the rate of 32 letters for a verse. As it is very big in volume compared to the previous work it is called the *Brhadvimarśinī*. Judging from its length it is more popularly called *Aṣṭādaśasahasrī*. It is considered to be the penultimate work of Abhinavagupta. It explains clearly most of the points that are not easily comprehensible in the *Laghvivimarśinī*. It has been recently published by the Research Department of Kashmir.² But Utpala's own commentary is perhaps lost for ever.

8— <i>Anuttarāṣṭikā</i>	} All these small works are propagandistic booklets written by Abhinavagupta on the Trika system of philosophy. They are printed in Dr. K. C. Pandey's Thesis. The references to them are already furnished in the table given before. ³ They explain the fundamental phenomenon that the universe is not different from the highest reality called Anuttara, Paramārtha and Vāśvottīṛṇa respectively. They state,
9— <i>Paramārthadvādaśikā</i>	
10— <i>Paramārthacarcā</i>	
11— <i>Mahopadeśavimśatikā</i>	

1) श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणगुप्तदर्शितपथः श्रीप्रत्यभिज्ञाविधौ ।

टीकार्यप्रविमर्शिनी रचयते वृत्तिं प्रशिष्यो नुगेः ॥

2) C. A. Vol. I. Int. p. xvi.

3) Cf. pp. 383 to 385.

in general, that the realisation of the highest reality is the only way to attain salvation.

12—Kramastotra

13—Bhairavastotra

14—Cakrastotra

15—Anubhavanivedana

These are simple prayer-poems composed by Abhinavagupta. They deal with one or the other aspect of Kashmir Śaivism. They are also printed in the Thesis of

Dr. K. C. Pandey. The first two poems are important as they furnish a clue to the date of Abhinavagupta as already pointed out.¹ The third poem mentions the names of the deities attendant on Śiva even when he is in the body as a limited self.² The fourth poem deals with the authority of a current tradition.

16—Bimbapratibimbavāda—This work of Abhinavagupta is not printed. But a manuscript of it exists in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.³ It is written in Śāradā characters and consists of four folios only. It appears to deal mostly with the theory of reflection in philosophy, particularly in Kashmir Śaivism. Though it is mentioned as a separate work of Abhinavagupta, it looks as if it is a part of the third Āhnika of the Tantrāloka in which the theory of Bimbapratibimba of some other schools of philosophy is refuted and that of the Śaivas is established.

17—Anuttaratattvavimarśinivṛtti—This is a short commentary written by Abhinavagupta on the Parātrim-

1) Cf. pp. 49.

2) शिव एव गृहीतपशुभावः ।

3) M. S. No. 469/1875-76 of the B. O. R. I., Poona.

śikā which is an extract from the Rudrayāmala. It was a common practice among the Kashmirian authors to write more commentaries than one on the same work. For instance, Utpala has written two commentaries on his own Pratyabhijñānakārikās namely the vṛtti and the vivṛti. Abhinavagupta refers to the set of his works dealing with the Anuttara as Anuttaraprakriyā. The statement of Jayaratha in his commentary confirms this fact.¹

18—The Paryantapañcāśikā—This work of Abhinavagupta was known only in name till very recently. It was discovered by Dr. V. Raghavan in the year 1948. The name of the work is found mentioned in one of the verses of the Gurunāṭhaparāmarśa which is a eulogy on Abhinavagupta.² Maheśvarānanda also makes five citations from the work in his Mahārthamañjarī with the commentary known as Parimala.³ Two of them can be quoted as illustrations.⁴ A manuscript of this work was first discovered by Dr. Raghavan mixed up with the Paramārthasāra of Abhinavagupta. It was then edited by him in the Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (Vol. II No. 1).

- 1) अनुत्तरप्रक्रियायामिति परात्रिंशिकाविवरणादावित्यर्थः ।
(T. A. VI. v. 249 Comm-)
- 2) पर्यन्तसंपदुपपादनकल्पवल्लीपञ्चाशिका परमत्राणि केन येन ।
प्रोक्ता निजाद्वयनये जनतां नियोक्तुं तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुस्तमाय ॥
(G. P. v. 8)
- 3) MM. T. S. S. No. 66. pp. 12, 44-5, 49, 70, 72-3
- 4) स हि भैरवसिद्धान्तपूर्वपक्षोऽपि यन्मयः । इति पर्यन्त पञ्चाशिकायाम् ।
यथा पर्यन्तपञ्चाशिकायाम् - शुद्धिर्बहिष्कृतार्थानां स्वाहन्तायां
निमज्जनम् ॥
(P. P. vv. 3 & 9)

There are altogether 53 verses in it composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre. The first verse is an invocation to the divine speech (Vāk).¹ The work describes the supreme state of Lord Bhairava in whom the Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā Śaktis exist in a dormant form. It is an epitome of the fundamental concepts of Kashmir Śaivism. The six Addhvās, the seven Pramāṭṛs, the five Senses and the Tanmātras are then successively dealt with. The four forms of speech namely Parā, Pasyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikhari are also described. Kṣemarāja might have grasped the essential points dealt with in this small work of Abhinavagupta before he wrote his Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya. Several technical terms which occur in it are freely used in the Tantrāloka. It also refers to the two-fold creation namely Vikalpa and Avikalpa (Sādhāraṇa and Asādhāraṇa).

Apart from the eighteen works which have been mentioned above and which are available either in print or in manuscript, there are several other works ascribed to Abhinavagupta which are not available. But the names of these works are found mentioned in certain references occurring in one or the other of the works already dealt with. Their particulars are as follows.

1. Kramakeli—This is, probably, a commentary on the Kramastotra which is different from that mentioned against Item 12 of the available works of Abhinavagupta.² It is a work on the Krama system of philosophy

1) आद्यन्तान्तगतानन्तशक्तिविश्रान्तिर्नर्मराम् ।
 अनुवार्यामहं वाचमधीये हृदयं विभोः ॥ (P. P. v. 1)

2) Cf. Page 394.

and is often quoted by 'Maheśvarānanda in his *Parimala* (commentary on the *Mahārthamañjarī*). It is also referred to by Abhinavagupta while commenting on the verses No. 7 to 18 of *Parātrimśikā*.¹

2. *Śivadrṣṭyālocana*—As the name itself indicates this appears to be a critical comment by Abhinavagupta on the *Śivadrṣṭi* of Somānanda. Abhinavagupta himself makes a reference to this work.² No other information than this is available about this work.

3. *Pūrvapañcikā*—This is another work of Abhinavagupta which is not available at present. It is also more popularly called *Mālinīvijaya* and is a commentary on the *Pūrvaśāstra*. It is an authoritative work on the Trika system of philosophy. It appears to have been a huge work as is evident by its name and by the frequent references to it in other works of Abhinavagupta. For instance, one such reference occurs in the *Mālinīvijayavārtika*.³ This huge work is probably lost.

- 1) उक्तं च क्रमस्तोत्रे—सर्वार्थसंवर्णनसंयमस्य
यमस्य यन्तुर्जगतो यमाय ।
वपुर्महाग्रासविलाससक्तं
संकर्षयन्तीं प्रणमामि कालीम् ॥
व्याख्यातं चैतन्मया तट्टीकायां क्रमकेलौ विस्तरतः ॥
(P. T. V. p. 236)
- 2) यत्रोक्तं मयैव शिवदृष्ट्यालोचने — प्रेषोऽपि स भवेद्यस्य
सक्तता नाम विद्यते (Ibid p. 116)
- 3) प्रवरपुरनामधेये पुरे पूर्वे काश्मीरकोऽभितवगुप्तः ।
मालिन्यादिमवाक्ये वार्तिकमेतद्रचयति स्म ॥
(M. V. V. p. 135, v. 335)

It looks as though Abhinavagupta wrote many more such Pañcikās on the different facets of Kashmir Śaivism. But none of them is available now.

4. Padārthapraveśanirṇayatīkā—As the name itself indicates this work is full of psycho-philosophical interest. Abhinavagupta himself makes a reference to it in one of his works.¹

5. Prakīrṇakavivarāṇa—It is clear from a reference that occurs in one of the works of Abhinavagupta that it is a grammatico-philosophical work.² For, while commenting on the word अन्यत्र occurring in the reference cited, the commentator Jayaratha specifically mentions the name of this work.³ The word अन्यत्र occurring in the commentary suggests that Abhinavagupta might have written several other similar works.

6. Prakaraṇavivarāṇa—This is a commentary written by Abhinavagupta on the Prakaraṇastotra. Abhinavagupta himself refers to it in one of his works.⁴

7. Kathāmukhatilaka—Abhinavagupta himself refers to this work in his Bṛhadvimarśinī. It is also referred to in the Gurunāthaparāmarśa.⁵ Abhinavagupta

1) अनुसन्धायाः स्मृतिभेदे तस्याश्रानुभवोपजीवित्वे अनुभवाभावात्—
मयैतद्विचारितं पदार्थप्रवेशनिर्णयटीकायाम् ॥ (P. T. V. p. 162)

2) इत्थं जडेन सम्बन्धे न मुख्यान्यार्थसंगतिः ।
आस्तामन्यत्र धिततमेतद्विस्तरतो मया ॥ (T. A. VII. v. 33)

3) व्याख्याने—अन्यत्रेति प्रकीर्णकविवरणादौ । (Ibid Comm.)

4) T. S. v. 31.

5) ग्रन्थः कथामुखमहातिलकामिधानः
न्यायोक्तषोडशपदार्थनिरूपणाभिः ।

यो वादिनां व्यरचयद्विजयाय वादे
तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥

(G. P. v. 9)

probably refers again to this work.¹ The nature of this work is not known as it is not available. But it looks as though it is a work relating to Vāda, expounding the sixteen Padārthas of the Nyāya system of philosophy. Though the name of the work is not specifically mentioned in the reference cited above, it may be stated that it is to this Nyāya work that Abhinavagupta makes a reference.

8. Laghvīprakriyā—This is, most probably, a devotional prayer-poem. The name of the work is found mentioned in the Bhagavadgītārthasaṅgraha.²

9. Bhedavādaśāraṇa—This is another work which is referred to by Abhinavagupta himself in his other works.³ Many controversial problems appear to have been dismissed in it as it was mainly intended to demolish the prevalent dualistic notions among people.

10. Devīstotravivarāṇa—This is a commentary on the Devīstotra of Ānandavardhana which expresses the non-dualistic view-point. The stotra itself has been published in the Kāvya-mālā Series (No. 9) and has

- 1) न हि उपादानाभिमतकारणत्वरूपानन्वयः—एतच्च प्रकृतिविघातक-
मन्यत्र तदभिधानप्रवणे शास्त्रे निष्कुण्ड्य निष्कुषितमस्माभिरेवेति
नेह विततम् ॥ (P. T. V. p. 138)
- 2) यथा च मयैव लक्ष्यां प्रक्रियायामुक्तम्—
न योग्यं व्यतिरिक्तं हि भोक्तुस्त्वत्तो विभाव्यते ।
एष एव हि भोगे यत्तादात्म्यं भोक्तृभोगयोः ॥ (B. G. S. IV. v. 28)
- 3) मयैव भेदवादनिदारेण इति तत एवान्विष्टः । (I. P. V. II. p. 158)

already been dealt with before.¹ But the *vivaraṇa* is referred to by Abhinavagupta in his *Bhagavadgītārtha-saṅgrāha*.²

11. *Tattvādhvaprakāśikā*— This is another work of Abhinavagupta to which Jayaratha makes a reference in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka*.³ In it the author seems to have discussed the nature and the number of the *Tattvas* accepted by the *Trika* system of philosophy.

12. *Śiṣyāktyavinābhāvastotra*— In this work Abhinavagupta has praised Śiva and Śakti : s inseparable from each other in the same manner as Śrī Saṅkara has done in his *Saundaryalaharī*. This is a beautiful prayer-poem breathing the highest principles of the *Trika* system of philosophy. Two verses from it are quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the 19th verse of the 15th chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

From the above it can be seen that Abhinavagupta was not only a prolific writer but also an original thinker. His style is quite becoming a great philosopher and thinker. His wonderful command on the Sanskrit language, sublimity and gracefulness of his style, deep thinking and originality are all certainly revealed in his works. To ignore these merits would be injustice to the great scholar. Surprisingly enough Dr. K. C. Pandey

1) Cf. p.p. 202 & 203.

2) *देवीस्तोत्रविवरणे निर्णीतः* (B. G. S. VI. v. 30)

3) *ग्रन्थकृता च तत्त्वाध्वप्रकाशनादौ तत्र तत्र तन्मतावलम्बनमेव कृतम्* (T. A. XI. p. 19)

speaks about his style as 'notoriously difficult'.¹ The Pratyabhijñā School stands out as a prominent one with all its specialities amongst the theistic schools and we may say that it has attained this position of importance mainly through the works of Abhinavagupta.

10—BHAṬṬANĀRĀYAṆA (980-1020 A. D.)

Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa was, perhaps, a contemporary of Utpala or his disciple Lakṣmaṇagupta, one of the teachers of Abhinavagupta. Nothing is known about his parentage. His date may be approximately the same as that of Abhinavagupta or slightly earlier. The name of his work is Stavacintāmaṇi which is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. No. X) along with the commentary of Kṣemarāja on it. There are altogether 120 verses in it composed in Anuṣṭubh metre in praise of Lord Śiva. The verses are full of the essence of the philosophy of the Pratyabhijñā School of thought. The name of the author is mentioned in the last verse of the work.²

1) The translation of Bhāskari. Preface page 1.

To a normal man philosophical problems are often difficult. It can be understood when it is said that Abhinavagupta's language is difficult to that extent; but only to that extent and no further. 'Notoriously' is certainly not the epithet to describe it.

2) स्तवचिन्तामणिं भूरि मनोरथफलप्रदम् ।

सत्तिलक्ष्म्यालयं शंभोर्भट्टनारायणो व्यधात् ॥

(S. T. C. p. 129, v. 120)

POST—ABHINAVAGUPTA PERIOD

During the Post-Abhinavagupta period there are a few works of Kashmirian Philosophers on Kashmir Saivism in which the dualistic views are dominating. It is, therefore, considered not out of place here to mention the causes for such an influence and the effect that it had on an avowed non-dualistic system of philosophy. It is not possible to say when and how the dualistic school of thought took definite shape in Kashmir though it is certain that the Dvaita and the Dvaitādvaita Schools had both amalgamated into the Siddhānta School. According to the view expressed in the Pauṣkara Samhitā the group of 28 Āgamas (consisting of ten Dvaita and eighteen Dvaitādvaita) is called the Siddhānta. Abhinavagupta also refers to them as such, only to shun them aside for reasons best known to him. Lakuliṣa Pāśupata School follows only the eighteen Āgamas of the Dvaitādvaita and is only next to the Advaita School. The writers of this school are Sadyojyotiśiva, Bṛhaspati, Śaṅkaranandana, Vidyāpati and Devabala. These and their works are referred to by Abhinavagupta in his works. But there is not sufficient material at present to show whether any of them are Kashmirian writers. Among the Saiva dualists of the Post-Abhinavagupta Period there are a few Kashmirians whose names end in 'Kañṭha'. A brief account of some of them and their works is now furnished.

11—RĀMAKANṬHA I (1025-1050 A. D.)

Rāmakānṭha I is different from Rājānaka Rāmakānṭha who has been dealt with before.¹ He is spoken of as the incarnation of Lord Śrīkānṭha by his disciples.² He was the grand-teacher of Nārāyaṇakānṭha who gives in one of his works the Guruparamparā by which the date of this writer can be approximately placed in the second quarter of the 11th century A. D. Dr. K. C. Pandey's views on the date of this writer also almost coincide with this. For he says, basing his conclusion on the fact that Rāmakānṭha I is four generations prior to Aghoraśiva who, according to his own statement in Paddhati, completed it in 1558 A. D., as follows: "Thus it is clear that Rāmakānṭha I belonged to the close of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century A. D."³

The name Rāmakānṭha is, of course, very confusing in the history of Śaiva philosophy. Rāmakānṭha I is often thought to be identical with Rājānaka Rāmakānṭha, the author of a commentary on the Spandakārikās. But there does not appear to be sufficiently valid ground for such an identification. Dr. Pandey rightly observes as follows:— "There is, therefore, some justification in

1) Cf. pp. 379 and 380.

2) साक्षात् श्रीकण्ठनाथादिव सुकृतिजनानुग्रहायावतीर्णात्
श्रुत्वा श्रीरामकण्ठाच्छिवमतकमलोन्मोल-प्रौढभास्वान् ।
श्रीविद्याकण्ठभट्टस्तदिदमुपदिशन्नादिदेशैर्देनाम्
स्पष्टार्थामित्र लब्ध्वीं विरचय विवृतिं वरत स्वोपयोग्याम् ॥

(Mr. V. v. 4)

3) Bhāskari by Dr. K. C. Pandey Int. p. XIX

identifying Rāmakanṭha I, the author of the Sadvṛtti with Rāmakanṭha, the author of a commentary on Spandakārikās. In view of the scanty literary evidence, however, this may still be treated as an open question.”¹

The name of the work that Rāmakanṭha I wrote is Sadvṛtti. There is a reference to it by Śrikanṭha.² It is supposed to be a work on dualistic Śaivism. Dr. Pandey's views in this behalf are also worthy of perusal. They are as follows : “It appears, therefore, that he was an exponent of both the dualistic and monistic schools of Śaivism. If we accept this it will not be difficult to fix the period of his literary activity”.³ Even from other evidences there appears to be sufficient justification to hold that Rāmakanṭha I alone is the author of Sadvṛtti. For, Aghoraśiva (a pupil of Rāmakanṭha II) says, while commenting on Kārikā 53 (which deals with ‘Bindu’) of the Ratnatraya of Śrikanṭha, clearly to this effect.⁴ The Rāmakanṭha that is referred to in this quotation can only be Rāmakanṭha I. The name of the father of Rāmakanṭha I appears to be Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakanṭha, the author of Nādakārikā.

12—KṢEMARĀJA (1025-1075) A. D.)

Kṣemarāja is the first pupil and commentator of Abhinavagupta. Though he belongs to the Post-Abhi-

- 1) Bhāskari by Dr. K. C. Pandey Int. p. XIX
- 2) श्रीरामकण्ठसद्वृत्तिं मयैव सनुकुर्यता ।
रत्नत्रयपरीक्षार्थः संक्षेपेण प्रकाशितः ॥ (R. F. v. 107)
- 3) Bhāskari by Dr. K. C. Pandey Int. p. XVIII
- 4) एतच्च विस्तरेणोक्तं तत्तत्संभवा रामकण्ठेन नादकारिकासु ।

navagupta period, his works are free from the dualistic influences. No information is available about his parentage as there is no clue anywhere. He is different from Kṣemendra, the great poet and rhetorician of Kashmir. But both are the disciples of Abhinavagupta and lived in Kashmir almost at the same time. While Kṣemendra is a well-known writer on Poetics and a gifted poet who has given a clear account of his parentage and ancestry, Kṣemarāja is a commentator on Poetics and works on Kashmir Śaivism. This Kṣemarāja is also different from another person of the same name (or probably Kṣemasvāmī) who was a medical student.

Kṣemarāja was, probably, a cousin of Abhinavagupta. So his date may be placed in the second and third quarters of the 11th century A.D. Like his teacher he is a prolific writer and has written many works most of which are commentaries on Tantra, Poetics and Philosophy. The authorship of nearly twenty works on Kashmir Śaivism is ascribed to him. Their names are furnished in the table given below with relevant references wherever possible.

SL. NO.	NAME OF THE WORK	REFERENCES
1.	Śivasūtravimarśinī	Printed in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies Vol. I.
2.	Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya	-do- -do- Vol. III
3.	Spandasandoha	-do- -do- Vol. XVI

SL. NO.	NAME OF THE WORK	REFERENCES
4.	Spandanirṇaya	Printed in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies Vol. XLII
5.	Stavacintāmaṇitikā	-do- -do- Vol. X
6.	Parāpreveśikā	-do- -do- Vol. XV
7.	Ṣaṭtrimśattattvasandoha	-do- -do- Vol. XIII
8.	Sāmbapañcāśikāvivarāṇa	-do- -do- Ms. No. 500/1875-76 and 212/1882-83 of B. O. R. I. Poona.
9.	Śivasūtravṛtti	Not printed
10.	Svacchandoddyota	-do-
11.	Netroddyota	-do-
12.	Vijñānabhairavoddyota	-do-
13.	Utpalastotrāvalitikā	-do-
14.	Paramārthasaṅgraha-vivṛti	-do-
15.	Paramārthasaṅgraha	-do-
16.	Bhairavānukaraṇastotra	-do-
17.	Vāmodaya	-do-
18.	Śivastotra	-do-
19.	Spandanilaya	-do-
20.	Svacchandanaaya	-do-

It can be seen from the above table that seven works of Kṣemarāja are printed in the Kashmir Series and one work is available in manuscript in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. Aufrecht ascribes the authorship of Mahārthamañjarī and Mahārthamañjarītikā (Parimala) to Kṣemarāja. This is not correct as it has been found out that the author of these two works is Maheśvarānanda or Gorakṣanātha. The Research Department of

Kashmir is trying to bring out as many of the unpublished works of Kṣemarāja as possible shortly. A brief account of the available works is now given with a view to have an idea of Kṣemarāja's contribution to Kashmir Śaivism.

1. Sivasūtravimarśinī—This is, perhaps, the first work that Kṣemarāja wrote. It is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. I.). It consists of three chapters each of which is called an Unmeṣa and deals with the three Upāyas or means of attaining salvation namely Sāmbhava, Śākta and Āṇava. All the seventy-nine Sivasūtras are taken up one by one and are commented upon elaborately pointing out at each stage the significance and utility of each one of them. In doing so Kṣemarāja has quoted from several authoritative works on the Trika system including those of his revered teacher Abhinavagupta. The most important works that are mentioned in his work are Vijñānabhairava, Uçuṣmabhairava, Trikaḥṛdaya, Śrīmatśvacchanda Jñānagarbha, Mālinivijaya, Śrīkanṭhīyasambhitā, Kulacūḍāmaṇi, Tantrāloka and others. His commentary always runs at a very high level.¹

1) तन्त्रालोके—प्रकाशो नाम यश्चायं सर्वत्रैव प्रकाशते ।

अनपह्नवनीयत्वात्किं तस्मिन् भानुकल्पनः ॥

यतः—चैतन्यं विश्वस्य स्वभावः । तत एव तत्साधनाय

प्रमाणादि वराकमनुपयुक्तम् । प्रमाणवराकस्यापि-

प्रमाणान्यपि वस्तूनां जीवितं यानि तन्वते ।

तेषामपि परो जीवः स एव परमेश्वरः ॥

इत्थमभिनवगुप्तपादैश्चैतन्याधीनैव सिद्धिनिर्विघ्नास्ति ।

(S. S. VI. s. (I.

2. Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya—This is the second important work of Kṣemarāja which is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. III.). It is reputed for its beauty and brevity. The very fact that it has been translated into several languages is an indication of its popularity. It is translated into English by Dr. Leidecker and into Kannada by Sri J. Rudrappa. The entire essence of the philosophy of the Pratyabhijñā is brought forth in the form of twenty sūtras in which the independence of Cit, the manifestation of the Universe, the fundamental differences between Grāhya and Grāhaka, the form in which Māyā exists, the impurities that envelop the individual, ābhāsana, Śaktipāta, Vikāsa and the ultimate realisation of bliss by the recognition of the Supreme Lord who is within us are all explained in an elegant manner with appropriate quotations from authoritative works of earlier writers with a view to bring home to the thinking mind the efficacy of the Trika system as a practical philosophy.¹ If Pratyabhijñā is the heart of Kashmir Śaivism, Pratybhijñāhṛdaya can be stated to be the heart of Pratyabhijñā. This work of Kṣemarāja

- 1) चित्तिः स्वतन्त्रा विश्वसिद्धिहेतुः । स्वेच्छया स्वभित्तौ विश्वमुन्मीलयति,
तन्नाम अनुपप्राह्यग्राहकमेदात् । चित्संकोचात्मा चेतनोऽपि
संकुचितविश्वमयः । चित्तिरेव चेतनपदादेव रूढा चैत्यसंकोचिनी
चित्तम् । तन्मया माया प्रमाता । चिदुत्तच्छक्तिसंकोचात् मलावृतः
संसारि । बललाभे विश्वमात्ममात्करोति । चिदानन्दलाभे
देहादिषु चैत्यमानेष्वपि चिदैकात्म्यप्रतिपत्तिदा कृत्यं
जीवन्मुक्तिः । तदा प्रकाशानन्दसारमहामन्त्रवीर्यात्मक
पूर्णाहिंतादेशात् सदा सर्वसर्गसंहारकारि निज-
संविद्देवता चक्रेश्वरताप्राप्तिर्भवतीति शिवम् ।

(P. H. Sūtras 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 15 and 20)

bears the same relation to the Trika system of Philosophy as the well-known Vedāntasāra of Sadānanda does to the Advaita Vedānta.

3. Spandasandoha—This is a sort of commentary on the first of the Spandakārikās wherein is given the purport of the entire Kārikās. This is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XVI). The first Kārikā, besides being an invocation to Lord Śiva, explains the fundamental concept of the Spanda aspect of the Trika system of philosophy.¹

4. Spandanirṇaya—This is another important work of Kṣemarāja. It is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XLII). The Spandakārikās are a detailed commentary on the Śivasūtras. Their authorship is still in dispute as stated before.² The Spandanirṇaya was under-taken to be written by Kṣemarāja at the request of his pious pupil by name Sūra. The material for this work has been taken from his revered teacher Abhinavagupta, as stated by him.³ The scheme of this work is exactly similar to that planned by Rāmakanṭha in his work.

There are altogether 50 Kārikās arranged in three chapters each of which is called a Niṣyanda.⁴ The

- 1) यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयौ ।
तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं शङ्करं स्तुमः ॥ (Sp. S. p. 3)
- 2) Cf. pp. 367 and 368.
- 3) शूरनाम्नः स्वशिष्यस्य प्रार्थनात्तिरसेन तत् ।
निर्णीतं क्षेमराजेन स्फारान्निजगुरोर्गुरोः ॥ (S. N. p. 77. v. 4)
- 4) १-स्वरूपस्पन्द, २-सहजविद्योदयस्पन्द, ३-विभूतिस्पन्द

Spanda principle namely the power which infuses life into the physical senses is proved and the means of attaining it is discussed in the first chapter incidentally exploding the theory of nihilism and cautioning the enlightened individual to be alert in casting off the veil of darkness. The second chapter contains the discussions on the pure and the impure world, how they emanate and how they both are identical and how the Yogins get what they aspire for. In the third chapter the manifestation of knowledge and the means of breaking bondage are fully dealt with.

5. *Stavacintāmaṇīkā*—As the name itself indicates, this is a commentary on the *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. It is printed along with the original in the Kashmir Series (Vol. X). It explains clearly the philosophy of the *Pratyabhijñā* dealt with by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa.

6. *Parāpraveśikā*—This is a very short work on the Saiva Philosophy of Kashmir dealing with the thirty-six Tattvas recognised by the system.

7. *Tattvasandoha*—This is another small work dealing with the same subject namely the thirty-six Tattvas of Kashmir Śaivism. It is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XIII). There are altogether twenty-one verses in it composed in the *Āryā* metre. The definitions of the Tattvas are clearly and elegantly furnished. There is a *vivaraṇa* or a commentary on it by Rājānaka Ānanda.

10 8. Sāmbapañcāśikāvivarāṇa—This is a commentary on the work Sāmbapañcāśikā which is a prayer-poem ascribed to Abhinavagupta. A manuscript of it written in Kashmiri Devanāgarī characters is available.¹ The prayer-poem itself is printed in the Kāvya-mālā Series. The name of the author of the prayer-poem is not mentioned. But at the end of the Vivaraṇa there is a verse which indicates that Abhinavagupta might have written it.² It is also stated at the end that the Vivaraṇa was composed in the year 1940 (Samvat) which approximately agrees with the date of Kṣemarāja already mentioned.³

As regards the remaining twelve works of Kṣemarāja indicated in the table, they are not readily available. But there are a few references to those works here and there. Aufrecht ascribes the authorship of all of them to Kṣemarāja in his Catalogus Catalogorum. It may now be stated, in conclusion, that the quantum of the contribution of Kṣemarāja to Kashmir Śaivism is next in quality and magnitude to that of Abhinavagupta, his revered teacher. He has followed rightly in the footsteps of his learned Guru and has successfully emulated him in presenting a clear and brief account of the Spanda

1) Ms. No. 500/1875-76 and 212/1882-83 of

B. O. R. I., Poona.

2) कश्चिच्छैवः परशिवसमावेशगाढानुरागो-

द्वेकस्पृजन्नभिनवदशादेशवैवश्यशाली ।

सस्तोत्रेऽस्मिन् विवृतिरचनां क्षेमराजो न्ययुक्ते-

त्येतन्नैव स्मरति घटितं दर्शनीयं हि सद्भिः ॥

3) श्रीमहात् संवत् १९४० वैशाखकृष्ण ५ भृगुवासरे ॥

and Pratyabhijñā aspects of the Trika system of philosophy.

13—ŚRĪKANṬHA (1050–1075 A. D.)

Srikanṭha is the next Kashmirian philosopher. He speaks of himself as a pupil of Rāmakanṭha I.¹ So his date may be approximately placed in the third quarter of the 11th century A. D. No other details are available about his parentage and his work.

14—YOGARĀJA (1050–1100 A. D.)

Yogarāja was a student of Kṣemarāja and a writer on Kashmir Śaivism. He has stated so at the end of his commentary on the Paramārthasāra of Abhinavagupta.² His date can, therefore, be placed in the second half of the 11th century A. D. No information is available about his parentage. The commentary on the Paramārthasāra is, perhaps, the only work that he has written. At the time he wrote it he seems to have been leading the life of an ascetic in Vitastāpurī (perhaps Śrīnagar).³ It is also stated in the verse referred to above that the work was written from the point of view of pure Advaita or non-dualism.

- 1) श्रीरामकण्ठसद्वृत्तिं मयैवमनुकुर्वता ।
रत्नत्रयपरीक्षार्थः संक्षेपेण प्रकाशितः ॥ (R. T. v. 107)
- 2) श्रीमतः क्षेमराजस्य सदगुरुर्वाग्नायशास्त्रिनः ।
साक्षात्कृतमहेशस्य तस्यान्तेवासिना मया ॥ (P. S. Comm. end)
- 3) श्रीवितस्तापुरीयन्ना विरक्तेन तपस्विना ।
विवृतियोगनाम्नेयं पूर्णाद्वयमयी कृता ॥ (Ibid p. 199)

15—NĀRĀYAṆAKANṬHA (1075–1100 A. D.)

This Nārāyaṇakanṭha is different from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Stavacintāmaṇi whom Abhinavagupta quotes in his works. The name of his father is known to be Vidyākanṭha who was a student of Rāmakanṭha I. So his date may be placed in the last quarter of the 11th century A. D. Two works namely Mṛgendravṛtti and Śaranniśā are ascribed to him. The former has been published and the latter (also called Bṛhattīkā) is a commentary on the Tattvasaṅgraha of Sadyojyoti referred to by Aghoraśiva in his own commentary¹. He is one of the writers of the dualistic school of the post-Abhinavagupta period and criticises many systems of philosophy in his works.

16—RĀMAKANṬHA II (1100–1130 A. D.)

Rāmakanṭha II was the teacher of Aghoraśiva.² He was the son of Nārāyaṇakanṭha and a dualist Śaiva thinker. The Guruparamparā is as follows:— Rāmakanṭha I — Vidyākanṭha — Nārāyaṇakanṭha — Rāmakanṭha II. So his date may approximately be placed in the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. He wrote commentaries on the Āgamas of the Siddhānta School and also independent works. He criticises the Lakulīśa Pāśupata conception of Mukti as attainment of similarity

1) तत्त्वसंग्रहचन्द्रस्य प्रकाशाय वितानिता ।

श्रीनारायणकण्ठेन बृहत्तीका शरन्निशा ॥ (Bhāskari Int. p. XXI)

2) रामकण्ठमहाकण्ठकण्ठीरवपदानुगः ।

न कुतार्किकमातङ्गगर्जितेभ्यो विभेद्यहम् ॥ (Mr. V. D. v. 1)

with Śiva. His works are Nāḍakārikā, Vṛtti on Paramokṣanirāsakārikā and Vṛtti on Mokṣakārikā. These works which are ascribed to him and are known only by references are Mantravārtikatikā and Āgama-viveka. He is, perhaps, the last writer belonging to the dualistic school. A manuscript of his commentary on the Mataṅgāgama is preserved in the Library of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. He has referred to a commentary on the Svāyambhuvāgama, in his commentary on the Nareśvaraparīkṣā. It is called the Svāyambhuvodyota. His disciple Aghorśiva is known for his poetical works and commentaries.

17—BHAṬṬA VĀMADEVA (1100-1150 A. D.)

Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva was a disciple of Yogīśvarācārya (probably Yogarāja) as stated by him.¹ This gives his approximate date as the first half of the 12th century A. D. This is also supported by a legend according to which he was a contemporary of Mahārāja Anantadeva who ruled in Kashmir during the last part of the 11th century A. D. The name of his work is Jananamaraṇavicāra which is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XIX). This appears to be the only work written by him on Kashmir Śaivism. It is a small compendium of the various truths of Kashmir Śaivism such as the Supremacy of Lord Śiva, the Pañcakṛtyas, the three malas, the upāyas and the Pramāṭṛs.

1) श्रीमद्योगीश्वराचार्यप्रसादासादितस्थितिः ।

वामदेवश्चकारेदं जन्ममृत्युविचारणम् ॥

(J. M. V. p. 24)

18—SUBHAṬA-DATTA (1150-1200 A. D.)

Subhaṭa-Datta was the son of Tribhuvana-Datta and the grand-son of Īśvara-Datta. The only source of information about him is the commentary *Viveka* of Jayaratha on the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta. According to it he seems to have been the preceptor to a king by name Rājarāja. But it has not been possible to find out who exactly this king was, as there is no ruler of that name in Kashmir at any time. Jayaratha, however, says that the king was initiated into Śaivism by Subhaṭa-Datta.¹ This helps us to place the date of Subhaṭa-Datta in the latter half of the 12th century A. D. He seems to be the first known commentator on the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta as there is a frequent reference to an earlier commentary in the *Viveka* of Jayaratha.² It is, probably, the commentary of Subhaṭa Datta (Guru of Jayaratha) that is referred to. For it is seen that Jayaratha often refrains from criticism purely out of respect for his teacher. The name of that commentary appears to be *vivṛti*. But no trace of it is found till now.

19—JAYARATHA (1200-1250 A. D.)

As already stated Jayaratha is the disciple of Subhaṭa-Datta. He was the son of Śṛṅgārāratha who

1) श्रीविश्वदत्त (ईश्वरदत्त) पौत्रस्त्रिभुवनदत्तात्मजः कुलक्रमतः ।

श्रीसुभट्टदत्त आलीचरय गुरुर्यो ममाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥

(T. A. Ahn. 37 Ms. Comm.)

2) T. A. Ahn. 1 pp. 15 to 16 (Vol. I.)

was a minister to king Rājārāja (probably king Jayasimha who ruled in Kashmir in the neighbourhood of 1200 A. D.). He had a younger brother by name Jayadratha, the author of *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, who has already been dealt with before.¹ He has given the genealogy of his family commencing from Pūrṇamano-ratha who was a minister to king Yaśaskara who ruled in Kashmir somewhere about the year 931 A. D. The *vamśavṛkṣa* of his ancestry as given by him runs as follows:— Utpalaratha I, Prakāśaratha, Sūryaratha, Utpalaratha II (1028–1063 A. D. minister of king Ananta of Kashmir), Samaratha, Guṇaratha, Śṛṅgārara-
ratha and Jayaratha. Besides Subhaṭadatta there were two more teachers to Jayaratha namely Kalyāṇa (teacher in Śaivism) and Śankhadhara (teacher in other branches of learning). The names of his father and these two teachers are mentioned by him in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka*.² Like Abhinavagupta he too had the much-coveted title *Mahāmāheśvarācārya*.

The name of his commentary on the *Tantrāloka* is *Viveka*. It is as authoritative as it is erudite. It is well-known throughout the circle of scholars and philosophers. A clear exposition and explanation of the principles of Kashmir Śaivism dealt with elaborately

1) Cf. pp. 253 to 257.

2) श्रीशृङ्गाररथादवाप्य कृतिनो जन्मानवद्यक्रमं

श्रीमच्छङ्खधरात्परं परिचयं विद्यासु सर्वास्वपि ।

श्रीकल्याणतनोः शिवादधिगमं सर्वागमानामपि

व्याख्यातं प्रथमाह्निकं जयरथेनात्रावधेयं बुधैः ॥

(T. A. Ahn. I Comm. End)

by Abhinavagupta are given in it. As a commentator Jayaratha ranks very high among the scholars of Kashmir.

20—SOBHĀKARAGUPTA (1250-1300 A. D.)

Sobhākaragupta has written a commentary on the Bhairavastotra of Abhinavagupta. His date cannot be easily determined as there is no clue to it in his work. He may, however, be placed later than Jayaratha in the second half of the 13th century A. D. His commentary gives a Vaiṣṇavite interpretation of the prayer-poem. It is stated to be rather far-fetched.

21—LALLĀ (1300-1350 A. D.)

Lallā is the only woman writer on Kashmir Śaivism. It is learnt that she was a Kashmirian by birth. Her date is stated to be somewhere in the 14th century A. D., probably during the first half of it. She was a philosopher even from her childhood. She used to express her ideas in the Kashmiri language and not in Sanskrit. It was the time when Kashmiri literature as such began to take shape. Even though she wrote her compositions in the Kashmiri language, they attracted the attention of contemporary and later Sanskrit Scholars as they were rich in beauty and sense. About fifty verses composed by her on Kashmir Śaivism have been collected together under the name Lallāvākyaṇi. These verses have been translated into Sanskrit by Bhāskara (most probably Bhāskarakanṭha) who lived somewhere in the 17th or 18th century A. D. as could be seen from the very first

verse of the translation, which along with the original in Kashmiri has been printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. VIII).¹ The verses of Lallā are noted for their brevity and simplicity. The beauty of the original has been brought forth to a great extent in the Sanskrit Translation. One of the verses can be quoted as a specimen.² The verses of Lallā are very popular in Kashmir even now.

22—SITIKANṬHA (1475-1525 A. D.)

Sitikanṭha is probably a Kashmirian name. Names ending in 'Kantḥa' were very common in Kashmir especially during the 12th century A. D. and later. He is the son of the daughter's daughter of the great grandson of Jagaddhara, the well-known grammarian and the author of *Stutikusumāñjali*. While on the mother's side he traces his origin to Jagaddhara, on his father's side he traces it to one Soma (probably *Somānanda*, the well-known writer on the *Pratyabhijñā*). He too seems to have got the title *Rājānaka*. All this information about his ancestry is furnished by him in his commentary on the *Bālābodhini* of Jagaddhara. These facts enable us to place his date approximately in the last quarter of the 15th century A. D. and the first quarter of the 16th century A. D.

- 1) श्रीलङ्काये गिनीवाक्यजातं पृथ्व्या मया स्फुटम् ।
श्लोकानां भास्करेण हृन्मस्तु शिवार्पणम् ॥ (L.V. p. 28. v. 1)
- 2) तन्त्रं सर्वं लीयते मन्त्र एव मन्त्रश्चित्ते लीयते नादमूलः ।
चित्ते लीने लीयते सर्वमेव दृश्यं द्रष्टा शिष्यते चित्स्वरूपः ॥ (L. V.)

The name of his work on Kashmir Śaivism is Mahānayaprakāśa. There are in it fourteen chapters each of which is called an Udaya. It is written in the vernacular Kashmiri for the benefit of the general public. The peculiarity of this work is that while the original is in Kashmiri, the commentary written by the author himself is in simple Sanskrit prose. The original and the translation are together printed in the Kashmiri Series (Vol. XXI). This work is as popular as that of Lallā.

23—VARADARĀJA (1500–1550 A. D.)

Varadarāja is, perhaps, the youngest son of Madhurāja as stated by him in the concluding part of his commentary on the Śivasūtras.¹ A detailed account of his parentage is given there. It is also stated that he followed in the footsteps of learned philosophers like Kṣemarāja. He seems to have been called as Kṛṣṇadāsa also. His date is not definitely known. But he may be assigned to the first half of the 16th century A. D. on the following grounds. Bhāskararāya, the commentator of

- 1) इति श्रीशिवसूत्राणां रहस्यार्थोपबृंहितम् ।
 प्रागुक्तवार्तिकान्शेन सहितं वार्तिकान्तरम् ॥
 अखण्डसंवित्साम्राज्ययौवराज्याधिकारिणाम् ।
 पराक्रमहठान्तपटुत्रिशक्तस्वसंपदाम् ॥
 मधुराजकुमाराणां महाहन्ताधिरोहिणाम् ।
 पश्चिमेन तदालोकध्वस्तपद्मिन्मज्जन्मना ॥
 मया वरदराजेन मायामोहापसारकम् ।
 श्रीक्षेमराजनिर्णीतव्याख्यानाध्वानुसारिणाम् ॥
 कृतिनां कृष्णदासेन व्यञ्जितं कृष्णवंजसा ।
 अनुगृह्यन्तु नमैतद् सन्तः सन्तोऽस्मागताः ॥ (S.S.V. End)

Śrī Lalitāsahasranāma and a contemporary of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, belonged to the same period as Varadarāja as stated by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, the author of Nirṇaya-sindhu and grandson of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. This Bhāskararāya may be a descendant of Varadarāja as he refers with great respect to him in his Bhāṣya.

The name of his work is Sivasūtravārtika which is a commentary on the Sivasūtras of Vasugupta. The reason for writing this Vārtika when there was already one such by an earlier writer is furnished by him in the concluding verses. According to it, it is mainly to explain the difficult passages which were not clearly interpreted in the earlier commentaries and also to reveal the secret meaning of the Sivasūtras. This commentary is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XLIII). On the whole the book provides delightful reading.

24—BHĀSKARAKANṬHA (1675–1750 A. D.)

Bhāskarakanṭha is a learned Kashmirian Philosopher belonging to comparatively recent times. The name suggests that he is, probably, a Kashmirian. He is the son of Vaidūryakanṭha and grandson of Avatārankanṭha. The name of his son is Jagannāthakanṭha. His successors after his son are Maṇikanṭha, Somānandakanṭha, Gaṇakanṭha, Mahānandakanṭha and Viśveśvarakanṭha coming up almost to the present day. He was the disciple of Kaulanarottama. Though he does not mention the exact date and times in which he lived, it is clear that he was six or seven generations removed from

the present day. So his date may be approximately placed either in the latter half of the 17th or the earlier half of the 18th century A. D. He belongs to the Dhaumyāyanagotra.

Bhāskarakanṭha is the little-known only commentator on the Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī of Abhinavagupta. His commentary is noted for its erudition and is popularly known as Bhāskari. It gives a traditional interpretation of the text. An English translation of this commentary by Dr. K. C. Pandey has now been edited by Pandit Tribhuvanprasad Upadhyaya, greatly facilitating the study of Kashmir Śaivism.

Bhāskarakanṭha is the author of several other works of which three are very important. The first one is Lallāvāk which is a Sanskrit translation of an interesting Śaivate work of the authoress Lallā written in Kashmiri which has already been dealt with.¹ The second one is a commentary on the Yogavāsiṣṭha. It is supposed to consist of a lakh and ten thousand verses. But only fragments of this work are available with some of his descendants who are living in Kashmir to-day. The third work is a prayer-poem called Harṣeśvarastava which is stated to have been written on the occasion of his visit to the temple of Śrīharṣeśvara in Kashmir.

25—SIDDHA GORAKṢANĀTHA

(Date not known)

Gorakṣanātha is a well-known writer in Kashmir belonging to the Jogi sect. As he is believed to be the

1) Cf. pp. 417 and 418.

founder of the sect he is usually referred to with the title Siddha prefixed to his name. No details are available about his date and parentage. One of his works called the Amaraṅghaśāsana has, however, been traced and printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XX). In this booklet an account of several ways of attaining Yoga is given. For this purpose the Nāḍīs¹ in the human body are first described in detail commencing from Īḍā, the principal one. The various stages namely Sāraṇā, Parāsāraṇā, Pratisāraṇā, Śaṅkhasāraṇā and Mah-ā-sāraṇā are then described in succession as they are supposed to lead the individual to mokṣa. Lastly the Mahābhūtas (gross elements), their Tanmātras (essences) and the ten prāṇās (vital spirits) are dealt with in detail. This booklet is interesting as it brings about a connection between Kashmir, Saivism and the practice of Yoga.

26—CAKRAPĀṆINĀTHA (Date not known)

Even in the case of Cakrapāṇinātha details of date and parentage are not available. But the authorship of a booklet called Bhāvopahāra which is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XIV) is ascribed to him. It contains 40 verses composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre in praise of Siva. The concluding part of the work mentions

- 1) I have not translated the word Nāḍī as it would be confusing.

its purpose and the name of the author.¹ There is a commentary called the Vivaraṇa on it by Ramyadeva, son of Yogideva of Kashmir, as mentioned in the colophon of the commentary.²

27—ĀDYANĀTHA (Date not known)

As in the previous two cases the details of date and parentage of Ādyanātha are not available. But he is known to be the author of a work called Anuttara-prakāśapañcāśika which is printed along with the Bhāvopahāra in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XIV). It is a poem consisting of fifty-one verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre praising the supreme deity Śiva in the Anuttara-tattva and describing his five acts namely creation, preservation, destruction, grace and disappearance.

From the brief account given above it can be seen that philosophical writings in this system form a huge mass. It is generally supposed that philosophical speculation is not necessary for a common man but in the ultimate analysis it is revealed that every problem, however practical it may be, has to be solved on the high grounds of philosophy. Prof. Huxley's observation

- 1) महापाशुपतोद्याने कश्चिद्विश्वस्य तापसः ।
चक्रे चिच्छक्रनाथस्य शम्भोर्भावनुतिं पराम् ॥
व्याख्यातस्थं प्रस्तौति—चक्रनाथ चक्रे शब्दाम्यामात्मनः चक्रपाणिनाम्
द्योतयति ॥ (B. H. pp. 23 and 24 v. 47)
- 2) स्तोत्रे भावोपहारे विवरणमकरोद्भूम्यदेवो द्विजन्मा ॥

in this regard is very enlightening.¹ It is no wonder, therefore, that the spiritual stalwarts of Kashmir Śaivism have written a good deal on philosophy.

Dr. V. Raghavan has beautifully summed up the broad principles of Kashmir Śaivism in the following manner. "It (Pratyabhijñā) is a monistic system which arose on the back-ground of the manifold religious and philosophical practices and schools of thought prevailing in Kashmir, some of which it definitely rejects and others it criticises in the form in which they are upheld by their respective exponents and adapts into its own framework with slight modification. Thus this school is Śaivaite but it rejects the Siddhānta or the dualistic Śaiva prevalent in Kashmir; it is monistic and takes its stand on consciousness, but refutes Buddhistic Vijñānavāda, as also the Śabdādvaita of the grammarians; later exponents of the school regularly point out how and where their position departs from Vedānta i.e., Advaita based on the Upaniṣads; as against the Advaita of the Nīrṅuṇa Brahman, this school holds the supreme reality, no doubt of the form of pure Cit, to be a personality, Śiva; and as against other theories of causation, Utpatti, Parīṇāma or Vivarta this school holds the appearance-theory, Ābhāsa-vāda. Adopting the Bimbapratibimbavāda the school holds the universe also as a reflection of the Lord. We find here thus an eclectic school

- 1) Men live in accordance with their philosophy that is, their idea of the world. This is true even of the most thoughtless.

(Ends and Means by Aldous Huxley, p. 229)

attempting synthesis of personal-imperial, idealistic—realistic trends of thought. In actual practice the synthesis of Kashmir Śaivism which takes within its sweep Āgama and Tantra, Śaivism and Śāktism, devotion and ascetic activity, goes indeed so far enough that this school, in which not much work has yet been done, becomes not only an attractive subject but one offering a wide range of material for investigation.”¹

PART 2—NON-VEDIC (Heterodox) PHILOSOPHERS

The information that is available in this behalf is taken mainly from the History of Indian Logic by Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhushan. It is seen that these philosophers (most of them Buddhists and some of them, perhaps, Jains,) wrote original works in Sanskrit on various branches of philosophy particularly on Nyāya. But none of the original works is available at present except a few which will be referred to in the following pages. Many such works have, however, seen the light of the world in Tibetan translations. Attempts are being made to retranslate them into Sanskrit. So much of the information as is available with regard to these philosophers is now furnished with relevant references.

- 1) P. P. of Abhinavagupta Int. pp. iv and v (published in the Annals of the Oriental Research of the University of Madras.)

1—Ravigupta (700-725 A. D.)

Ravigupta is, perhaps, the earliest among the Buddhist philosophers of Kashmir. He was also a great poet, a dialectician and a t̃āntric teacher. He is reputed to have established twelve great religious schools both in Kashmir and in Magadha. The details of his parentage are not known. His name appears in the Nyāyamañjarī of Jayanta.¹ So he is earlier than Jayanta. It is stated that he was a contemporary of king Bharṣa of Vārendra. His name is also found in the inscription of Vasantasena as the Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratīkāra in the Gupta Samvat 435 which corresponds to 754 A. D. The famous T̃āntric monk Sarvajñamitra who lived in the middle of the 8th century A. D. is known to be one of his disciples. On the basis of all these evidences the date of Ravigupta can be fixed in the first quarter of the 8th century A. D.² A work by name Pramāṇavārtika Vṛtti is ascribed to him. It is an annotation on the Pramāṇavārtika of Dharmakīrti. It exists only in the form of a translation in the Tibetan language.

2—DHARMOTTARĀCĀRYA (825-850 A. D.)

Dharmottarācārya was a pupil of the great Buddhist teachers, Kalyāṇarakṣitā and Dharmākaraḍatta of Kashmir. He seems to have lived in Kashmir while

- 1) एतेन रविगुप्तोऽपि परिम्लानमुखोऽकृतः ।
क्षणिकत्वक्षमादित्वसमुत्प्रेक्षणपण्डितः ॥ (N. M. VII)
- 2) H. I. L. p. 322.

Vanapāla was ruling in Bengal. He is mentioned by the Brahmin Logician Śrīdhara who lived at the end of the 10th century A. D. The Jaina philosophers Malavādin, the author of Darmottaratippaṇikā (962 A. D.) and Ratnaprabhāsūri, the famous author of Syādvādaratnākaraṇatārikā (1131 A. D.) also mention his name. So his date may be approximately placed in the second quarter of the 9th century A. D. He is the author of about half a dozen works namely Nyāyabindutikā, Pramāṇaparikṣā, Apohanāmaprakaraṇa, Paralokasiddhi, Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi and Pramāṇaviniścayatikā. Of these the first work is a commentary on the Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti. The original in Sanskrit is preserved in the Jaina temple of Śāntinātha at Kambay. It is published by Prof. Peterson in the Bibliotheca Indica Series of Calcutta. A Tibetan translation of the work was prepared by the Indian sage Jñānagarbha.

The second work cited above exists only in translation in the Tibetan language. But the invocatory verse in Sanskrit is available in the translation and it can be seen that it is a prayer to Sugata or Buddha¹. The third work was translated into Tibetan by a Kashmir Pandit by name Bhavarāja. It also exists only in translation. The fourth work was translated into Tibetan by the same Kashmir Pandit during the time of king Harṣadeva who ruled in Kashmir from 1089 to 1101 A. D. The original in Sanskrit is not available. The Tibetan translation of the fifth work of this

1) जयन्ति जातिव्यसनप्रबन्धप्रसूतिहेतोर्जगतो विजेतुः ।
रागाद्यरातेः सुगतस्य वाचो मनस्तमस्तानवमादधानाः ॥ (P. P. K. v. 1)

philosopher is also available. The sixth work is a commentary on the *Pramānaviniścaya*, a famous work of the great Buddhist Scholar, Dharmakīrti. The well-known Kashmirian Pandit, Parahitabhadra who is described as an 'Excellent subduer of bad disputants', has translated this work into Tibetan.¹

3—ARCAṬA (850-900 A. D.)

By the nature of his name we may say that Arcaṭa is, probably, a Kashmirian. No details are available regarding his parentage. He seems to have criticised Dharmottarācārya in the Jaina *Nyāyāvātāravivṛti*. So his date may be placed in the 9th century A. D. preferably in the latter part of it. His name is also mentioned by Guṇaratnasūri and Ratnaprabhāsūri.² The authorship of two works namely *Tarkatikā* and *Hetubindutikā* is ascribed to him. The first work is mentioned by the two writers cited above. The second one is a commentary on a work called *Hetubindu* of Dharmakīrti. It has been published in the Gaekwad Series. It is divided into four chapters which deal with four different topics namely *Svabhāva* (identity), *Kārya* (effect), *Anupalabdhi* (non-perception) and *Ṣaḍlakṣaṇavyākhyā* (explanation of the six characteristics of matter), respectively. At the beginning of this work it is stated that Arcaṭa was a brahmin by birth and later on became a convert to Buddhism.³

1) H. I. L. p. 329.

2) अर्चटं चर्चाचतुरः पुनराह - इह प्रेक्षावतां प्रवृत्तिः प्रयोजनवत्तया ऋग्ना ॥

3) H. I. L. p. 331.

4—RATNAVAJRA (975-1025 A. D.)

Ratnavajra was born in a respectable brahmin family of Kashmir. He was the son of Haribhadra who was the first convert in the family to Buddhism. His ancestors appear to be deeply versed in the Śāstras of the Tirthikās. He lived during the reign of Caṇaka whose date is approximately between 970 and 1040 A. D. His date may, therefore, be placed during the last quarter of the 10th century and the first quarter of the 11th century A. D. He was an upāsaka himself and studied all the Buddhist sūtras and Sciences upto his 36th year. Then he went to Magadha and Gayā and saw the deities Cakrasamvara, Vajravarāhī and others by whose grace he was able to completely master the Buddhist Śāstras. He received the Royal diploma at the university of Vikramaśilā and was appointed there as a warden for some time. He then returned to Kashmir from where he went to Tibet. In Tibet he became well-known as an Ācārya. The name of his work is Yuktiprayoga. Sanskrit original of it is lost. It is translated into Tibetan by the Indian Sage Subhūtiśānta and only the translation is now available.¹

5—JINAMITRA (1000-1025 A. D.)

Jinamitra is the next Kashmirian Heterodox Philosopher in order of time. He may be a Jain philosopher as the name indicates. He seems to have visited Tibet in the company of Sarvajñadeva, Dānaśīla and others

1) H. I. L. p. 339.

who were his contemporaries. He helped the Tibetans in translating many Sanskrit works into their language. At that time king Mahīpāla was ruling in Bengal. This approximately fixes the date of Jinamitra in the first quarter of the 11th century A. D. He wrote a work called Nyāyabindupindārtha which contains the purport of the Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti. It was translated into Tibetan by Surendrabodhi. It exists now only in translation. The original in Sanskrit is not yet traced.¹

6—DĀNAŚĪLA (1800–1025 A. D.)

Dānaśīla was a contemporary of Jinamitra, Parahitabhādra, Sarvajñadeva and Tilopa. He visited Tibet and co-operated with his friends in the propagation of Sanskrit works there. His date is also the same as that of Jinamitra namely the first quarter of the 11th century A. D. He is the author of a work called Puṣṭakapāṭhopāya. It was translated into Tibetan by Dānaśīla himself. The Sanskrit original, however, is not available.²

7—JÑĀNAŚRĪBHADRA (1025–1050 A. D.)

Jñānaśrībhādra is the next philosopher and logician belonging to this class. He was born as a Kashmiri brahmin and later on became a Buddhist by conversion. He lived during the second quarter of the 11th century A. D. and was junior to Naropa. He visited Tibet where he was employed in the translation of Sanskrit works

1) H. I. L. p. 340.

2) H. I. L. pp. 340 and 341.

into Tibetan. He was known there as merely Jñānaśrī. He is the author of a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-viniścaya* of Dharmakīrti. The work begins with an invocation to Saryajña. The original Sanskrit work is not available. It exists only in translation in the Tibetan language.¹

8—ŚAṆKARĀNANDA (1025-1050 A. D.)

Śaṅkarānanda was also born in Kashmir in a family of brahmin scholars. He was well-versed in the several sciences and was an expert in logic. He wanted to write an original work on logic refuting the views of Dharmakīrti. He seems to have been dissuaded from such an act by a vision in a dream which is stated to have told him as follows :—"Since Dharmakīrti is an Ārya none can refute his views ; and if thou seest mistakes in him it is the mistake of thine own understanding." Thereupon he seems to have repented and decided to write a commentary on the *Pramāṇavārtika* of Dharmakīrti in seven chapters. That is his principal work. He lived during the time of Nayapāla and so his date may be placed during the second quarter of the 11th century A. D. He wrote three other works namely (1) *śambandhaparikṣānasāra* (which is a commentary on the *Sambandhaparikṣā* of Dharmakīrti) (2) *Apohasiddhi* and (3) *Pratibandhasiddhi*. The originals of these three works are now lost. They have, however, been translated into Tibetan by Indian Pandits Prahita, Manoratha and Bhāgyarāja. These translations are available.²

1) H. I. L. p. 342.

2) H. I. L. p. 343.

It can thus be seen that there are altogether eight non-vedic (heterodox) philosophers of Kashmir during the period 700 to 1100 A. D. Some of them were brahmins by birth and later on became converts to Buddhism. A few others as the names indicate might have been Jains first and then might have become Buddhists by force of circumstances. They all wrote on Buddhistic logic and their works are mainly commentaries on the well-known works of the great Buddhist Scholar Dharmakīrti. Nyāyabindu and Pramāṇaviniścaya are the two chief works which have been commented upon. Buddhistic logic was highly developed in Kashmir as could be gathered from the short accounts of the writers mentioned before. It is also suggestive, if not significant, that many of the manuscripts of the works on logic including commentaries on some of them have been recovered from Kashmir and the neighbouring areas. This indicates that during the period under consideration both Śaivism and Buddhism existed side by side in Kashmir, at least for sometime i.e., until the theories propounded by various writers on Kashmir Śaivism outshone those of Buddhist and other non-vedic philosophers.

PART 3—OTHER PHILOSOPHERS OF KASHMIR

Besides the Śaivite and non-vedic philosophers, there are few others who wrote on other systems of philosophy also. A brief account of them with their works is given below.

1—BHĀSARVAJÑA (950-1000 A. D.)

Bhāsarvajña is a writer who has dropped the 'Prameya' portion of the Nyāya system. He was a brahmin by birth. But nothing is known about the age in which he lived and the country to which he belonged. Probably he was a Kashmirian as his name which is peculiar bears a close resemblance to those of Sarvajñamitra and Sarvajñadeva who lived in Kashmir during the 8th and the 11th centuries A. D. respectively. He was the only brahmin who seems to have imbibed the influence of Buddhist and Jain Logicians. His date may be approximately placed in the second half of the 10th century A. D. He is, often, identified with Bhāsvāmī. This may not be correct as the latter was a native of Gujarat and his date is known to be 7th century A. D.

Bhāsarvajña is the celebrated author of Nyāyasāra which is his principal work. He is mentioned by the Jain sages Naladhārī Rājaśekhara (1348 A. D.)¹ and Guṇaratna (1409 A. D.).² The Nyāyasāra occupies a remarkable position in the history of Indian logic. Its opening verse is an invocation to God Śiva.³ This

- 1) भासर्वज्ञो न्यायसारतर्कसूत्रविधायकः ।
न्यायसाराभिधे तर्के टीकाश्राद्धादश स्फुटाः ॥
- 2) भासर्वज्ञप्रणीते न्यायसारेऽष्टादश टीकाः ।
तासु मुख्या टीका न्यायभूषणारूपा न्यायकलिना जयन्तरचिता
न्यायकुसुमञ्जलितर्कश्च ॥
- 3) प्रणम्य शम्भुं जगतः पतिं परं समस्ततत्त्वार्थविदं स्वभावतः ।
शिशुप्रबोधनाय मयाभिधान्यते प्रमाणतद्भेदतदन्यलक्षणम्

indicates that the author was a Śaivite. Even the statement occurring at the end of the work supports this inference.¹ The special feature of the work is that the author has attempted in it to reconstruct brahminic logic on the model of Buddhistic logic. This may indicate that the work was written at a time when Brahminism and Buddhism were flourishing side by side in Kashmir. There is a reference in this work² to the controversy regarding the fallacy of the 'non-erroneous contradiction' (विरुद्धाव्यभिचारि) mentioned by Dharmakīrti.³

Bhāsarvajña also undertook to treat in his work only of Pramāṇa which he divided into three parts, namely (1) Pratyakṣa (perception), (2) Anumāna (inference) and (3) Āgama (verbal testimony). This threefold division furnished a contrast to the theory propounded by Akṣapāla who recognises a fourth part also namely Upamāna (comparison). This brought Bhāsarvajña into close contact with the Sāṅkhyās and the Jains who admitted only three kinds of Pramāṇa but distinguished him from the Buddhists who admitted only of two classes namely perception and inference. He divided Anumāna into two classes namely Svārtha and Parārtha. Finally

- 1) तस्माच्छिवदर्शनान्मोक्ष इति ॥
- 2) एकत्र तुल्यलक्षणविरुद्धहेतुद्वयोपनिपातो विरुद्धाव्यभिचारीत्येके ।
यथा नित्यमाकाशममूर्तद्रव्यत्वादात्मवदिति । एवमनित्यमाकाश-
मस्मदादिबाह्येन्द्रियग्रासविशेषगुणाधारत्वाद् घटवत् ॥
- 3) विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी अपि संशयहेतुरुक्तः ।

(Nyāyasāra)

स इह कस्मान्नोक्तोऽनुमानविषयेऽसंभवाद् ॥

(N. B. Ed. by Peterson p. 115)

mokṣa is described by him as the soul's attainment of eternal pleasure.

The general scheme laid down in the Nyāyasāra can be exhibited in the form of a table shown below :—

Pramāṇa			
1			
1	1		1
Pratyakṣa	Anumāna	Āgama	
1	1		
1	1	1	1
Yogi	Laukika	Svārtha	Parārtha
1	1	1	1
1	Sadvidyā	Avayava	
1			
1	1		
Yukta	Ayukta		
1			
1	1		
Ārṣa	Anārṣa		

The sixteen categories of logic are (1) Pramāṇa (2) Prameya (3) Saṁśaya (4) Viparyaya (5) Siddhānta (6) Dṛṣṭānta (7) Avayava (8) Tarka (9) Vāda (10) Nirṇaya (11) Jalpa (12) Vitanda (13) Chala (14) Hetvābhāsa (15) Jāti and (16) Nigrahasthāna. All these categories can be merged in the items shown in the table shown above. For instance the first four categories are included in Pramāṇa and the

ten categories commencing from the 7th are included in Avayava. Only the 5th and the 6th are left out. Even these can be included in Avayava under Udāharaṇa. The divisions of the pramāṇa are then defined with their sub-divisions such as Vyāpti, Sapakṣa and Vipakṣa. The Hetvābhāsa or the fallacy of reason is elaborately dealt with under various kinds namely Asiddha (unproved), Viruddha (contradictory), Anaikāntika (uncertain) and Anadhyavasita (non-conclusive) and so on. The various sub-divisions under each one of these kinds are then explained in detail. The fallacies of affirmative and negative examples and also other fallacies of examples are dealt with in detail with a large number of illustrations.

Verbal testimony, according to him, is the means of knowing things accurately through indicative signs. The means of right knowledge are explained. He is of the opinion that all other so-called means are included in them. For instance Arthāpatti (presumption) and Sambhava (probability) are included in inference; Aitihya (rumour) and Ceṣṭā (muscular movements) are included in verbal testimony and Abhāva (non-existence) can be included in any of the three kinds according to circumstances. Finally the soul is stated to be of two kinds namely Aparātmā (individual soul) and Parātmā (Supreme Soul). In the state of Mokṣa the individual soul, freed from misery, enjoys eternal bliss.

The Nyāyasāra contains extracts from various Upaniṣads, the Mahābhārata and the Bhagavadgītā. For instance, there are two quotations, one from the

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad¹ and the other from the Muṇḍakopaniṣad.² There is also a quotation from the Mahābhārata³ and two quotations from the Śvetāśvataraopaniṣad.⁴ Vācaspatimiśra, the author of Tattvakaumudī is also quoted.⁵ Quotations from the Bhāgavadgīta are also found in it.⁶

There are altogether eighteen commentaries on the Nyāyasāra as could be gathered from the references to them by the Jain sages. Of them the Nyāyabhūṣaṇa is, perhaps, the oldest and most frequently quoted commentary. But neither the text of the commentary nor the name of the author is known. The commentary next to it in importance and popularity is the Nyāyakalikā by Jayanta who is also a Kashmirian. Even this commentary is not available. Nyāyakusumāñjalitarka is the third commentary on the Nyāyasāra. But unfortunately even that is not available. The other commentaries are Nyāyasāratikā by Vijayasimhagaṇi, Nyāyasāratikā by Jayatīrtha, Nyāyasāravicāra by Bhaṭṭa

- 1) आत्मा वारे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यश्चेति । (B. U. II. 4-5)
- 2) द्वे ब्रह्मणी वेदितव्ये परं चापरं चेति । (M.U.I. 1-4) N. S. p. 35
- 3) आत्मनो वै शरीराणि बहूनि मनुजेश्वर ।
प्राप्य योगबलं कुर्याद्यश्च कृत्स्नां महीं चरेत् ॥
मुञ्जीत विषयान् कैश्चित् कैश्चिदुग्रं तपश्चरेत् ।
संहरेच्च पुनस्तानि सूर्यस्तेजोगणानिव ॥ (N. S. p. 37)
- 4) यदा चर्मवदाकाशं वेष्टयिष्यन्ति मानवाः ।
तदा शिवमविज्ञाय दुःस्वप्नान्तो भविष्यति ॥ (Sv. U. VI. XX)
- 5) न्यायसूचीनिबन्धोऽसौ अकारि सुधियां मुदे ।
श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण वरवंकवसुवत्सरे ॥
- 6) सुखमात्यन्तिकं यत्तद् बुद्धिग्राह्यमतीन्द्रियम् ॥ (N. S. p. 40)

Rāghava and Nyāyatātparyadīpikā by Jayasimhasūri, a Jain scholar. The last among the important and popular commentaries is the Nyāyasārapadapañjikā of Vāsudeva. A manuscript of this commentary from Kashmir is available. The invocatory verse in it contains the name of the author and his work.¹

2—BHĀSKARA (1000–1050 A. D.)

Bhāskara, son of Divākara and the fourth disciple in descent from Kallaṭa is, as we have already seen, the famous writer on Kashmir Śaivism who has written the Śivasūtravārtika. It has also been mentioned before that his date is approximately the first part of the 11th century A. D.² He has also written two great works on Indian philosophy namely Mīmāṃsāsaṅgrahakaumudī and Padyāmṛtasopāna.³

3—BHĀRATĪTĪRTHA (date not known)

Sufficient evidence is not available to say whether Bhāratīrtha is a Kashmirian except the fact that he is mentioned as such by Sri Siddhesvara Sastry Chitrav. The name of his work on Hindu Philosophy is given there as Vedāntādhikaraṇamālā.⁴

1) देवदेवमभिव्यक्तं भाम्बरं योगिवृन्ददृष्टयैकमन्दिरम् ।
वासुदेवविदुषा विच्यते न्यायसारपदपञ्जिका मया ॥

2) Cf. pp. 381–382

3) M. C. K. p. 585.

4) M. C. K. p. 583.

4—ŚĀBARASVĀMĪ (date not known)

Śābarasvāmī is the son of Dīptisvāmī. Judging by the name it may be stated that he was a Kashmirian by birth as such names are very common in Kashmir. Whether the author of Śābarabhāṣya, the celebrated commentary on the Pūrvamīmāṃsā which is the most authoritative work, is the same as this Śābarasvāmī of Kashmir is still an undecided and controversial problem. Dr. Ganganath Jha has indicated that he is partially inclined to assign him to Kashmir on the following grounds :— “ If Kumārila’s remarks under sūtra 2-3-3 are relied upon Śābara would appear to be more conversant with the North than with the South and sūtra 10-6-43 (दीर्घैः केशैः शोभनो देवदत्तः) may be taken as indicating greater familiarity with the extreme North where long hair was worn. Did he belong to Kashmir or to the further West-Takṣaśilā ? ”¹ It can be seen from the above quotation that, for want of sufficient data and conclusive evidence, the learned Doctor has ended his arguments with a significant interrogation. Tradition, however, describes him as a learned brahmin who had the good fortune of being the father of six illustrious sons all of whom are well-known in the Literary History of India.²

- 1) Śābarabhāṣya (English Translation) G. O. S.

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- 2) ब्राह्मण्यामभवद्ब्राह्मिहिरो ज्योतिर्विदामग्रणीः

राजा भर्तृहरिश्च विक्रमनृपः क्षत्रात्मजायामभूत् ।

वैश्यायां हरिचन्द्रवैद्यतिलको जातश्च शंकुः कृती

शूद्रायामपरः षडेव शबरस्वामिद्विजस्यात्मजाः ॥ (M.C.K. p. 754)

In conclusion, it can be seen that Kashmir has contributed a fairly large share to Philosophy also. Besides presenting to the world a new system of philosophy namely, Kashmir Śaivism based on the broad principles of Advaitavedānta, Kashmir has produced writers on other systems of philosophy also like Nyāya, Mimāṃsā and Yoga. There is thus a huge mass of literature on Kashmir Śaivism which is gradually being brought to light by the Research Department of Kashmir and an equally huge mass written by Non-Vedic (Hetrodox) philosophers in the form of commentaries on the works of Dharmakīrti and others which exist only in translation in the Tibetan language. Attempts are being made in various quarters either to unearth and trace the Sanskrit originals or to retranslate the Tibetan translation into Sanskrit so that there may be a wider scope for scholars to gather what is contained in these works. There are as many as twenty-seven writers on Kashmir Śaivism including Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja, eight non-vedic (hetodox) philosophers including Buddhists and Jains and a few writers on other systems of philosophy. On the whole it may be stated that a new and novel system of philosophy with a utilitarian value to the common man has been presented by Kashmir in the form of Kashmir Śaivism in addition to a few thought-provoking writings on other systems of philosophy.

CHAPTER — FIVE

TĀNTRIC WORKS OF KASHMIR

CHAPTER — V

TĀNTRIC WORKS OF KASHMIR

Analysis

Preliminary — The Origin of Tāntric Works — and
Historical Review — General Characteristics of Tāntric
Works — Saundaryalaharī of Śrī Saṅkara — Śrīvidyā —
Śrīcakra and its significance in Tantra Philosophy — The
Part played by Bījākṣaras and Yantras — Principal
Writers of Kashmir on Tāntric system of Philosophy —
Abhinavagupta — Śivopādhyāya — Puṇyānandanātha —
Śrī Vidyāraṇyayati — Concluding Remarks.

CHAPTER — FIVE

TĀNTRIC WORKS OF KASHMIR

A brief account of the essential doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism and a review of the Philosophical writings on it both in the shape of commentaries and original works have been given in the previous chapter. An attempt will now be made to present a short account of the Tāntric Works of Kashmir in this chapter, as it has already been pointed out that a form of Śakti worship was prevalent in Kashmir.¹ Tāntric Sytem of Philosophy and Śakti worship seem to be closely associated with each other. This system of philosophy appears to have been formulated purely for the benefit of the common man to whom the abstractness of God is of very little use. Much stress is laid on the practical aspect of God which is of utmost importance in the world of his experience. The worship of the Deity in the female form is one of the special features in this system of philosophy and literature. Just as mantra plays a prominent part in the Vedas, so also the yantra is of utmost importance in the Tantra Literature.

A brief historical review leading to the origin of Tāntric Works in Sanskrit may not be cut of place at this juncture. Originally the Āgamas are supposed to have consisted of nine crores of verses and Bhairava knew them all. This number gradually decreased to one crore

1) Cf. pp. 321 and 323.

each in the following descending order namely Bhairava, Bhairavī, Svacchanda, Lākula, Gahaneśa, Abjaja, Śakra and Guru. The last person in the list namely Guru taught the portion known to him to his disciples Dakṣa, Samvarta, Vāmana, Bhārgava, Bali, Vinatābhū and Vasukumāra. Rāvaṇa took one half from his teacher Śakra which was partly handed down to his brother Vibhiṣaṇa who, in turn, taught it to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Siddhas, Dānavas, Guhyakas and Yogins. This is, in brief, the orthodox history as given by Abhinavagupta.¹

Before the advent of Kashmir Śaivism the religious trend of Kashmir was carried by a traditional faith and had no literature of its own at the time of the advent of Buddhism during the reign of Emperor Aśoka in India (273-232 B. C.). During the time of Kaṇiṣka there was a struggle between Buddhism and Śaivism. The religion that came by tradition was systematised by Caṇḍradeva, a pious brahmin ascetic. After this there seems to have been a lull in the progress of the history of the local faith. Perhaps Buddha was also accepted as one of its Gods. This state of affairs did not continue for a long time. Soon came the decline of Buddhism. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa shook its roots. Śrī Saṅkarācārya visited Kashmir after giving a final blow to Buddhism in the rest of India.² His Tāntric philosophy influenced the Trika system that existed there so much that his conception of the ultimate reality is almost identical with

1) T. A. Ahn. 35.

2) एवं प्रकारैः कलिकल्मषधनैः शिवावतारस्य शिवैश्चरित्रैः ।
द्वान्निशदत्युज्ज्वलकीर्तिशोः समा व्यतीयुः किल शङ्करस्य ॥

that of the Pratyabhijñā as is clear from a few of the initial verses in his famous prayer-poem Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra.¹ It is also stated in the biography of Śaṅkara by Mādhava that he ascended the Sarvajñapīṭha of Kashmir and later on visited other sacred places in the Himālayas before he returned to Kailāsa in his human body.² Śrī Śaṅkara did believe in the Monistic Tantras which were sixty-four in number.³ This is clear from a reference to that number in his Saundaryalaharī.⁴ He

- 1) विश्वं दर्पणदृश्यमाननगरीतुल्यं निजान्तर्गतं
 पश्यन्नात्मनि मायया बहिरिवोद्भूतं यथा निद्रया ।
 यः साक्षात्कुर्वते प्रबोधसमये स्वात्मानमेषा द्वयं
 तस्मै श्रीगुरुमूर्तये नम इदं श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये ॥
 बोजस्यान्तरिवांकुरो जगदिदं प्राङ्निर्विकल्पं पुनः
 मायाकल्पितदेशकालकलनावैचित्र्यचित्रीकृतम् ।
 मायावीव विजृम्भयत्यपि महायोगीव यः स्वेच्छया
 तस्मै श्रीगुरुमूर्तये नम इदं श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये ॥
 (D. S. vv. 1 and 2)

- 2) इन्द्रोपेन्द्रप्रधानैस्त्रिदशपरिवृटैः स्तूयमानः प्रसूनैः
 दिव्यैरभ्यर्च्यमानः सरसिहभुवा दत्तहस्तावलम्बः ।
 आरुह्योक्षाणमभ्यं प्रकटितसुजटाजूटचन्द्रावतंसः
 शृण्वन्नालीकशब्दे समुदितमृषिभिर्धाम नैजं प्रतस्थे ॥
 (S. Dig. v. 107)

- 3) Śrī Śaṅkara was not only an adept but also an authorised pontiff in the order of Śrīvidyā-tantra. An account referring to this will appear in its proper place.

- 4) चतुषष्टया तन्त्रैः सकलमभिसन्धाय भुवनं
 स्थितस्तत्तत्सिद्धिप्रसवपरतन्त्रैः पशुपतिः ।
 पुनस्त्वन्निर्वन्धादखिलपुरुषार्थैकघटना-
 स्वतन्त्रं ते तन्त्रं क्षितितलमवातीतरदिदम् ॥
 (S. L. v. 31)

established the Śrīcakra worship in some of the Maṭhas which he founded. Thus the visit of Śrī Śaṅkara purged the local faith of its Buddhistic elements and strengthened the position of the new Tāntric creed which was formed in Kashmir.

The sixty-four Tantras that are referred to in the previous paragraph are the Āgamas that treat of Black-magic. The names of all these Tantras are mentioned in the Rudrayāmala, an ancient work on Tantra. It is stated that they are intended for the benefit of various kinds of selfish people for the attainment of material pleasures in life. The method of worship described in them is to be followed by Sūdras and people of cross and mixed parentage. The names of these Tantras are also quoted in the commentary on the Saundaryalaharī¹

1) चतुषष्टितन्त्राणि चतुःशत्याम्—

चतुःषष्टिश्च तन्त्राणि मातृणामुत्तमानि च ।

महामायाशम्बरं च योगिनीजालशम्बरम् ॥

तत्त्वशम्बरकं चैव भैरवाष्टकमेव च ।

बहुरूपाष्टकं चैव यमलाष्टकमेव च ॥

चन्द्रज्ञानं मालिनी च महासंमोहनं तथा ।

वामजुष्यं महादेवं वातुलं वातुलोत्तरम् ॥

हृद्भेदं तन्त्रभेदं च गुलतन्त्रं च कामिकम् ।

कलावादं कलासारं तथान्यत्कुण्डिकामतम् ॥

मतोत्तरं च वीणाख्यं त्रोटलं त्रोटलोत्तरम् ।

पञ्चामृतं रूपभेदं भूतोद्गमरमेव च ॥

कुलसारं कुलोद्दीप्तं कुलचूडामणिस्तथा ।

सर्वज्ञानोत्तरं चैव महाकालीमतं तथा ॥

अरुणेशं मोदिनीशं विकुण्ठेश्वरमेव च ।

पूर्वपश्चिमदक्षं च उत्तरं च निरुत्तरम् ॥

विमलं विमलोत्थं च देवीमतमतःपरम् ॥ (S. L. Comm. p. 137)

In addition to these there are eight tantras known as चन्द्रकलाविद्याष्टकम् which can be followed by the twice-born and the Sūdras. Their names are also furnished in the commentary referred to above.¹ There is also the Subhāgamapancaka in which the path prescribed is in accordance with that in the Vedas. The path followed by Sūdras is called Vāmācāra and that by the twice-born, Dakṣiṇācāra.

The general characteristics of all Tāntric works is the treatment of rituals connected with Vāmācāra. The ritual and mantra are mainly dealt with, though here and there, in all such works. Still there occur glimpses of philosophical doctrines relating to sound-creation. A detailed account of Japa, Bija, Yantra, Mudrā, Dīkṣā, the Devatās of worship etc., are the distinguishing marks of a tāntric ritual. Because of this the Tāntric works are often intensely criticised as being over-burdened with ritual. But still the fundamentals of the Tantra śāstra, if understood in the proper perspective, are not without their value to the student of philosophy. Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer has rightly observed that "The fundamentals of the Tantra śāstra in their catholicity, their recognition of the place of women in religion and their freedom from all personal, communal or race restrictions, enjoy a special position among the extensively ramified aspects of India's speculation."²

- 1) चन्द्रकलाविद्याष्टकम् - श्रीविद्याप्रतिपादकं तन्त्रम् - चन्द्रकला -
ज्योत्स्नावती कुलार्णवः - कुलेश्वरी - भुवनेश्वरी - बार्हस्पत्यं -
दुर्वा मृतं चेति ॥ (Ibid p. 140)
- 2) S. L. (with three commentaries and English translation) Foreword p. xv.

It is really astonishing to find that there is a huge mass of literature in Sanskrit on the Tantra Śāstra. The world at large was almost in the dark till very recently as to the material that was contained in the various works on Tantra. People all over the world were in doubt whether there was any useful matter in these tāntric works from the point of view of philosophy. It is all the more surprising to find that Justice Sir John Woodroffe and his wife have done yeoman service in the field of Tantra by translating into English as many important works as they could lay their hands upon, incidentally pointing out their philosophical and practical value to the scholar and to the common man alike. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's observations on the origin, nature and definition of Tantras are very significant and pay a tribute to Sir John Woodroffe (whose pen-name is Arthur Avalon) who has spared no pains in bringing to light many Tāntric texts. They are as follows :— "Gradually the worship of Śakti as the world-mother displaced Vedic ritualism. The literature relating to this phase of Hinduism is called tantra. It is famous for its reverence for women who are regarded as forms of the Divine Mother.¹ ... the tantras, which are in the form of dialogues between Śiva and Devī, themselves belong to the 7th century and onwards. Thanks to the loving labours of Sir John Woodroffe, the chief of the available tantra texts are now published."²

- 1) विद्याः समस्तास्तव देवि मेदाः ।
त्रियः समस्ता सकला जगत्सु ॥ (Saptaśatī XI v. 5)
- 2) I. P. Vol. II. pp. 734-735.

Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer's remarks in this behalf are also equally significant and worthy of perusal. They run as follows :— " It was reserved for an Englishman, Arthur Avalon (the pen-name of Justice Sir John Woodroffe) noted for the universality of his culture and his judicial balance, to appraise the tantras at their true value. In his monumental work 'the Garland of Letters' he has familiarised the Indian Public with the meaning and significance of both the esoteric and objective aspects of t̃āntric thought and meditation developed through tantras and yantras but culminating in an attainment not intrinsically different from the ideals of the Rājayoga. It is not easy for a mind attuned to other systems of Philosophy, Eastern or Western, to comprehend or adequately to appreciate the value of the T̃āntric system; but as has been wisely pointed out, that system is one of the most perfect adaptations to all stages of an evolving humanity of graduated rituals and observances ultimately leading to abstract realisation and Ānanda."¹ The value of the Tantra śāstra as embodying a system of philosophy cannot be better expressed than in the words of the learned Doctor.

It has already been stated before that Saundaryalahari was composed by Śrī Śaṅkara when he came to Kashmir with a view to proclaim his Advaitavāda. To-day it occupies a unique place among T̃āntric works. It is said to contain the quintessence of the Samayācāra. The very first verse of the poem describes in clear terms

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- 1) S. L. (with three commentaries and English Translation) Foreword p.p. xv and xvi.

the glory of Śakti.¹ In the eleventh verse a detailed description of the Śrīcakra is given.² In the 32nd verse the significance of the Pancadaśākṣarī mantra is elaborately explained.³ These are quoted as instances to show the importance of Saundaryalaharī as a principal Tāntric work.

Śrīvidyā seems to have originated in Kashmir. There appears to be some significance attached to the name Śrīnagara, the capital city of Kashmir. Tradition has it that even the plan of the city is almost similar to that of the Śrīcakra. Every mantra (verse) in the Saundaryalaharī has a Bijākṣara (root-letter), a Yantra (angular figure), a course of worship of the Yantra and Japa of the mantra at a prescribed rate per day. All these details are furnished in the commentaries with authorities therefor. Every mantra is capable of being utilised in the right way (as white magic) to gain spiritual knowledge or in the wrong-selfish way (as black

- 1) शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुं
न चेदेवं देवो न खलु कुशलः सन्दिदुमपि ।
अतस्त्वामाराध्यां हरिहरविरिंचादिभिरपि
प्रणनुं स्तोतुं वा कथमकृतपुण्यः प्रभवति ॥ (S. L. v. 1)
- 2) चतुर्भिः श्रीकण्ठैः शिवयुवतिभिः पञ्चभिरपि
प्रभिन्नाभि शंभोर्नवभिरपि मूलप्रकृतिभिः ।
त्रयश्चत्वारिंशदुसुदलकलात्रिवलय-
त्रिरेखाभिः सार्धं तव चरणकोणः परिगताः ॥ (Ibid v. 11)
- 3) शिवः शक्तिः कामः क्षितिरथ रविः शोतकिरणः
स्मरो हंसः शक्रस्तदनु च परामारहरयः ।
अमो दृष्टेखाभिस्त्रिभिरवसानेषु घटिताः
भजन्ते वर्णास्ते तव जननि नामावयवताम् ॥ (Ibid v. 32)

magic) to gain selfish ends such as wealth, prosperity, rulership and control over others. For instance the first verse has ह्रीं for its Bijākṣara or the mystic syllable and the Yantra is a square with four loops one at each corner. The root letter should be written on a gold plate of the given shape and the verse should be repeated one thousand times a day for twelve continuous days for realising one's own desires. The plate with the letter inscribed in it should be placed in a sacred spot and worshipped with all kinds of flowers. A few diagrams or angular figures with the corresponding Bijākṣara and the process of Japa including the number of days and the rate at which it has to be uttered etc., are furnished in Appendix VII of this Book to serve as specimens and to give an idea of what is generally contained in the works on the Tantra śāstra.

The Śrīcakra is said to be the abode of Goddess Divine Mother Śakti. Its characteristics are clearly defined by the ancient sages.¹ According to it, it consists of a red point in the centre surrounded by an inverted white triangle which is surrounded by eight red triangles, ten blue triangles, ten red triangles, fourteen blue triangles, eight-petalled red lotus, sixteen-petalled blue lotus and a yellow surround in order.² Each one of

1) श्रीचक्रलक्षणं तूक्तमाचार्यैः—

विन्दुत्रिकोणवसुकोणदशारयुग्म-

मन्वश्रनागदलसंयुतषोडशारम् ।

वृत्तत्रयं च धरणीसदनत्रयं च

श्रीचक्रमेतदुदितं परदेवतायाः ॥ (S. L. Comm. p. 93)

2) Please see the Diagram of Śrīcakra given at the beginning.

these geometrical figures represents a certain line of thought indicative of the benefit that can be derived from it. This can be explained in the form of a table furnished below.—

Sl. No.	The name of the Geometrical figure	Its significance
1)	Central Red Point (बिन्दु)	Sarvānādamaya
2)	White Triangle inverted (त्रिकोण)	Sarvasiddhiprada
3)	Eight red Triangles (वसुकोण)	Sarvarogahara
4)	Ten Blue Triangles (दशर)	Sarvarakṣākara
5)	Ten Red triangles (युग्म)	Sarvārthasādhaka
6)	Fourteen Blue Triangles (मन्वथ्र)	Sarvasaubhāgyadāyaka
7)	Eight-Petalled red Lotus (नागदल)	Sarvasaṅkṣobhana
8)	Sixteen-Petalled Blue Lotus (षोडशारम्)	Sarvāśāparipūraka
9)	Yellow surround (वृत्तत्रयं च धरणीसदनत्रयं)	Trailokyamohana

According to the definition given in the Saundaryalaharī it consists of nine triangles four of Śiva and five of Śakti together with eight petals, sixteen leaves, three roundings and three walls. There are altogether forty-four angles in it. In the opinion of the author of 'Kāmika', a Mantra Śāstra, the human body is taken to

be the Śrīcakra and the several angles of the Cakra represent certain parts of the body as per the details furnished below :

Five Śakti Angles.

- | | |
|----------|-------------|
| 1) Skin | त्वक् |
| 2) Blood | असृक् |
| 3) Flesh | ... मांस |
| 4) Lymph | मेदस् |
| 5) Bone | ... अस्थि |

Four Śiva Angles

- | | |
|-----------------|------------|
| 6) Marrow | ... मज्जा |
| 7) Semen | शुक्र |
| 8) Vital energy | प्राण |
| 9) Soul | |

These angles also represent the Microcosm and the details thereof are furnished below :

Śakti's Angles.

Five Bhūtas, Five Tanmātras
Five Jñānendriyas, Five
Karmendriyas and Five
Prāṇas.

Śiva's Angles.

Māyā, Śuddhavidyā
Maheśvara and
Sadāśiva

The commentaries on the Saundaryalaharī give detailed instructions for engraving the Śrīcakra and quote Vedic authority in support of their statements.² There

- 1) S. L. (with commentaries and English translation)
p. 32.

- 2) अस्य श्रीचक्रस्य माहात्म्यं कथितं रुद्रयामले—

पृथ्व्यो नाम मुनयः सर्वे चक्रमुपाश्रिताः ।

सेवमानाश्चक्रविद्यां देवगन्धर्वपूजिताम् ॥

अग्नीषोमात्मकं चक्रमग्नीषोममयं जगत् ।

अमावन्तर्बभौ मानुरग्नीषोममयं स्मृतम् ॥

त्रिलण्डं मानुकाचक्रं सोमसूर्यानलात्मकम् ।

महालक्ष्म्याः पुरं चक्रं तत्रैवास्ते सदाशिवः ॥

(S. L. Comm. p. p. 63 and 84)

are three ways of designing the Śrīcakra namely Meru, Kailāsa and Bhū. Each of these designs varies from the other in the arrangement of the houses of deities and has a distinct form of worship. The identification with the sixteen Nityā Deities forms Meru ; with the eight Mātṛkā forms Kailāsa and with the eight Vāsini Deities forms Bhū. Taittirīyāranyaka states that the Ṛsis named Pṛśnis were worshipping the Śrīcakra and they attained success in the Yogic practice of leading the Kuṇḍalinī to the sahasrāra in the human body.¹ As to the number of angles in a full blown Śrīcakra there seems to be some difference of opinion. Some say that there are forty-four angles whereas some others are of the opinion that there are only forty-three.

Speaking of the myths and symbols in Indian Art and Civilisation Dr. Henrich Zimmer gives a glorious description of the Śrīcakra and what it really represents in the following manner :—“A more dynamic symbol—characteristically Indian in its rendition of growing or expanding form — is represented by the profoundly eloquent Śrīyantra, ‘Auspicious Yantra’, ‘Yantra above Yantras’. Though apparently no more than a geometrical device, this intricate linear composition is conceived and designed as a support to meditation—more precisely, to a concentrated visualisation and intimate inner experience of the polar play and logic — shattering paradox of eternity and time. But before its meaning can unfold and its effects begin to be experienced in the mind, the beholder must understand the exact relation-

1) महतामेतदीयां तां वदत्यारण्यकश्रुतिः ।

ship of its concise and compendious delineation to the basic principles of Oriental Metaphysics. This composition summarises in a single moment the whole sense of the Hindu world of myth and symbol."¹

A few Kashmirian philosophers including Abhinavagupta have written works on the various aspects of the Tāntric system of philosophy also. Those works will now be dealt with in as brief a manner as possible furnishing particulars of date, parentage etc., of the authors wherever they are available.

1—ABHINAVAGUPTA (980-1020 A. D.)

It has already been seen that Abhinavagupta is a well-known writer on Poetics and Kashmir Saivism. He has written learned commentaries on the Dhvaniśāstra and Nāṭyaśāstra. He stands unequalled as a critic and a commentator. The particulars about his date and parentage have already been furnished.² He has also written very useful works on the Tantrasāstra. He has written four works on the Tāntric system of philosophy namely (1) Tantrāloka (2) Tantrasāra (3) Tantrāvaṭa-dhānikā and (4) Tantroccaya. These works will be dealt with individually.

1) TANTRĀLOKA—This is the most voluminous of the works of Abhinavagupta discovered so far. It

1) Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilisation
(Ed. by J. Cambell p. 140)

2) Cf. pp. 46 to 50

deals exhaustively with all matters connected with the non-dualistic sixty-four Āgamas called the Tantras. It touches upon the ritualistic as well as philosophical topics. It is primarily concerned with the systematic presentation of the teachings of the Kula ; still it gives authoritative information on other matters connected with the Tāntric system. The statements made in it are not merely matters of opinion but are based on the authority of the Śaivāgama and also on the author's own experience.

It consists of thirty-seven chapters each of which is called an Āhnika. But only fourteen chapters have been published in the Kashmir Series together with the commentary of Jayaratha in eight volumes. Of those the first five chapters, the ninth and the thirteenth are of philosophical interest. The next four chapters successively deal with the four ways to final emancipation namely Anupāya, Sāmbhava, Śākta and Āṇava. The ninth is interesting because it deals with the thirty-six Tattvas of the Śaiva philosophy and the thirteenth gives an idea of the Śaiva theory on the doctrine of Karma. The main topics discussed in the Tantrāloka are the cause of bondage, knowledge, mokṣa, manifestation of the universe, ways to the realisation of the ultimate goal, rituals to be observed for attaining Siddhi and comparison of the Tattvas from Puruṣa to Pṛthvī with those of the Sāṅkhyas. The number of chapters in the Tantrāloka i. e., 37 has a significance attached to it as it corresponds to the number of Tattvas in Kashmir Śaivism including the additional Tattva namely Anuttara.

The Tantrāloka was probably written in the house of Mandra and at the combined request of Abhinavagupta's younger brother Manoratha, his student Mandra, his cousins and other devotees of Śiva. It commences with an invocation to Lord Śiva and his spouse, the Divine Mother of the universe.¹ Abhinavagupta then offers his respects to every one of his preceptors and the earlier writers on Kashmir Śaivism.² The purpose with which he undertook to write such a huge work as the

1) इष्टदेवतां शास्त्रकारः परामृशति —

विमलकलाश्रयाभिनवसृष्टिमहाजननी

भरिततनुश्च पञ्चमुखगुप्तरुचिर्जनकः ।

तदुभययामलस्फुरितभावविसर्गमय

हृदयमनुत्तरामृतकुलं मम संस्फुरतात् ॥

नौमि चित्रप्रतिमां देवीं परां भैरवयोगिनीम् ।

मातृमानप्रभेयांशशुलाम्बुजकृतास्पदाम् ॥

नौमि देवीं शरीरस्थां नृत्यतो भैरवाकृते ।

प्रावृण्मे वधनव्योमविशुक्ले वाविलासिनीम् ॥

2) जयति गुरुरेक एव श्रीश्री ऋटो भुवि प्रथितः ।

तदपरमूर्तिर्भगवान् भूतिराजश्च ॥

यः पूर्णानन्दविश्रान्तसर्वशास्त्रार्थपारगः ।

स श्रीचुखलको दिश्यादिष्टं मे गुरुसत्तमः ॥

जयताजगद्भृतिश्चमोऽसौ भगवत्या सह शम्भुनाथ एकः ।

यदुदीरितशासनांशुभिर्मै प्रकटोऽयं गहनोऽपि शास्त्रमार्गः ॥

त्रैयम्बिकाभिहितसन्ततिताम्रपर्णीसन्मौक्तिकप्रकरकान्तिविशेषभाजः ।

पूर्वे जयान्त गुरवो गुरुशास्त्रसिन्धु कल्लोऽकेलिकलनामलकर्णधाराः ॥

(T. A. I. Com.)

Tantrāloka is then mentioned.¹ The work itself is full of quotations from various Tāntric works written by ancient sages and is based on the authority of the Mālinīvijayatantra which is the most important of the three tantras Siddha, Nāmaka and Mālinī which together contain the principles and teachings of the Trika system of philosophy and the essence of all the 92 Āgamas including the sixty-four tantras belonging to the Advaita, Dvaitādvaita and Dvaita schools of Śaivism. The description of the three qualities Bheda, Bhedābheda and Abheda can be quoted as a very good example of the logical force with which Abhinavagupta discusses the subject matter.²

2) Tantrasāra—This is a summary of the Tantrāloka and is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XVII). It consists of twenty-two Āhnika and is written in elegant Sanskrit prose. Each Āhnika ends with a verse containing the gist of the discourse given in it. The first Āhnika deals with various kinds of highest knowledge while the second one indicates how by stability of

- 1) इत्यहं बहुशः सद्भिः शिष्यसन्नहचारिभिः ।
 अर्थितो रचये स्पष्टं पूर्णार्थं प्रक्रियाभिधाम् ॥
 श्रोमद्वनाथचरणाब्जयुगात्तदा श्रीमद्वारिकां त्रियुगलाद्गुस्तन्तिर्या ।
 बोधान्यपाशत्रिषुत्तदुपासनोत्थबोधो ज्वलोऽभिनवगुप्त इदं करोति ॥
 अभिनवगुप्तस्य कृतिः सेयं यस्योदिता गुरुगिराया ।
 त्रिभयनचरणसरोरुहचिन्तनलब्धप्रसिद्धिरिति ॥ (T. A. I. Com.)
- 2) पुमान् अशुद्धो भेदमयत्वात् । विद्या शुध्यमाना भेदाभेदमयत्वात् ।
 शुद्धा शक्तिः अभेदमयत्वात् ।
 प्रसङ्गदेति चेत्तस्माभिः संभवन्नयम् ।
 नास्माकं मानसाङ्गी लोको भिन्नचिदितः ॥ (Ibid v. 163)

meditation on the all-important Ātman, the individual self can realise its oneness with the supreme self. The third, fourth and the fifth Āhnikas deal with the three Upāyas for the attainment of the highest bliss. The sixth describes the Kalādhvā and the seventh explains the Tattvas and the manner of meditating upon each one of them. The eighth is concerned with the manner of contemplation on the Tattvas whereas the ninth narrates in detail the various forms in which they exist. The tenth describes the Pada, Mantra and Varāṇādhvās. The eleventh points out the necessity of the benevolence of Paramaśiva. The twelfth deals with Tīrthasnāna, the thirteenth to fifteenth Āhnikas deal with Dīkṣā, the sixteenth consists of the initiation of a dead man and the seventeenth explains the process of conversion to Śaivism without compulsion. The eighteenth Āhnika describes the method of becoming a preceptor, the nineteenth enumerates the causes for re-initiation and the methods thereof while the twentieth furnishes the religious rules for those who are initiated. The twenty-first Āhnika establishes that the Śaivāgama is an authority and the twenty-second describes in detail the Kulayajña or the special form of worship leading to the realisation of the highest form of reality. The purpose with which the work is written is clearly stated at the commencement of the work itself.¹ The name of the author is given in the concluding verse of the work.²

- 1) विततस्तन्त्रालोको विगाहितं नैव शक्यते सर्वैः ।
ऋषुवचनविरचितमिदं तु तन्त्रसारं ततः शृणुत ॥ (T. S. I. v. 2. p.2.)
- 2) काश्मीरकोऽभिनवगुप्तापदाभिधानः श्रीतन्त्रसारप्रकरोद्घुना क्रमेण ।
यत्तेन सर्वजन एव शिवं प्रयातु लोकोत्तरप्रसरशाम्भवंतन्त्रसारम् ॥
(T. S. p. 208)

3) *Tantrāvaṭadhānikā*—This is the next work of Abhinavagupta on the Tantra Śāstra. This is an excellent epitome of the main principles enunciated in the *Tantrāloka*. It is much briefer in content and form than the *Tantrasāra*. It is printed in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XXIV). Unlike the *Tantrasāra* it is written in simple verses composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre in three Āhnikas only. There are altogether ninety-nine verses in it. The first Āhnika contains thirty-seven verses, the second nineteen and the third forty-three. The authorship of the work is ascribed to Abhinavagupta by Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka* by such references as “यदुक्तमनेनैवान्यत्र”. The last verse of the work leaves no room for doubt in this behalf.¹

4) *Tantroccaya*—This is supposed to be another summary of the *Tantrāloka*. The introductory and the concluding verses of the work ascribe the authorship to Abhinavagupta; but the language and the style in which it is written give room for some doubt.

2—ŚIVOPĀDHYĀYA (1775–1800 A. D.)

Sivopādhyāya was perhaps a contemporary of Bhāskarakanṭha or slightly later than him. So his date has been approximately placed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century A. D. He has written a commentary on the *Vijñāna Bhairavatantra*. No other details are available either about him or his work.

1) एषामिन्द्रगुप्तेन रचिता तन्त्रधानिका ।

हृद्भूमौ यस्य रूढा स शिवकल्पमहीदः ॥ (T. D. III. v. 43)

3—PUNYĀNANDANĀTHA (date not known)

The parentage details of Puṇyānandanātha (also known as Puṇyānandācārya) are not available at present. No information is available even about the date and times in which he lived. The name of the work which is ascribed to him is Kāmakaḷāvilāsa. It is an ancient work on Śrīvidyā. It was first published by the Research Department of Jammu and Kashmir with the commentary in the Kashmir Series (Vol. XII) in the year 1918. Later on in 1921 Sir John Woodroffe published it with a fuller commentary by Sri Naṭanānandanātha with English translation. There are altogether 50 verses in it composed in praise of the Divine Mother. They deal with the main concepts of the Tāntric system of philosophy. The name of the author is found in the last verse of the poem.¹ He may be a Kashmirian. But nothing more than this is known either about him or his other works.

The abstractness of God is of very little use to the common man. It is only His practical aspect that matters to us in the world of our experience. His desire to create the world is called Kāma and it is in this sense that this word is used in the text. The desireful supreme entity is Kāmeśvara and his active desire is Kāmeśvarī. Speaking of the value of this book Sir John Woodroffe says as follows:— “The Kāmakaḷāvilāsa is of great value in Śrīvidyā because of its clear and succinct

1) उदितः पुण्यानन्दादिति कामकलाङ्गनाविलासोऽयम् ।

परमशिवभुजङ्गपाशकार्पितचित्ताय कल्पते नित्यम् ॥ (K. K. V. p. 50)

account, from the Hādi stand point, of the initial development of Śakti and of the great Śrīyantra and is now translated for the first time."¹

The main theme that is dealt with in this book is the importance of Devī worship in the Tantra Literature. In the Vedic and Tantra Literatures symbols in sound and in form have been prescribed to represent the Devatā (presiding Deity) of the mantra or the yantra as the case may be. Slightest variation in the utterance of the mantra or in the construction of the yantra might do great harm. So one has to be very careful in the observance of the procedure prescribed for meditating upon a particular Deity and uttering the mantra at the prescribed rate per day. In the Kāmakalāvīlāsa the Deity dealt with is Mahātripurasundarī. Her mantra is the Pañcadaśākṣarī and her yantra is the most sacred Śrīcakra. The intimate relationship that exists between the Devatā, her mantra and her yantra has been brought about in this book in several ways. The Devotee is asked to identify himself with them as a necessary step towards ultimate realisation.

Even the idol of Śrī Śāradā in Kashmir is installed on the Śrīcakra. It is stated to have been installed there for the first time by Śrī Śaṅkara. So Kashmir is even now stated to be the place where the Śrīvidyā was born.

VIDYĀRĀṆYAYATI (date not known)

Vidyārāṇyayati was the disciple of Pragalbhācārya. He is the author of a big Tāntric work by name

1) K. K. V. Preface p. xi.

Śrīvidyārṇava. This is a famous standard work on the Śāktatantra. It is published in the Kashmir Sanskrit Series in three volumes. It is, therefore, possible to suppose that the author of this work might be a Kashmirian or might have spent a number of years in and around Kashmir. The book elucidates all the doctrines of the Tantra in the light of Śrīvidyā or in the light of the Upāsanā of Śrīvidyā. There is also a good relation of the Guruśiṣyaparamparā of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya in it. The fact is corroborated by the Upāsanā Paddhatīś that prevail in different Śaṅkarapīṭhas. In some mutts the worship of the Śrīcakra forms an important part of the Upāsanā. Saundaryalaharī and Prapañcasāra are also Tāntric works ascribed to Śrī Śaṅkara. The Lalitātrīsatī Bhāṣya which also is ascribed to Śrī Śaṅkara is closely connected with the Tripurātantra (Śākta cult).

The Guruparamparā of Śrīvidyā is seen to consist of as many as seventy-two names and it is given as under:—
 Kapila, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Sanaka, Sanandana, Bhṛgu, Sanatsujāta, Vāmadeva, Nārada, Gautama, Śaunaka, Śakti, Mārkaṇḍeya, Kauśika, Parāśara, Śuka, Aṅgiras, Kaṇva, Jāvālī, Bharadbaja, Vedavyāsa, Īśāna, Ramaṇa, Kapardī, Bhūdhara, Subhaṭa, Jalaja, Bhūteśa, Parama, Vijaya, Maraṇa, Padmeśa, Subhaga, Viśuddha, Samara, Kaivalya, Gaṇeśvara, Śapatha, Vibudha, Yoga, Vijñāna, Anaṅga, Vibhrama, Dāmodara, Cidābhāsa, Cinmaya, Kalādhara, Viśveśvara, Mandāra, Tridaśa, Sāgara, Mṛḍa, Harṣa, Simha, Gaṇḍa, Vīra, Aghora, Dhruva, Divākara, Cakradhara, Prapatheśa, Caturbhuja, Ānandabhairava, Dhīra, Gauḍapāda, Pāvaka, Parācārya, Satyanidhi, Rāmacandra, Govinda, Padmapāda etc.

It is also stated in the book that Śrī Śaṅkara had both sanyāsi and gr̥hastha disciples. There were in all fourteen of them according to a verse occurring in it.¹ The names of the five sanyāsi disciples are as follows:— Padmapāda, Bodha, Gīrvāṇa, Ānandatīrtha, and Śaṅkara (of the same name as that of his master). There were nine gr̥hastha disciples to him and their names are furnished as under:— Sundara, Viṣṇuśarmā, Lakṣmaṇa, Mallikāṛjuna, Trivikrama, Śrīdhara, Kapardi, Keśava, and Dāmodara. The names of the disciples of each of the sanyāsi disciples of Śrī Śaṅkara are then furnished in order. Padmapāda, for instance had six disciples all of whom were sanyāsins. Their names are Maṇḍala, Pā-ripāṭhaka, Nirvāṇa, Gīrvāṇa, Cidānanda and Śivottama. Bodhācārya had many disciples some of whom were sanyāsins and some others house-holders who spread the teachings of their master in the whole of Kerala. But Gīrvāṇa had only one disciple by name Vidvadvīrvāṇa whose disciples were Vibudhendra, Sudhindra and Mantragīrvāṇa, some of whom were sanyāsins and others house-holders. But the disciples of Ānandatīrtha were all Gr̥hasthas. Śaṅkara's disciples were pontiffs of maṭhas and upamaṭhas.

Sundarācārya was the first among the Gr̥hastha disciples of Śrī Śaṅkara. He had three types of disciples namely house-holders, sanyāsins and pontiffs. Viṣṇuśarmā was the second among the gr̥hastha disciples of Śrī Śaṅkara. His chief disciple was Pragalbhācārya who was the Guru

1) शङ्कराचार्यशिष्याश्च चतुर्दश दृढव्रताः ।
देव्यात्मानो दृढात्मानः निग्रहानुग्रहक्षमाः ॥ (S. V. T. I. v. 60)

of Vidyāranyayati, the author of Śrīvidyārṇava. It is learnt from an account given in it that after he completed writing the book, Goddess Śrī appeared before him and offered varapradāna. He seems to have asked her that even if a person, without formal initiation in Śrīvidyā, read this book and performed the japa prescribed therein considering the book itself as his Guru, he should be blessed by her to derive Siddhi. The Goddess seems to have allowed this by saying तथास्तु and disappeared.

Another interesting account is also given in the book. It is as follows:— Lakṣmaṇācārya is described as a man endowed with mysterious powers. These are illustrated by a legend given in it. Once he seems to have gone to the court of a king by name Prauḍhadeva who honoured him in the court with an offering of a very costly and fine piece of cloth. Lakṣmaṇācārya returned to his house and threw the piece of cloth into the fire as an offering in sacrifice. On hearing this the king asked for his cloth. Lakṣmaṇācārya, through the power of his Siddhi which he had attained by the Upāsana of Śrīvidyā, returned the piece of cloth to the king. But at the same time the king was cursed by him. After this incident the Ācārya went away to the south. The king then seems to have repented for his misbehaviour and approached him with apologies. The Ācārya replied to him that the curse could not be totally redeemed and told him that he would have a son without being fortunate to enjoy the benefits of his association. As he had prophesied Prauḍhadeva passed away while his son was yet in the

womb, entrusting the responsibilities of his kingdom to Vidyāraṇya who seems to have planned (established) the city of Śrīvidyānagara (Śrīnagara which is perhaps its shortened form) after the pattern of Śrīcakra. Later on he transferred the administration of the kingdom to Ambadeva, son of Praudhadeva, when he came of age and went away to the forest to perform penance. It was then that Vidyāraṇya became a recluse or a yati and performed Upāsana which enabled him to write this big work called the Śrīvidyārṇavatāntra.

Of the remaining Gṛhastha disciples of Śrī Śaṅkara the following brief account can be gathered. The disciples of Mallikārjuna were in the Vindhya region. The disciples of Trivikrama were found in Purī (Jagannātha) and those of Śrīdhara were in Gauḍa (Bengal) and Mithila. While the disciples of Kapardī were in Kāśī, Ayodhya etc., nothing is known about the disciples of Keśava and Dāmodara. All this information is gathered from the first Śvāsa of Śrīvidyārṇavatāntra.¹

It can now be stated, in conclusion, that there was an ample scope for Tāntric system of philosophy also to develop in Kashmir because of Śakti worship that was prevalent there from very ancient times. Many Tāntric works might have been written by Kashmirians. But it has been possible to mention only a few of them in this chapter. These are seen to deal with Śrīvidyā and the Śrīcakra worship as it is a belief amongst scholars that Śrīvidyā originated in Kashmir and the Goddess of

1) S. V. T. I. vv. 52 to 97.

Learning was installed for the first time on the Śricakra in Kashmir by Śrī Saṅkara. Even the naming of the capital city of Kashmir as Srinagara is believed to be due to the origin of Śrīvidyā there. From Kashmir it seems to have spread to the other parts of the country.

Of the remaining Upanishadic disciples of Śrī Saṅkara the following brief account can be gathered. The disciples of Mallinārāyaṇa were in the Vindhya region. The disciples of Tīrttikāra were found in Puri (Jagannātha) and those of Śrīdhara were in Guṇḍa (Bengal) and Mithila. While the disciples of Kapardi were in Kāśī, Ayodhya etc., nothing is known about the disciples of Keśava and Dāmodara. All this information is gathered from the list Svād of Śrīvidyāpāvanātha. It can now be stated, in conclusion, that there was an ample scope for Tāntic system of philosophy also to develop in Kashmir because of Śākta worship that was prevalent there from very ancient times. Many Tāntic works which have been written by Kashmiris, though it has been possible to mention only a few of them in this chapter. These are seen to deal with Śrīvidyā and the Śrīcakra worship as is a belief amongst scholars that Śrīvidyā originated in Kashmir and the Goddess of

CHAPTER VIII

HISTORIANS OF KASHMIR

CHAPTER — VI

SECTION—III

HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY

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SECTION—III

Analysis

General remarks — Pre-Buddhistic Era — Part Played by Buddhism in the Cultural History of Kashmir — Hindu Rule in Kashmir — Muslim Rule — Tartar Devastations — Current Era — Modern Views on the History of India and Historians — Kṣemendra — Bilhaṇa — Kalhaṇa — Jonarāja — Śrīvara — Prājyabhaṭṭa — Śuka — Conclusion.

CHAPTER SIX

HISTORIANS OF KASHMIR

Dr. M.A. Stein, the celebrated translator of the Rājatarangīnī has observed as follows:—"Great are the changes which the last few decennia have brought over Kashmir, greater, perhaps than any which the country has experienced since the close of the Hindu Period. It is easy to foresee that much of what is of value to the Historical student will before long be destroyed or obliterated. It is time to collect as carefully as possible the materials still left for the study of old Kashmir and its earliest records."¹

This statement of the learned Doctor is of far-reaching consequences as it describes the exact state of affairs that exists in Kashmir to-day with reference to the Historical records that are available there and their value to the student of history. With this purpose in view, an attempt is made in this chapter to present, as briefly as possible, an account of the History of Kashmir from very early times and the contributions that Kashmir has made to History and their value at present.

As has already been stated in the general introduction Kashmir was renowned for many centuries as the fountain-head of art and culture in the East. It was

- 1) "A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir" (English Translation) Preface p. xxiv.

for a considerable length of time a flourishing university. Being situated at the cross-roads of the ancient caravan routes in Central Asia, Kashmir has been the meeting point of various cultures. Scholars and saints from all parts of the world gathered there to exchange ideas. In her extensive valleys Kashmir has harmoniously blended their myriad trends to produce the civilisation distinctive of her people and her heritage. Kashmir is more than a civilisation and an answer to man's eternal craving for scenic beauty and true knowledge which helps him to release himself from the bonds of worldly maladies.

Since the early dawn of history innumerable people, conquerors and missionaries, came and settled in Kashmir adopting it as their mother-land. They came individually and in groups. The Hindus, the Buddhists, the Huns, the Muslims, the Moghuls, the Pathans and the Sikhs all came and settled in this land one after the other in quick succession. Like the ocean receiving the tributes of many rivers, Kashmir has received the tributes of varied types of cultures.

Kashmir has a long troubled political history. Her annals divide themselves broadly into four periods namely (1) Pre-Buddhistic (2) Buddhistic (3) Hindu and (4) Muslim excluding the modern period. A brief account of the events that occurred in each one of these periods and their effect on the literary and cultural life of Kashmir will now be furnished.

The Pre-Buddhistic period was, perhaps, an age of pre-historic monsters probably representing the

wild tribes like the Nāgas and others. The earliest history is recorded in the Nīlamatapuraṇa, a detailed account of which is furnished elsewhere in this Book. According to this account Kashmir valley was originally a lake called Satisarasī inhabited by a monster Yaldeo (according to the information given in the Imperial Gazetteer of the World) who was driven out by a sage (perhaps Kaśyapa). This sage appears to have given his name to the country left by the subsidence of the waters of the lake as soon as the monster was expelled. Accordingly, the first inhabitants were the Indo-Aryans and the object of their worship was the Sun-God. After the birth of the valley in this manner Hindu Kings ruled over the land for over four thousand years. Rājā Dayākaraṇ was the first king in 2180 B. C. of an established dynasty. Kalhaṇa commences the history of Kashmir with the reign of Gonanda, from the year 1184 B. C., who ruled Kashmir 'of which dazzling Kailāsa is the smile and the tossing Gaṅgā is the scarf.' During this period of four thousand years Kalhaṇa mentions that as many as 21 dynasties came and went. He also refers to an earlier period of 1266 years during which time nearly 52 kings are stated to have ruled in Kashmir. But no details seem to have been available to him.

This was followed by the Buddhistic period which played a very important role in the cultural history of

- 1) पुरा सतीसरः कल्पारम्भात्प्रभृति भूरभूत् ।
कुक्षौ हिमाद्रेरणोभिः पूर्णा मन्वन्तराणि षट् ॥ (Raj. I. v. 25)
- 2) कश्मीरेन्द्रः स गोनन्दो वेल्हद्गङ्गादुकूलया ।
दिशा कैलासहासिन्या प्रतापी पर्युपास्यत ॥ (Ibid. v. 57)

Kashmir. King Aśoka who ruled India from 273 to 232 B. C. conquered it in 250 B. C. With him Buddhism came to the valley and the two religions Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side at the commencement. It was he who founded Śrīnagara and dedicated it to Goddess Lakṣmī. It stood at pandrethan about three miles from Śrīnagara near the 'Saṅkarācārya Hill. After Aśoka, came Zalūka, Huṣka, (Huviṣka) Juṣka and Kaṇiṣka who were all great builders of Vihāras. Buddhism found in Kashmir an asylum from which its influence radiated in all quarters. It was in Kashmir that the later developments in Buddhistic thought and philosophy received an elaborate treatment and influenced its socio-cultural pattern. During the time of Kaṇiṣka, Buddhism received special attention and began to spread its influence in various ways.

There were great teachers who taught religion and philosophy and at whose feet many pupils thronged from all parts of India. One of them was Saṅgabhadra or Vinayabhadra whose fame as a great teacher had spread far and wide. The power that he wielded was so great that even brahmin scholars seem to have become his students and later on converts to Buddhism. Prof. F. Maxmuller refers to Tārānath's History of Buddhism in the following manner :— "This is no doubt a very modern compilation and in many cases quite untrustworthy. Still it may come in as confirmatory evidence. Tārānātha flourished in 1608 when he was only thirty years of age. He tells that Vasubandhu was born one year after his brother Asaṅga had become a priest. Their father was a brahmin. Vasubandhu went to

Kāśmīra and became a pupil of Saṅgabhadra studying under him the Vibhāṣās, the śāstras of the eighteen schools, the six Tīrthya theories and other works. After returning to Magadha he at first rejected the doctrine propounded by his brother Asaṅga in the Yogakārya-bhūmi śāstra. But when his brother sent two of his pupils who recited the Akṣayamātrī sūtra and the Daśabhūmikā sūtra to Vasubandhu he became converted. He then became his brother's pupil and recited many works and was so learned that he could repeat five hundred sūtras besides forty-nine collections made by Ratnakūṭa, the Avatamsaka, Samayaratna etc. He became a Paṇḍita in Nalanda, travelled about in Gama and Obeisa and died in Nepal.

Many works, chiefly commentaries, are ascribed to him, his best known composition being the Abhidhāna-kośa which, with his commentary, he sent to Saṅgabhadra, his old teacher in Kāśmīra. ”¹

- 1) While referring to another Tibetan work, “The Life of Bhagavān Buddha” by Ratnadharmarāja which is more modern than the former, having been composed in 1734 A. D. (an abstract of which was published by Shiefner in 1848 A. D. in the Memoirs De L’Academie de St. Petersburg) the learned Professor observes as follows:— “Here in the last chapter it is stated that 400 years after the death of Buddha, Kaniṣka will be born, the king of Galandhara and will be taught by Arhat Sudarśana. During his reign a third collection of Buddhist sacred writings is to take place in Kāśmīra in the Kuṇḍalavana-

There was not merely a one-sided influence in Kashmir. Not only did foreign scholars from China, Russia, Tibet and Afghanistan visited Kashmir but also scholars from Kashmir went out even in those ancient days to those lands carrying with them material commodities and spiritual ideas. Buddhism passed to lands beyond the Indian border through Kashmir. A large number of Indo-Greek and Śaka coins have been recently discovered in Kashmir which indicate the Greek influence. Scholars who lived in Kashmir at the time when Greek influence was exerted there were Kātyāyana-putra, Aśvaghoṣa, Viśuddhasimha, Jinabandhu and Sūryadeva. The names of Kumārajīva (Tun-Shoo) (though young in years ripe in wisdom and virtue and one of the four sons of Buddhism) and prince Guṇavarman (who painted a jātaka picture in Canton and died in Nanking in 431 A. D.) should not be forgotten in this task of cultural transmission.

Kumārajīva was born in Kiuetse in the year 343 A. D. when Emperor Kangti of the Tsin Dynasty ruled over China. His grand-father came from India

vihāra there being assembled 500 Arhats under Pārśva and 500 Bodhisatvas under Vasumitra. The Tibetan Chronicler then adds that 900 years after the death of Buddha Ārya Asanga and Vasubandhu appeared. Vasubandhu was brought by Ārya Asaṅga to Tuṣita to see Maitreya. He had been a pupil of Vinayabhadra (Saṅgabhadra) in Kāśmīra and of Akṣayamatī in Nalanda.”

‘India What It Can Teach Us?’ page 303.

and settled down in Kiuetsse. His father Kumārayāna remained an Indian in his mode of life. He was honest, well-educated and charitable. He devoted himself to the propagation of Buddhism in China, the country of his adoption. He became a Buddhist monk giving up a high official post. He went to Tsing mountain and stayed in the Kiuetsse State. The chieftain of that State had a sister named Jivā aged twenty years who was an intelligent lady with a noble character. Kumārayāna married her and their son was Kumārajiva who became very famous in Chinese Buddhist history. At the age of seven he is said to have learnt Buddhist texts at the rate of a thousand verses per day. When he was nine years old his mother took him to Kashmir to meet the ancient Buddhist scholar Bandhudatta, brother of the Mahārāja who could write a thousand verses in a day. He studied for three years at his feet and learnt the madhyama āgama and the dirgha āgama which contain four million words. He was taken back at the age of twelve to Kiuetsse and was commanded by the Tartar Chief to translate sacred Buddhist texts obtained from India. He chanted the Abhidharma and Ekottara āgamas and was honoured by the king of Kashmir who requested him to preach the sūtras of the Pravartanadharmacakra there. Thus Kumārajiva was largely responsible for the spread of Buddhism in countries beyond India and Kashmir.¹

Prince Guṇavarman of Kashmir is said to have landed in Yavadvīpa (Sumatra) in the 5th century A. D.

1. 'Indo-Chinese Relations' by Dr. Chou Hsiang Kuang pp. 56 th 63.

and converted the Queen there to Buddhism and built many Vihāras. Kāśhmīri alphabet was adopted as a model for the Tibetan script. Many Sanskrit works on Astronomy were translated into Tibetan during the 7th century A. D. The initial fillip to Tibetan Literature was given by two Kashmiri Paṇḍits Ṭaḇuṭa and Gamuta.

It may, therefore, be stated here that even though Buddhism was in many respects a protest against Brahminism, it flourished for a long time in Kashmir by its side dragging into its fold many brahmin scholars and agreed with it on the Tantras and ultimately got itself reconciled to it. Even Kalhaṇa who is an avowed Śiva-Bhakta showed a partiality to Buddhism and this can be seen in some of the passages which occur in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. There appears to have been in those days, in Kashmir, a catholicity of taste and broad-mindedness to such an extent that princes endowed with equal zeal for stūpas, Vihāras and temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu alike. This kind of peaceful co-existence at last showed signs of breaking up. Nāgārjuna, the famous Buddhist but with little success. So long as there was voluntary conversion there was no cause for trouble. But real trouble arose when force was applied.

During this period many works in Sanskrit were translated into Tibetan and Chinese by Buddhist scholars who first put them into Pāli and later on into other languages. Though the original works have now been lost they exist only in translations in the languages of other countries and attempts are being made to reconstruct

them into Sanskrit. Several such reconstructions have already been made. Five centuries after Kaniṣka convened the Assembly of Buddhist monks, Kashmir was preponderantly a Śaivite province as is evidenced by the account of Hiuen Tsang (631 to 633 A. D.). He is supposed to have stayed in Kashmir for nearly two years. He has praised the glory of the land and virtue and scholarship of the Kashmir Paṇḍits. He was accommodated comfortably in the Jayendra Vihāra by Durlabha-Vardhana who was then the ruling king in Kashmir and who accorded him a royal reception. He studied, during his stay in Kashmir, the sūtras and the śāstras with the help of twenty scholars. Chinese embassies visited Kashmir even prior to his visit. One was in 541 A. D. A later account from On-Kong (759 A. D.) who came to Kashmir and lived there as a Buddha Bhikṣu also exists. All these instances go to show how Kashmir attracted scholars and saints from the earliest times as it is doing to-day. Even Śrī Śankara visited Kashmir and established a maṭha there installing the Goddess of Learning on the Śricakra as already stated.

Though Kashmir was ruled by Hindu kings from the beginning of its creation, the Hindu period can be stated to practically commence from 500 A. D., that is, after the decline of Buddhism. In 528 A. D. the Hun leader Mihirkula (which means cruel as death) laid waste the beautiful valley of Kashmir. He was followed by king Gopāditya whose reign was a pleasant contrast to that of his predecessor. He raised the brahmins to their original status and helped in the progress of Sanskrit

Literature and Hindu Philosophy. It was during this period that Sanskrit learning received an unprecedented impetus and progress considerably. Noble kings who were not only patrons of learning but also learned ruled the land. Great Poets, thinkers, politicians, philosophers and historians like Bilhana, Abhinavagupta, Kalhana and Ksemendra were born in Kashmir, wrote monumental works in Sanskrit and increased the wealth of literature substantially in all its branches. The time was very opportune for the growth of learning in and contributions to Sanskrit Literature by Kashmirians. Kashmir became not only the *Śāradāpīṭha* but also *Sarvjñapīṭha*. Many-sided contributions of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature occurred only during this period. It was then that scholars from other parts of India visited Kashmir to put their learning and wisdom to test. Bāṇa, the court-poet of king Harṣavardhana and Mayūra, his father-in-law, seem to have been sent to Kashmir to settle a literary dispute that arose between them as stated by Prof. Maxmuller.¹

Vikramāditya of Kashmir came to the throne in 592 A. D. and his successor Bālāditya might have been the contemporary of the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang. With him the Gonardiya dynasty came to an end. A new dynasty then began with Durlabhavardhana, the husband of Anaṅgalekhā. It is stated in the Chinese Historical records that an embassy was sent to king Tehen-to-o-pi-li in 731 A. D. This name has been identified with that of king Candrāpīḍa who ruled in

1) 'India What It Can Teach Us' page 330.

Kashmir at that time. It is interesting to note that Mutopi (the Chinese name for Muktāpīḍa) Ho-ho-to-molorng (the Chinese form for Mahāpadma lake), Po-lo-on-lo-po-lo (for Pravarapura) and Minassi-to (for Vitastā) were all very familiar names to the Chinese. Tārāpīḍa was succeeded by his brother Muktāpīḍa (also known as Lalitāditya) who acquired the supreme sovereignty of India. Several famous kings ruled in Kashmir from 500 A. D. and patronised a large number of poets who lived during their time. This state of affairs continued to exist until about the 12th century A. D. A brief account of a few of the most notable Hindu monarchs in whose times there was a substantial progress in art, architecture and literature in Kashmir is now furnished.

1) King Pravarasena II — (7th century A. D.)
It was during his time that Pravarapura (modern Śrīnagar) named after him was built. Bilhaṇa refers to it in glorious terms in his poem. The city stretched from Hariparbat to Śrī Saṅkarācārya Hill. The first boat-bridge was built in his time and was mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in his Memoirs as one of the places which he visited in Kashmir in the year 631 A. D.

2) Muktāpīḍa (Lalitāditya) — (699 to 736 A. D.).
He was the most celebrated of the kings who ruled in Kashmir. He established peace and order in the land in which he ruled. It was his ambition to conquer the whole of India. He realised his ambition partially because he conquered the whole of North India. It was he who defeated king Yaśovarman of Kāṇyakubja who

was the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja. He even went across the frontier through Afghanistan and invaded Central Asia. After 12 years of conquest he returned victorious through Tibet. He built Parihāsapura (Modern Shadipur) by destroying the former capital Pravarapura built by his predecessor. He also built the famous temple of Mārtaṇḍa (sun-god) which stands triumphant even to-day, though in ruins. Al-beruni, a Muslim historian also makes mention of this great Hindu celebrity in one of his works. Kalhaṇa calls him an emperor and gives a detailed account of his administration.¹ The king was also a poet of no mean order.

3) Avantivarman (855-884 A. D.) He was the next celebrated king of Kashmir. He was a staunch devotee of Viṣṇu and built many temples. He was a poet himself and patronised great poets like Ānandavardhana. He was very orthodox and aimed at pleasing the pious and the good. It was during his time that the famous engineer of Kashmir by name Suyya lived. The modern Sopore in Kashmir is the original Suyyapura called after him as it was he who was responsible for bringing the waters of the Jhelum in its neighbourhood. Kalhaṇa compares Avantivarman to the great king Māṇdhātā.²

4) Śaṅkaravarman (884-902 A. D.) He destroyed the old capital Parihāsapura (Paraspor) to enhance the prestige of his own town near Pattan.

1) Rāj. Canto IV.

2) Rāj. V. v. 122.

5) Queen Diddā (950–1003 A. D.) She was perhaps the last of the illustrious Hindu rulers of Kashmir. She successfully repulsed the invasion of Sultan Mohamed of Ghazni.

The administration of Kashmir then fell into the hands of the kings of the Lohara dynasty. This marked the end of peace and happiness in the country. Might became the order of the day. Dynasty after dynasty came into Power but none of them achieved consolidation. For over a century anarchy and chaos prevailed in Kashmir. In this confusion the Dāmaras “well-skilled in burning, plundering and fighting” came into power.¹ During the period 1295 to 1325 A. D., when Rājā Simhadeo was ruling in Kashmir, three notable persons came to his court. The first was Ranchen, the Tibetan prince who, being driven out by his uncle, took shelter under the king. The second person was Lankarchak, the ruler of Dārdistan. The third was Shah Mir, the grandson of Furshah, a saint from Swat. The king showered on them many benefits besides giving them shelter and comfort. They proved traitors and ultimately usurped the throne paving the way, as it were, for the advent of Muslim rule in Kashmir.

Kashmir was, thus, for the first time in its history forced to welcome Muslims. In the year 1322 A. D., the Turks invaded Kashmir. The king and his minister Rāmchand ran away. The latter returned when he heard that the enemy had left only to be murdered in cold

1) ‘Kashmir, Its Cultural Heritage’ by Dr. Kaumudi
p. 12.

blood by Ranchen who then proclaimed himself king of Kashmir. Ranchen married Koṭa Rāṇi, the daughter of Rāmchand but later on became a Muslim taking the new name Sadarudin. But his reign was short-lived as he died two and a half years later i.e. in 1327 A.D. Udayanadeo, the lawful successor to the throne of Kashmir after Simhadeo, who had fled to Kistwar, then returned to Kashmir, married the widowed Koṭa Rāṇi and ruled the land for fifteen years. When he died his queen assumed the reins of administration and courageously commenced to rule. But unfortunately she was over-powered by Shahmir who was waiting for an opportunity. He then proclaimed himself king of Kashmir and asked Koṭa Rāṇi to marry him. She sternly refused and preferred suicide. Shahmir assumed the name of Shams-ud-din and inaugurated Muslim rule in Kashmir.

Thus Kashmir entered into a new field of experience at the commencement of the 14th century A. D. The third or the Muslim period practically commenced with the reign of Shams-ud-din. This period falls distinctly into three divisions, the first consisting of the Chak rule, the second of Moghul administration and the third of Afghan tyranny. One sorry feature of this period is the devastation that the Muslims wrought in Kashmir and the conversion that they forced upon the people there. Classical Sanskrit tradition suffered a set-back and its place was taken by Persians. The two traditions blended together giving birth to a new local Kashmiri literature which is an example of cultural mixture. But the classical Sanskrit Literature which flourished in Kashmir

during the ancient period is the common heritage of India as a whole. It is a matter of great concern to us, Indians, to learn that much of this ancient Sanskrit Literature is lost and it may not be possible to give a connected account of literary achievement of this period. A few Muslim rulers who were considerate and hence popular are dealt with below, in view of the fact that they were not antagonistic to Sanskrit and its traditions in Kashmir.

Zain-ul-Abidin ruled Kashmir for about fifty years from 1420 to 1470 A. D. (1417 to 1467 A. D. according to some scholars). He was so popular that his deeds were sung even in folk-lore. He extended royal patronage to Sanskrit learning to such an extent that Pandits from all parts of India and even the exiled ones were attracted to him. He offered large sums of money for collecting rare books in Sanskrit and getting them translated into Persian and other languages. He founded the biggest library at that time. He introduced many new arts and crafts such as paper-making, and shawl-weaving. In 1466 A. D., he introduced fire-arms for the first time in Kashmir. He was simple in his habits. Śrīvara, a contemporary Sanskrit Poet has suitably praised him.¹ In fact the fifth canto of the first taraṅga of his chronicle is full of praises for him. During his last years Zain-ul-

- 1) सुमनोबलभेनात्र राजा भूषयता क्षितिम् ।
 नवीकृताः पुनः सर्वे मधुनेव मधुव्रताः ॥
 पुराणतर्कमीमांसाः पुस्तकान्यपराण्यपि ।
 दूरादानाथ्य वित्तेन विद्वद्भयः प्रत्यपादयत् ॥

(Śrī Rāj. I. 5. vv. 78 & 79)

Abidin seems to have consoled himself with the philosophy of the Yogavāsīṣṭha and spent his days hearing the Makṣopāya from Śrīvara.¹

Though persian was introduced in Kashmir by Zain-ul-Abidin, Sanskrit studies were also encouraged and many Sanskrit poets were patronised by him. Śrīvara was his court-poet and Bhaṭṭāvatārya wrote the Zainavilāsa in Sanskrit, a drama dealing with an interesting episode in the life of the Sultan. Sheik Nooruddin, popularly called Baba Nandariṣi wrote Rīṣināmā. The study of Sanskrit and Sanskrit poets were also encouraged by Akbar, the greatest Moghul rulers of India, though not to such an extent as during the time of Zain-ul-Abidin. That was perhaps the last encouragement which was given to Sanskrit learning in Kashmir. After the time of Akbar the literary history of Kashmir is essentially Persian and Kashmiri in character. Thus this period, namely the 14th and the 15th centuries, reveals a renaissance of classical Sanskrit literature mainly due to the efforts of monarchs like Zain-ul-Abidin. There was also a renaissance in the religious and spiritual sphere. The impact of Islamic thought and Sufi ideas gave an impetus to the Bhakti cult already existing among the Hindus.

The chaks held Kashmir until 1586 A. D., when Akbar commenced the Moghul rule there by dethroning Yakubkhan, the last of the Chaks. He built a strong

1) मोक्षोपाय इति ख्यातं वासिष्ठं ब्रह्मदर्शनम् ।

मन्मुखादशृणोद्वाजा श्रीमद्वाल्मीकिभाषितम् ॥

(Ibid v. 80)

fortress on the slopes of the Hariparbat as a permanent monument of his visit to the country. His son Jehangir laid out many pleasant gardens for the delight of himself and his beautiful wife Noorjehan. Even Shahjehan who, by nature, was a lover of literature enriched the Kashmir valley with beautiful gardens and magnificent buildings. During the reign of Aurangajeb inns were built on the Pirpanjal route to India. Francis Bernier visited the valley during this time. The Moghul connection with Kashmir lasted till the middle of the 18th century A. D., when it yielded itself to the tyranny of Afghans which made its ghastly appearance there.

After the Tartar invasion commencing from the entry of Mohamud of Ghazni in the 11th century A. D. Kashmir experienced a spell of terror from the Afghans. The country was held practically in a sway of terror from 11th century A.D. upto 1819 A.D. by the invasions of the Tartars and the Afghans. During this period many scholars preferred emigration to continuous suffering. The people looked to Mahārāja Ranajit Singh for succour. He agreed to help them. So Kashmir came under the Sikh rule from 1819 to 1846 A. D. Then the Dogras became powerful under Gulab Singh who ultimately became the ruler of Kashmir diplomatically becoming an ally of the British in the Anglo-Sikh war. He was a horseman under Ranajit Singh who presented him with the principality of Jammu in recognition of the meritorious services rendered by him. Until the Sikh war in 1845 Kashmir was ruled by a Governor appointed by the Mahārāja of the Punjab. As a result of the war Gulab Singh continued to be in

possession of the territory and later on obtained Kashmir also. He died in 1857 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Raṇabīr Singh. He, like his father, was also an able ruler and gave Kashmir a stabilised system of Government. He was followed by his son Pratāp Singh who was succeeded by Hari Singh (his nephew) as he had no male issue.

This, in brief, is the history of Kashmir comprising of the four broad periods. We then come almost to the current times in which the political history of Kashmir has changed considerably and is still in the melting pot. In 1934 a Prajā Sabhā was established in the State. Political agitation commenced in 1944 as a result of mass-awakening and political consciousness among the people. The partition of India on the 15th August 1947 had its repercussions in Kashmir. On the 26th October of the same year the Mahārāja of Kashmir sought accession of his State to the Indian Union and it was accepted by the Government of India. To-day it is an integral part of the Republic of India, as it should be, inspite of Pakistan's continued agitation. In short the history of Kashmir reveals the fact that the settlers there belong to various creeds, cultures and religions.

In spite of many foreign influences predominantly Muslim, the general impress of the long tradition has not died out and is not likely to disappear. It has been seen that only when unrighteous elements such as avarice and tyranny began to step in on the fertile soil of Kashmir that the time-honoured traditions began to shake in their foundations and Sanskrit Literature suffered

a set-back. Still, the foundation that was laid was so strong that it is discernible even to day in many fields and in many forms. There seems to be substantial truth in one of the fine verses of Kṣemendra which need not be discarded as mere poetic fancy.¹

Even though Kashmir has such a fine record of ancient history, it is generally supposed that India possessed no history worth the name. This may be partially true from the current view that is prevailing about history. Historical material, as such, is not, however, lacking in India. It is contained not only in inscriptions, coins and antique remains but also in written records of events or traditions which exist in the form of epics, purāṇās etc. Sanskrit poetry has availed itself of historical themes as there was no dearth for them in India. It deals with the exploits of the princely patrons of poets and their predecessors. It has always depended upon royal patronage. The poet's theme outside mythology and romance pertained to the life of the ruler who was to reward his labours. This has greatly affected the Historical Kāvya as a source of Historical information with the result that the poems are panegyrical in character and as such the scope of the descriptions of contemporary events is limited, if not impaired. The

1) अस्ति स्वस्तिमतां विलासवसतेः संभोगमङ्गीमुखः

केलिप्राङ्गणमङ्गनाकुलगुरोर्देवस्य शृङ्गारिणः ।

कङ्कमीरेषु पुरं परं प्रवरतालब्धाभिधा विश्रुतं

तौभाग्याभरणं महीवरतनोः संकेतसञ्च श्रियः ॥

(Sam. Mat. I. v. 4)

poet is often seen to indulge in poetic skill with the result that his work automatically suffers from poverty of detail and accuracy.

On the absence of historical literature in Sanskrit Dr. A. B. Keith observes as follows:—"The causes of the phenomenon must lie in the peculiarities of Indian psychology aided by environments and the course of events. It may be that India failed to produce historians because the great political events which affected her during the period commencing from the pre-historic times upto 1200 A. D., did not call forth popular action. The National feeling was not evoked in India... . It may be admitted that the foreign attacks in the first four centuries before the Christian era were probably such as to excite deep National feeling. It is characteristic that even in the battles the sense of Nationality was only in the process of development. From the point of view of psychology it is not difficult to understand that the view that history has any meaning or value was one unlikely to receive acceptance in India. In the strict logical sense of the doctrine of Karma, all men's actions were the outcome of actions done in previous births. The scientific attitude of mind which seeks to find natural causes for events of nature is not normal in India. The doctrine of the periodical creation and destruction of the world of the brahminical post-vedic texts is on the same plane as the theory of the Buddhists."¹

Dr. Keith's observations would involve a discussion of certain fundamental issues, and any elaborate consi-

1) H. S. L. by A. B. K. pp. 144 to 146.

deration of them should not delay us here. One thing, however, will have to be noted. History is not merely a chronicle. A strong opinion prevails now-a-days that worldly events manifest themselves in an orderly manner of which a historian must take note. Chronological accuracy from this stand-point becomes secondary. We have already noted that historical material is amply available in India. How to arrange this material in an order is a question. Dr. Keith may not like it to arrange according to the 'Law of Karma' or the 'Doctrine of the Periodical creation and destruction.' But can it be said that these doctrines are unscientific or illogical? The answer from our stand-point is emphatically negative. He also says that 'National feeling was not evoked in India.' How can this be accepted unless Nationality is properly defined? From the Indian stand-point Nationality may constitute certain factors which have not occurred to persons of other countries. We can, therefore, only agree to differ from the learned doctor.

We may, therefore, deal with the historical material available without any preoccupation. The most important early contribution to history was in inscriptions, coins and some relics of the past. A few records of events in some well-known prose works of the type of Harṣacarita are also available, though it is not possible, at present, to lay hands on any particular historical Kāvya as such which contains a chronicle of events. Apart from the agitation mentioned above that is going on at present a study of the literature will reveal the reasons which led the Kashmirians to think that their lot is not different from that of the people of India.

Of the Literature of Kashmirians which covers various branches of Sanskrit Literature, the production of an uninterrupted series of written records of its history reaching back beyond the medieval times attracts attention immediately. Writing of Historical Records seems to have been a traditional art for some of the Kashmirian authors like Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa. Kalhaṇa, in the introduction to his work, mentions by name several writers whose historical works he had consulted before writing his own. Unfortunately none except his own *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is available. This enhances the importance of Kalhaṇa's work. Chronologically, however, certain authors come before Kalhaṇa. It is intended here to recount briefly the history of Kashmir as given by her own historians, beginning with Kṣemendra, probably the earliest known amongst them.

1) KṢEMENDRA — (1025–1075 A. D.)

An account of Kṣemendra's life and times has already been furnished.¹ He was, perhaps, the first known Kashmirian to write a history of his country called the *Nṛpāvalī*, which Kalhaṇa seems to have referred before writing his own book on the history of Kashmir. There is a significant reference to this work of Kṣemendra by Kalhaṇa.² But the work itself is not available at present. Judging by its name we may suppose that it might have been a chronicle of Kashmirian kings. It was

1) Cf. pp. 86 to 91.

2) केनाप्यनवधानेन कविकर्मणि सत्यपि ।
अंशोऽपि नास्ति निर्दोषः क्षेमेन्द्रस्य नृपावलौ ॥ (Rāj. I. v. 13)

written in verse as stated by Kalhaṇa who censures its author for carelessness in its compilation. Kṣemendra's name, however, stands first in the list of Kashmirian historians so far known. The discovery of his work is bound to enhance his glory.

2) BILHAṆA — (1050–1100 A. D.)

Bilhaṇa is the next Kashmirian historian of repute. A detailed account of his parentage, date and personal history has already been furnished.¹ The name of his historical work is *Vikramāṅkadevācarita*. It is a poem in eighteen cantos describing the glory of king Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇ under whose patronage he was for some time. The main theme consists of descriptions of royal marriages and battles. The poet begins with a short account of the Cālukya race and the kings of the restored dynasty which begins with Tailapa. He dwells at length on the exploits of Vikramāditya's father and describes, with all customary amplification, the conquests of Vikramāditya himself before his accession to the throne, the dethronement of his elder brother Someśvara II, the defeat and capture of his younger brother and his numerous wars with the unfaithful Colas. From the last verses of the *Vikramāṅkadevācarita* and a few other verses ascribed to him in other books it can be gathered that he was fully confident and conscious of his learning and that he, probably, fell into disfavour

1) Cf. pp. 230 to 232.

with king Vikramāditya¹ and had to leave his territory on an order for confiscation of his estates. This may be the reason for the incomplete narration of Vikramāditya's history in his Kāvya as it stops with the Cola war and does not refer to the expedition beyond the Narmadā river that took place in 1086 A. D.

The historical Kāvya of Bilhaṇa can be divided mainly into two parts, the first dealing with the history of the Cālukyas and the second with the poet's personal history. The latter part seems to be more useful than the former. The Kāvya begins, in the customary manner, with a series of invocatory verses to Mukunda,² Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Pārvatī³ and Gaṇeśa. All these verses are charming.

Bilhaṇa commences with the birth of the Cālukya race direct from Brahma and describes the reign of Hārīta, the progenitor. Then the reigns of Tailapa (973 to 997 A. D.), Satyāśraya (997 to 1008 A. D.) Jayasimha (1008 to 1040 A.D.) and Āhavamalla (1040 to

- 1) सर्वस्वं गृहवर्ति कुन्तलपतिर्गृह्णातु तन्मे पुनः

भाण्डागारमखण्डमेव हृदये जागर्ति सारस्वतम् ।

रे क्षुद्रास्यजत प्रमोदमचिरादेष्यन्ति मन्मन्दिरं

हेलान्दोलितकर्णतालकरटिस्कन्धाधिरूढाः श्रियः ॥

(H. S. L. by M. K. p. 165 Foot Note 6)

- 2) भुजप्रभादण्ड इवोर्ध्वगामी स पातु वः कंसरियोः कृपाणः ।

यः पाञ्चजन्यप्रतिविम्बमङ्गया धाराभ्रसः केनमिव व्यनक्ति ॥

(Vik. I. v. 1)

- 3) एकः स्तनस्तुङ्गतरः परस्य वार्तामिव प्रबुधमगन्मुखाग्रम् ।

यस्याः प्रियार्थस्थितिमुद्रुहन्त्याः सा पातु वः प्रवर्तराजपुत्री ॥ (Ibid v. 4)

1069 A. D.) are described in succession. The penance for begetting a heir is graphically described. As a result of it two sons, Someśvara and Āhavamalla were born, Jayasimha was born as a third son. Then the exploits of Vikramāditya are described followed by the death of Āhavamalla which is described pathetically.¹ This is followed by a description of the war against the Colas whose king made peace with king Vikramāditya by giving his daughter in marriage to him. Soon after this incident Vikramāditya received the news that his father-in-law was dead. He turned back and placed his brother-in-law on the throne after defeating the enemies. But the brother-in-law died in a fresh rebellion that arose soon afterwards. So Vikramāditya was compelled to stay there in order to drive the rebels out. It was a surprise to him to find his own elder brother Someśvara along with the rebels. When he knew this he did not want to continue the fight. But as the account goes on to say, he had to fight until he was victorious at the command of Lord Siva in his dream. He made his younger brother Jayasimha the Governor of the Deccan.

After thus completing his work in his father-in-law's place he returned to Kalyāṇ in the spring season. From this instant onwards the poet indulges in the usual

- 1) कुण्ठीकृतारिशस्त्रस्य तस्य वज्रोपमाकृतेः ।
 भाग्यानामेव मे दोषादेष जातः परिक्षयः ॥
 विधास्यति कथं धाता सर्गरत्नं तथाविधम् ।
 कथं वा संघटिष्यन्ते तादृशाः परमाणवः ॥
 प्रधावत्संमुखानेकवाहिनीगाहनक्षमः ।
 अम्भोधिरिव दुष्प्रायः सत्त्वरविस्तथाविधः ॥ (Vik: IV. vv 83-85)

description of seasons, sports and other such topics which are common in poetic compositions. There is also a beautiful description of the Svayamvara of Chandralekhā, the Kārṇāṭaka princess. Then Jayasimha, the younger brother of Vikramāditya rose in rebellion. Vikramāditya had to go to his place to put him down. After subduing him he returned to Kalyāṇ to enjoy the rest of his days there. This is, in short, the subject-matter of the first seventeen cantos of the historical kāvya of Bilhaṇa, a copy of the manuscript of which was obtained from the great temple of Pārśvanātha in the fort of Jessalmir written in ink and containing 158 palm-leaves.

The eighteenth canto of the kāvya is of utmost importance from the historical point of view. It opens with a beautiful description of Pravarapura, the ancient capital of Kashmir, which was situated at the confluence of the rivers Vitastā (modern Jhelum) and the Sindhu (Modern Indus).¹ It was not merely the chief city in Kashmir at that time but also it surpassed in beauty all other cities on the earth and even Alakā, Laṅkā and Amarāvātī as a few descriptive verses in it explain.² He

1) See map at the end.

2) यक्षग्रस्ता धनपतिपुरी निष्कलङ्का न लङ्का
 सातङ्केव त्रिदशनगरी मेरुपृष्ठेऽधिरूढा ।
 इत्यप्राप्य प्रतिमटतया नूनमुच्चैः सगर्वं
 यत्प्रद्युम्नक्षितिधरनिमादुत्तमांगं विभर्ति ॥
 काव्यं येभ्यः प्रकृतिसुभगं कुकुमं निर्गतं च
 च्छायोत्कर्षाद् भवति जगतां बल्लभं दुर्लभं च ।
 यस्मिन्नन्तः स्थितवति जगत्सारभूते प्रयाताः
 कश्मीरास्ते नियतमुरगाधीशरक्षारूपदत्वम् ॥

(Vik. XVIII. vv. 15 & 16)

then praises the city for its holiness, for the learning of the brahmins living in it, for its pleasant weather in summer and for the beauty of its groves which even those who have reached the gardens of the celestial beings cannot forget.¹ Then the poet mentions among the buildings of the famous city, the Bhaṭṭāarakamaṭha, the Agrahāras and the temple of Kṣemagauriśvara near the confluence of the two rivers and the lofty palaces of the kings of Kashmir and the maṭhas and the temples built by them. The women of Kashmir are extolled by the poet for their beauty, learning and talents, in a few well-constructed and beautiful verses.²

- 1) काश्मिरेषु प्रवरपुरभित्यस्ति मुख्यं पुराणां
यातं गौरीपरिणयविधौ साक्षितामिन्दुमौलेः ।
यस्यायान्ति प्रकृतिकुटिलास्ते वितस्तातरङ्गाः
स्वेच्छायावत्कलियुगगजाधोरणत्वेऽकुशत्वम् ॥
उद्यानेभ्यः सकलभुवनाश्चर्यमाधुर्यधुर्यं
पीत्वा द्राक्षारसमिव करैर्जतसन्तापशान्तिः ।
ज्येष्ठापादेष्विव कमलिनीकामुका यत्र धत्ते
रत्नश्रेणीकिरणकलिकाकोमलामंशुमालाम् ॥
देवोद्यानेष्वपि तिलकतां पुण्ययोगादवाप्तैः
विस्मर्यन्ते न खलु निखिलाश्चर्यसारा यदीयाः ।
श्रीखण्डाम्भः स्तपितमुरलप्रेयसीगण्डपाण्डु-
द्राक्षाखण्डस्तवकितलतामण्डपास्ते वनान्ताः ॥
(Vik. XVIII. vv. 1, 2 & 18)

- 2) ब्रूमः सारस्वतकुलभुवः किं विधेः कौतुकानां
तस्यानेकाद्भुतगुणगणाकीर्णकर्णामृतस्य ।
यत्र स्त्रीणामपि किमपरं जन्मभाषावदेव
प्रत्यावापं विलसति वचः संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च ॥
यस्मिन्नामाः कुसुमवपुषं दृग्भिरुन्मार्गभर्ग-
क्रोधज्वालाकिसलयचये सुप्तमुत्थापयन्ति ।
लीलावल्गुः सरसमसृणूविलसानि यासां
कन्यर्पस्त्री यदि गुणशतैः शिक्षते वीक्षितानि ॥ (Ibid vv. 6, 13)

The description of the administration of two kings of Kashmir and their sons who were contemporaries of Bilhaṇa, is given. The first one is that of king Anantadeva who was truthful, liberal and brave. He made a successful war against the Sakas and the Darads. He led an expedition afterwards as far as the Gaṅgā. He visited the lake Mānasa in the Himālayas. He ruled over Campā, Dārvabhisāra and the land of the Trigartas. He endowed Agrahāras to deserving brahmins in Vijaya-kṣetra and built a Maṭha on an island situated in the Vitastā. The name of his queen was Subhāṭā. She was noted for her wisdom and piety. She built a college and a temple on the banks of the sacred Vitastā. Her brother Kṣitipati was the Lord of the Loharas and was a brave warrior and a patron of poets, like king Bhoja of Dhārā. He was also a clever logician and a staunch devotee of Viṣṇu. These are some of the historical incidents which are contained in the historical kāvya of Bilhaṇa. Since they are also described by Kalhaṇa in his chronicle, they become more credible historically.

The second administration that is described by Bilhaṇa in the eighteenth canto of his work is that of king Kalaśa, the son and successor of king Anantadeva. His expedition to the lake Acçhoda (beautifully described by Bāṇa in his Kādambarī) and Mount Kailāsa are described referring incidentally to the episodes described in the prose-work of Bāṇa and stating that Kalaśa excelled Chandrāpīḍa both in beauty and bravery. He conquered the country of the Amazons and led a successful expedition against Kurukṣetra. His son was Harṣadeva who is described as having excelled even Śrī

Harṣavardhana in the art of poetic composition. He is also stated to have known many languages. This indicates that king Harṣadeva of Kashmir was different from king Harṣavardhana. The younger brother of Harṣadeva was called Utkarṣa who is stated to have defeated the Mlecchas. The name of the second son of Kalaśa is given as Vijayamalla who is stated to have distinguished himself by his bravery, learning and personality.

The most important part of the eighteenth canto of Vikramāṅkadevacarita is that where the poet reveals his autobiography. This part commences with a beautiful description of the place of his birth.¹ The love for his country is so great that he says it is spotless in fame and lofty in grandeur.² There is also a reference to the

1) तस्मादस्ति प्रवरपुरतः सार्धगन्धूतिमात्रां

भूमिं त्यक्त्वा जयवनमिति स्थानमुत्तुङ्गचैत्यम् ।

कुण्डं यस्मिन्नमलसलिलं तक्षकस्वाहिभर्तु-

धर्मध्वंसोद्यतकलशिरश्छेदचक्रत्वमेति ॥

यस्यास्ति खोनमुख इत्युपकण्ठसीम्नि

ग्रामः समग्रगुणसंपदवाप्तकीर्तिः ।

आलानरूपबहुयूपवति प्रविष्टं

नो यत्र बन्धनभियेव कलिद्विपेन ॥

ब्रूमस्त र प्रथमवसतेरदभुतानां कथानां

किं श्रीकण्ठश्चशुरशिखरिः क्रोडलीलालाम्नः ।

एको भागः प्रकृतिभुगं कुङ्कुमं यस्य सूते

द्राक्षामन्यः सरसरयूपुण्ड्रकच्छेदपाण्डुम् ॥

(Vik. XVIII vv. 70-72)

2) काश्मीरेभ्यः सकलममलं शास्त्रतत्त्वं गृहीत्वा।

प्रालेयाद्वेरपि गुणमसौ निश्चितं स्वीचकार ।

देशे देशे कथमपरथा वादिनामाननानि

क्रुद्धश्चक्रे तुहिनेपटलपुष्टपद्मोपमानि ॥

(Ibid v. 86)

great respect with which the Cālukya king looked up at him.¹ On the basis of the information that is available in this particular canto a few important historical data can be arrived at. For instance the accession of king Anantadeva to the throne of Kashmir was in the year 1028 A. D. and his death took place in 1080 A. D. The period during which king Kalaśa ruled in Kashmir is found to be from 1080 to 1088 A. D. even though his coronation and the nominal commencement of his administration occurred so early as 1062 A. D. It can also be gathered that Bilhaṇa might have written his work somewhere during the eighth decade of the 11th century A. D. The last event that is described in his work is the war with the Colas. There is no mention of the expedition into Central India beyond the river Narmadā. It can also be seen that Bilhaṇa lived to see Harṣa, son of king Kalaśa, on the throne of Kashmir. This has also been stated by Kalhaṇa. It may, therefore, be inferred that Bilhaṇa commenced his tour of India at the age of 25 or 30 after completing his studies. The total period that he might have spent outside Kashmir works up approximately to about 25 years including the time spent in Kalyāṇ under the patronage of king Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla. The mention of the names of king Karṇa of Dāhala (who died about the year 1069 A. D.) and king Bhoja of Dhārā (who might have

1) नीलच्छत्रोन्मदगजघटापात्रमत्रस्तचोला-

चातुर्वयेन्द्रादलमत कृती योऽत्र विद्यापतित्वम् ।

अस्मिन्नासीत्तदनु निविडाश्लेषहेपाकलीला-

वेलद्वाहुकणितवलया सन्ततं राजलक्ष्मीः ॥

(Vik. XVIII. v. 101)

been alive between 1062 & 1065 A. D.) lends support to the inference regarding the time spent by Bilhana outside Kashmir.

On the whole it may be stated that the historical kāvyā of Bilhana is, like the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa, a progressive panegyric in honour of his patron and protector. In this work the author is more a poet than a historian. The work, therefore, abounds in many poetic embellishments. But there is not much of accurate and faithful representation of facts and events in which the several personalities that are introduced in the course of the kāvyā play their part. The style of the poet is, throughout, ornamented and hyperbolic so that facts are obscured and leave the reader in doubt as to the importance of the events that are described. Particular attention does not appear to have been bestowed upon the time-factor. As is usual in such kāvyas the hero is painted bright and extolled on various occasions. In the last canto of the work the autobiographic element predominates. There is, in it, a full description of his country, its rulers, his family and his adventures. Thus a complete account of the poet's life is available to us. Though a good deal of information is introduced by Bilhana in his Kāvya, especially in the 18th canto, it may not be of much intrinsic value to the student of history.

3. KALHAṆA (1100-1150 A. D.)

Kalhana is the next great, perhaps the greatest, historian of Kashmir. He has made a name in the history

of Sanskrit Literature. His *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is, perhaps, the only work which represents a class of Sanskrit compositions by itself. "The History of Kashmir as preserved in it" says Dr. D. R. Mankad "is very helpful to us in reconstructing the ancient history of India proper. Relation between the Kashmirian political history and the political History of India proper is much more intimate than is usually accepted."¹ It comes nearest to the Chronicles of medieval Europe and of the Muslim East. Together with the later Kashmir Chronicles which, in a way continued Kalhaṇa's narrative, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is practically the only existing specimen of this class. The credit once again goes to Kashmir in this field also because we do not see such a type of composition having been written in Sanskrit in any other part of India. Kashmir has made a unique and substantial contribution to this branch of Sanskrit Literature also and has helped scholars in fixing the dates of various writers and their compositions which otherwise would have remained at the mercy of the conjectures of ingenious tradition-weavers.

As in the case of other Sanskrit writers and poets of India there is very little on record regarding an accurate account of the biography of Kalhaṇa. Even his name is not met with anywhere except in the colophons of his work and in the introductory notice which his successor Jonarāja takes of him three centuries later. For instance the colophon of each *Taraṅga* of his work contains his

1) P. C. p. 105.

name and is fairly accurate and authentic.¹ It can be gathered from his work that Kalhaṇa wrote the introduction in the year 4224 of the Laukika Era which corresponds to 1148 A. D.² It is also stated in the end of the work that it was completed in the following year.³

Campaka is the name of the father of Kalhaṇa as could be seen from the colophon referred to above Foot Note 1. His name is repeatedly mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. He was one of the high officials (probably the Chief Minister) in the service of king Harṣa who ruled in Kashmir from 1089 to 1101 A. D. He is mentioned by his son with great respect as a person of noble character. He seems to have been the Āvārapati or the commandant of the frontier defences for sometime, probably during the latter part of king Harṣa's reign. For it is mentioned on one occasion that he was highly praised for one of his successes.⁴ His loyalty to the king to the very last is also described by Kalhaṇa, particularly during the king's desperate struggle for his crown and life not failing to mention his absence at the time of the final catastrophe as he was entrusted with an impor-

- 1) इति श्रीकाश्मीरिकमहामात्यचम्पकप्रभुसूतोः कल्हणस्य कृतौ
राजतरङ्गिण्यां प्रथमस्तरङ्गः ॥
(Rāj. p. 33.)
- 2) लौकिकेऽब्दे चतुर्विंशे शककालस्य सांप्रतम् ।
सप्तत्याभ्यधिकं यातं सहस्रं परिवत्सराः ॥ (Ibid. I. v. 52)
- 3) समा द्वाविंशती राज्यावातेः प्राग्भूभुजो गताः ।
तावत्येवात्र राज्यस्य पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरे ॥ (Ibid VIII v. 3404)
- 4) वातगण्डस्तदुद्योगे प्रतिष्ठासु नृपाज्ञया ।
चम्पको द्वारकार्यस्थ अभिसन्धातुमैहत ॥ (Rāj. VII. v. 1177)

tant mission of finding out the whereabouts of the young prince Bhoja.¹ Every word of the dialogue between the king and the minister has an element of historic truth in it. This may be due to the fact that Kalhaṇa, being the son of the minister, was acquainted with the full news of the exact situation. The abrupt manner in which Campaka is introduced to the readers is also very significant and confirms the view that because he was his father Kalhaṇa did not think it necessary to give details about him as he was well-known in Kashmir at that time.

Kalhaṇa seems to have got first-hand information from Mukta, the servant of his father's house-hold, regarding the tragic circumstances that led to the death of king Harṣa as he has described them graphically and pathetically. Mukta was the only person who managed to escape from death. Campaka is described as a worshipper of Lord Śiva at Nandikṣetra which was also called Bhūteśvara (modern Bhūtisar in Kashmir).² Kalhaṇa too seems to be intimately acquainted with the place of worship of his father as he might have accompanied him on his periodical visits to the sacred places in Kashmir. It would appear from these references that

- 1) युध्यस्व लोहरं वापि याहीत्युचे च चम्पकः ।
 प्रयागस्योत्तरः पक्षः प्रत्ययान्नाग्रिमः पुनः ॥
 वार्तामनुध्वा पुत्रस्य नृपतिर्व्याकुलीभवन् ॥ (Rāj. vv. 1586-87)
- 2) नन्दिक्षेत्रे व्ययीकृत्य प्रत्यब्दं सप्तवासरान् ।
 चम्पकः सफलं चक्रे सर्वकालार्जितां श्रियम् ॥
 नन्दिक्षेत्रे स तत्राद्यैः प्रणीतश्रम्पकादिभिः ।
 तेन कालानुसारेण पोषिताः पञ्चषाः समाः ॥
 (Rāj. VII. v. 954 & VIII. v. 1117)

Campaka was alive even in the year 1136 A. D. The original home of Kalhaṇa was Parihāsapura. He was a brahmin by birth and a Śaiva by faith though he was friendly in his attitude towards Buddhism. He studied the various branches of philosophy thoroughly. He was well-acquainted with the epics and the earlier Mahākāvya in Sanskrit. After the death of Harṣa, his father does not appear to have taken any part in the public life of the country.

The name of Kanaka is also mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. He was another close relative of Kalhaṇa, probably one of his uncles, as it is related therein that king Harṣa loved Music so much that he gave one lakh of gold coins to Kanaka, a younger brother of Campaka, who had gained his favour.¹ It is also stated that Kanaka, by his timely intervention, saved a huge image of Buddha at Parihāsapura, his birth-place, from being destroyed by king Harṣa.² This shows that Kanaka had something to do with the worship of Buddha and that Kalhaṇa's ancestors lived originally in Parihāsapura. This may be the reason for Kalhaṇa's frequent reference to the sacred buildings of Parihāsapura. It also reveals his intimate acquaintance with the topography of his homeland.

1) स्वशिष्यस्तेन तस्यासिद् गायनः कनकोऽथ सः ।

चम्पकावरजः खेदाद् गीताभ्यासकृतोद्यमः ॥ (Rāj. VII. 1117)

2) द्वौ महाप्रतिमामध्यादबुद्धविम्बावरक्षताम् ।

दानप्रसंगे तं जातु याचित्वा त्यागिर्न नृपम् ॥

परिहासपुरे जन्ममेदिन्यां कनकाभिधः ।

गायनः कुशलश्रीश्रद्धाश्रमणो नगरान्तरे ॥

(Rāj. VII. vv. 1097 & 1098)

Kalhaṇa made an extensive study of Sanskrit even from his childhood as it was usual in such cultured families of Kashmir at that time. More than once he says he is proud of having been born in a family of brahmins to whom he refers as "Gods on earth". He is in full sympathy with brahminical ideals and self-assertion. Even Jonarāja refers to him as a learned brahmin. Śiva in the Ardhanārī form, was the most favourite god whom Kalhaṇa worshipped. This is clear from the invocatory verse of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.¹ He was aware of the Tāntric cult of Kashmir as he refers to Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and other exponents of Kashmir Śaivism with great respect. His father's regular visits to Śivatīrthas further establishes that he belonged to a family of staunch Śaivites. But he was not a bigot in any sense of the term. He displayed a spirit of tolerance throughout his work especially towards Buddhism. In fact he praises all those kings from Aśoka onwards who were mainly responsible for the magnificent constructions of Buddhistic Vihāras and Stūpas. He refers, on more than one occasion, to Buddhists as comforters of all living beings and praises their precepts which prohibit the slaughter of animals. To him the Buddhists are beings of absolute goodness who are not angry against the sinner but treat him with kindness and love as could be seen from

- 1) मालं वह्निशिखाङ्कितं दधदधिश्चोत्रं वह्नसम्भृत-
 क्रीडत्कुण्डलिजृम्भितं जलधिजच्छायाच्छकण्टच्छविः ।
 वक्षो विभ्रदहीनकंचुकचितं वद्धाङ्गनार्धस्य वो
 भागः पुङ्गवलक्ष्मणोस्तु यशसे वामोऽथ वा दक्षिणः ॥

(Rāj. I. v. 2.)

a reference to that aspect of Buddhism in his work.¹ Kalhaṇa also makes particular mention of the manner in which Buddhist images were preserved during the mass demolition campaign of such images started by king Harṣa. He was also aware of every special point of Buddhistic tradition and terminology. Since Hinduism and Buddhism lived in Kashmir peacefully for a long time Kalhaṇa praises those kings who maintained such a state of affairs. He always argued that they alone laid the foundation for the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu without any distinction. The spirit of tolerance was alive in Kashmir during his time. This example of Kashmir was emulated by other parts of India such as Kanuj, Gujarat and even some parts in the South of India. It was a time when Buddha was considered as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. It is for this reason that the Nīlamatapurāṇa which is considered to be the canonical authority for brahminical cult in Kashmir directly prescribes the celebration of Buddha's birth-day as a great festival during which the images of Buddha were installed for worship and presents were distributed among Buddhist monks.

Kalhaṇa has not given any account of his career as a student anywhere in his work. Still some information can be gathered about the literary training which he might have received during his Scholastic career from the passages occurring here and there in it. The Rājatarāṅgī itself is a standing proof of his mastery over the poetic art and shows that he had all the requirements to construct

1) बोधिसत्त्वोऽसि भूपाल कोऽपि सत्त्वोऽर्जितव्रतः ।

कारुण्यं प्राणिषु दृढं यस्येदं महात्मनः ॥ (Rāj. I. v. 134)

it in a proper manner. He was well-trained both in rhetoric and grammar proficiency in which is considered as a minimum requisite for a good poet. He hints at this idea at the very commencement of his work.¹ His style is simple and spontaneous, though at times he indulges in the subtle arts of the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*.

It is not possible to say exactly what books Kalhaṇa read and how he acquired the equipment necessary for writing such a composition. He might have read all the standard poetical works in Sanskrit like the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Meghadūta*. A verse occurring in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*² reminds us of a similar stanza in the *Rāghmavamśa*.³ That he read the *Vilkramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa, his fellow countryman, written almost immediately prior to him, is clear from the way in which he has written his own work. He seems to have been well-acquainted with the personal history of Bilhaṇa as he refers to two incidents mentioned by him. He should have read in full the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, the well-known historical romance. It is certain that he was well-versed in the epics and the *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira.

The determination of the date of Kalhaṇa does not appear to present much difficulty as there are several clear

- 1) न पश्येत्स्वर्वसंवेद्यान् भवान् प्रतिभया यदि ।
तदन्यद् दिव्यदृष्टित्वे किमिव ज्ञापकं कवेः ॥ (Rāj. I. v. 5)
- 2) घ्राणहीनं पुरस्कृत्य नासीममिसवार यत् ।
तदेव कामिनस्तस्य नूनमासीदमङ्गलम् ॥ (Ibid. VII. v. 312)
- 3) मुखावयववल्गुनां तां नैकता यत्पुरो दधुः ।
रामाभियायिनां तेषां तदेवाभूदमङ्गलम् ॥ (R. XII. v. 43.)

internal and external evidences which help us to fix it approximately. It has already been stated that his father Campaka was holding high offices in the service of king Harṣa and that he was alive even in the fourth decade of the 12th century A. D.¹ Maṅkha has mentioned a poet by name Kalyāṇa² who, according to Dr. Stein, is none other than the historian Kalhaṇa on the ground that the word Kalhaṇa is after all an apabhramśa of the word Kalyāṇa. Dr. Bühler has shown that Maṅkha wrote his kāvyā just a few years before Kalhaṇa wrote his Rājatarāṅgiṇī (i. e., between the years 1128 & 1144 A. D.). Jonarāja, the commentator of Maṅkha, has stated that Alakadatta, the patron of Kalyāṇa was the minister of foreign affairs. But nothing is known about this Alakadatta from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. It is difficult to adduce reasons for this conspicuous silence on the part of Kalhaṇa in this behalf. It is also curious to note that Jonarāja who wrote the second Rājatarāṅgiṇī does not give more details about the poet Kalyāṇa whom Maṅkha mentions in his work. Kalhaṇa, on the other hand, has spoken of Alankāra, Maṅkha's brother, as holding the Rājāsthāniya whereas Maṅkha himself speaks of his brother as Sāndhivigrahika or minister of foreign affairs. The inference from this may be that the former post was his earlier office as he says

1) Cf. p. 503.

2) श्रीमानलकदत्तो यमनल्पं काव्यशिल्पिषु ।

स्वपरश्रमसर्वस्वन्यायसम्यममन्यत ॥

तथोपचस्करे येन निजवाङ्मयदर्पणः ।

बिल्हणप्रौढिसन्क्रान्तौ यथायोग्यत्वमग्रहीत् ॥

तत्तद् बहुकथाकेलिपरिश्रमनिरंकुशम् ।

तं प्रश्रयप्रयत्नेन कल्याणं समीभनत् ॥ (S.C.XXV. vv.78-80)

that it was already bestowed upon him by king Suśśala. While the identity between Kalyāṇa and Kalhaṇa has not yet been established it is clear that Kalhaṇa and Maṅkha were contemporaries. On the basis of these evidences the date of Kalhaṇa can, however, be placed in the first half of the 12th century A. D.

Rājatarāṅgiṇī is the monumental work that Kalhaṇa wrote. There are altogether eight books in it each of which is called a taraṅga (and hence the name taraṅgiṇī for his work i. e., that which has taraṅgas). It consists of 7627 verses in all. The first book has 373 verses, the second 171, the third 530, the fourth 720, the fifth 403, the sixth 368, the seventh 1732 and the eighth 3450. It can be seen from the above that the second book is the shortest and the eighth is the biggest. Though it is a kāvya in form and conception, yet it has a scope and a name which are widely different from those of the caritas which are Sanskrit Prose-works of the type of Harṣacarita and Vikramāṅkadevacarita. The purpose of Kalhaṇa in writing the Rājatarāṅgiṇī was to give a connected narrative of the various dynasties which ruled in Kashmir from the earliest period down to his date. He begins with some well-known traditions for the earliest rulers and a few old written records for the narration of subsequent reigns.

The work may be divided broadly into two parts. The first three books, dealing with the kings of the Gonandiya dynasty who ruled in Kashmir for a period extending to over three thousand years, form the first part. The remaining books, namely from the fourth to the eighth

dealing with the kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty and others right up to the time of Kalhaṇa himself, form the second part. It was Dr. Bühler that indicated in his Kashmir report, for the first time, the materials available for the restoration of the genuine texts of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and also fully elucidated the questions connected with the Saptarṣi or the Laukika Era which Kalhaṇa uses in his work. According to him the Kashmir manuscripts in Śāradā characters are the best and the most authentic. The codex archtypus is by Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha who is the first commentator on the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Other transcriptions into Devanāgarī have been formed by copying from the codex. There are several errors and unintelligible words. But Dr. Stein seems to have obtained a Sanskrit manuscript dated 1895 A.D. from a purohit in Lahore. This, according to him, was in many ways superior to the codex.

The general get up of the work and the information that it contains will now be dealt with in as brief a manner as possible. The commencement of the Laukika Era is placed by Kalhaṇa on the Caitra śuddha prathamā of Kali Samvat 25 which corresponds to the year 3076-3075 B.C. There are three different epochs for the Mahābhārata war. They are (1) 3101 B.C., (2) 2448 B.C., and (3) 1900 B.C. Kalhaṇa commences with the Coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira in the year 653 Kali.¹ For it is stated by him that the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas lived 653 years after the beginning of Kaliyuga. Taking 3101 B.C. as the start

1) शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले ।

कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन् कुस्पाण्डवाः ॥

(Rāj. I. v. 51)

of Kaliyuga the date of the Mahābhārata war can be arrived at as 2448 B.C. (3101-653). He does not appear to subscribe to the view that the Mahābhārata war took place at the end of the Dwāparayuga.¹ He says that he has collected the information furnished by him in the first book of his work from the Nīlamatapurāṇa² and an earlier historian by name Çhavillākra. Gonanda I who was related to Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, is the first king that is dealt with.³ It is stated that when he went to help Jarāsandha he was slain by Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa. Dāmodara I, son and successor of Gonanda I is the next king that Kalhaṇa mentions. The information that is furnished about him is that he wanted to avenge his father's death but in the contest with Śrī Kṛṣṇa he was killed. His wife Yaśovatī was then installed on the throne. Her son was Gonanda II who was coronated even when he was a child. Because the child was a king of Kashmir Kalhaṇa states that Kashmir could not take part in the Bhārata war which commenced at that time. From Gonanda II thirty-five kings seem to have ruled in Kashmir. But their names and deeds were not available to Kalhaṇa as the relevant records seem to have been lost for ever.

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- 1) भारतं द्वापरान्तेऽभूत् वार्तावेति विमोहिताः ।
केचिदेतां मृषा तेषां कालसंख्यां प्रचक्रिरे ॥ (Rāj. I. v. 49)
 - 2) दृग्गोचरं पूर्वसृष्टिन्या राजकथाश्रयाः ।
मम त्वेकादश गताः मतं नीलमुनेरपि ॥ (Ibid v. 14)
 - 3) अष्टषष्ठ्यर्धकानब्दशतद्वाविंशतिं नृपाः ।
अपीपलंस्ते कश्मीरान् गोनन्दाद्याः कलौ सुगे ॥ (Ibid v. 48)

It is possible to reconstruct from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī a consistent record of dates and events from the Mahābhārata war to Kalhaṇa's day, according to the view of Dr. Mankad. He also states that Pandit Ānanda Kaul has published an article on the history of Kashmir in which he says that there is a history of Kashmir written in Persian by one Hasan who has drawn material from an earlier Persian translation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. This earlier Persian translation, according to Hasan, had incorporated material from Ratnākaraṇḍavīya of Pandit Ratnākara and with the help of that purāṇa the author was able to fill up the names and regnal periods of the first 52 kings (including the 35 kings whose names were lost to Kalhaṇa). Pandit Kaul in his article has given a list of the first forty-seven kings with their regnal periods i.e., upto the accession of Aśoka. He has also noted some other interesting details. For instance it is here said that, according to Ratnākaraṇḍavīya, after Gonada II came Harṇadeva, on the throne. This Harṇadeva, according to that source was the second son of Parīkṣit (the Pāṇḍava). This Gonanda II and Parīkṣit will be at the same step.¹

According to Kalhaṇa 2268 years have been given as the total of the regnal periods from Gonanda I to blind Yudhiṣṭhira's death. Again from Gonand III to Kalhaṇa's own time, he has stated that a total period of 2330 years have to be taken.² If the time of the Kuru-Pāṇḍavas is taken as 3275 B.C. the date of Kalhaṇa works up to

1) P. C. p. 106.

2) प्रायस्त्वृतीयगोनन्दादारभ्य शरदां तदा ।

द्वे सहस्रे गते त्रिंशदधिकं च शतत्रयम् ॥

(Rāj. I. v. 53)

about 1200 A.D. There appears to be a controversy going on even now as regards the date of Mahābhārata war whether it took place at the end of the Dvāparayuga or Dvāpara or sometime later and what exactly the view of Kalhaṇa is in this behalf. Principal R. D. Karmarkar has clearly analysed the position of the views prevailing at present on this topic and has stated as follows in conclusion : —“So even this evidence of the Nīdhānapurāṇa plates cannot be said to be conclusive enough to discard the date 3101 B.C. for the Mahābhārata war.”¹

The names of eight kings who are not of much historical importance are then mentioned by Kalhaṇa commencing from Lava and ending with Śacīnara. One particular thing namely that they throw ample light on the nature of the sources (Helarāja and Padmamihira) has to be mentioned here. Five kings commencing from Aśoka are mentioned thereafter and Čhavillākara is stated to be the source from which he got the information about these five kings. The information that is furnished regarding Aśoka is that he was the Hindu king who preached and popularised Buddhism. But the pedigree that is given there namely that he was the grandson of Śakuni does not agree with that of Aśoka Maurya whom we meet with in the History of India. This Aśoka is 45th from Gonanda II according to Kalhaṇa. Dr. Mankad has argued that this Aśoka is different from Aśoka Maurya on certain valid

1) Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XXXVIII. 1957
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grounds.¹ He actually says as follows:— “It is wrong to say that Aśoka mentioned in Kashmir genealogy is Aśoka Maurya. In fact, the practice was to ignore the outside conqueror altogether and to add the period of such outside rule to the period of some local king as we have already seen in the case of Raṇāditya Tuṇjīna.”² The name of the son and successor of Aśoka is given as Jalauka. The events connected with him are not of much importance as they are legendary in character. Dāmodara II is the next king that is mentioned. Even in respect of him the local legend is intertwined with the historical data and his connection with the family of king Aśoka appears to be doubtful. Three Kuśān kings namely Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka are then mentioned.³

1 (1) Aśoka here referred to is the son of the grand-uncle of Śacīnara and great grandson of Śakuni whereas Aśoka Maurya was the grandson of Candragupta and the son of Bindusara.

(2) Aśoka Maurya has no direct place in Kashmir genealogy.

(3) This Aśoka is described as propitiating God Śiva for getting a son. (Rāj. I. v. (107) and for extirpating the Mlecchas who had overpowered the country. Overpowering of the country by Mlecchas never happened in the case of Aśoka Maurya. (4) The date for this Aśoka is later than that of Aśoka Maurya.

(Cf p. 284)

(P. C. p. 152)

2) Ibid

3) Dr. Mankad does not agree that these are Kuśāns.
(P. C. pp. 153 to 157)

Abhimanyu I is the name of the last king of the Çhavi-lākara list.

The successor of Abhimanyu is Gonanda III. It is from this king onwards that there is some definiteness about the historical information that Kalhaṇa furnishes. It is from him that the length of individual reigns of kings is indicated. From him a continuous list of kings is furnished but his relationship to Abhimanyu is not traceable. He is hailed as the founder of the Gonandiya dynasty. Then follow Vibhiṣaṇa I, Indrajit, Rāvaṇa and Vibhiṣaṇa II with their regnal periods. Nara and Kinnara are then mentioned with elaborate descriptions which are purely legendary in character. Siddha, Utpalākṣa, Hiranyākṣa, Hiranyakula and Vasukula follow in hereditary succession without much historical information about any one of them. Mihirkula is the next king that is mentioned there. He is of historical interest. But Kalhaṇa's description of his reign is full of legendary anecdotes. His date is known to be about 500 A. D. from historical records. Several other facts mentioned about him have been borne out by Chinese records of Hiuent'sang and Sungyun. His son and successor was Baka who is followed by Kṣitinanda, Vasunanda, Nara II and Akṣa in succession. The next king is Gopāditya whose fame rests on the construction of the temple of Jyeṣṭheśvara on the top of the hill called Gopādrī which is named after him. Gokaṇa was his son and he was succeeded by king Khila Narendrāditya who seems to be a foreigner as his name sounds rather un-Indian. The last king of the Gonandiya dynasty is Yudhiṣṭhira I with whom the first book of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī comes to a close.

In addition to the information about the kings of the Gonandīya dynasty, the first book also presents a picture of the general administrative system in Kashmir as described by Kalhaṇa. For instance the king was considered as a part and parcel of God Śiva and is represented as the source of light to the people who look up to him in their difficulties.¹ Even the Nilamata-purāṇa voices the same view as regards the king.² Kalhaṇa describes that there were eighteen offices in the administrative system of Kashmir at first. They were gradually increased according to exigencies and requirements. Governors of small provinces were called Maṇḍaleśvaras. On the whole as Dr. S. R. Ray says :— “The administrative machinery of ancient Kāśhmīra was well-developed, organised and efficient.”³

In the second book the reigns of six kings namely Pratāpāditya I, Jalauka, Tufijīna, Vijaya, Jayendra and Meghavahana are described. There does not appear to be any connection of these six kings with the rulers of the Gonandīya dynasty which was in power in Kashmir prior to them. They are supposed to have come from

- 1) काश्मीरपार्वती तत्र राजा श्रेयः शिवांशजः ।
 नावश्रेयः स दुष्टोऽपि विदुषा भूतिमिच्छता ॥
 महाशाक्यः स नृपतिः न शक्यो बाधितुं त्वया ।
 तस्मिन् दृष्टे तु कल्याणि भविता ते तमःक्षयः ॥

(Rāj. I. vv. 72 & 141)

- 2) काश्मीरा यं तथा राजा त्वया श्रेयो हरांशजः ।
 तस्यावज्ञा न कर्तव्या सततं भूतिमिच्छता ॥

(N. M. v. 237)

- 3) Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XXXVIII-1957 Parts
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foreign countries through the intrigues of a few discontented ministers. From the point of view of history there is not much information which is worthy of note in this book.

The third book of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* commences with the reign of Śreṣṭhasena. He built many sacred structures at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna (the modern Pandarthan). Hiraṇya and Toramāna are mentioned as his successors. The latter may not be the father of Mihirakula whom we meet with in Indian History. He is known to have issued coins during his time. Mātṛgupta, the reputed poet and writer on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, is then mentioned with a fairly detailed description of his rule in Kashmir. He was placed on the throne of Kashmir by Harṣavikramāditya of Ujjain who was the emperor of Kashmir. Pravarasena II succeeded him. His reign is of great historical interest as during his time coins were issued and the great city of Pravarapura was built. His immediate successor was Yudhiṣṭhira II who was followed by Lakshmaṇa Narendrāditya, Raṇāditya, Vikramāditya and Bālāditya. After him the administration of Kashmir passed into the hands of the Kārkota dynasty. The third book closes with the administration of Bālāditya in Kashmir and with it the first part of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* also comes to a close.

It is seen that, in this part of the work of Kalhaṇa, thirty seven princes of the first three dynasties are mentioned. Altogether they rule for a total period of 1784 years which works up to an average of about 48 years to each king. This, according to the view of Dr.

Wilson, sounds rather unusual and therefore improbable. The most incredible statement that is found in this part of the work is the reign of three hundred years allotted to king Raṇāditya.¹ Dr. Mankad explains this as the kingless period in the History of Kashmir.² In the first three books fifty-four reigns have altogether been recorded. But references to only six of them can be traced elsewhere. They are those of Aśoka, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Toramāna, Mihirkula and Harṣavikramāditya. Even here there are differences of opinion as the dates furnished by Kalhaṇa in respect of these reigns do not agree with those which have been established in History from other sources.

From the fourth book commences the second part of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. The administration of the kings of the Kārkota dynasty is fully described in this book. The founder of this dynasty was king Durlabhavardhana. He seems to have been connected with the previous royal family of Kashuir by ties of marriage. His date is probably from 627 to 644 A. D. according to the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India during his time. He seems to have been a powerful monarch and an enlightened ruler of Kāshmir. He ruled over Kashmir and also a part of the West and North-West Punjab. The most important thing that took place during his time was that fresh coins which were round in shape were issued in copper. The words 'Śrī Durlabha' and the word 'Deva'

1) स एवं भूपतिर्भुक्त्वा भुवं वर्षशतत्रयम् ।

निर्वाणश्लथ्यनिर्द्युति पातालैश्वर्यमासदत् ॥ (Rāj. III. v. 470)

2) P.C. pp. 123-145

were engraved on the two sides of the coins respectively. In an essay on the coins of Kashmir Sri J. L. Jalali says as follows :- "It is noteworthy that a hoard of sixteen thousand four hundred and forty-eight (16448) gold, silver and copper coins of this king was found in the heart of U. P. in May 1927. This shows how politically and economically Kashmir was linked up with the rest of India from ancient times."¹

The son and successor of Durlabhavardhana was Pratāpāditya II who married Narendia Prabhā and got three sons from her namely Candrāpīḍa (Vajrāditya), Tārāpīḍa (Udayāditya) and Muktāpīḍa (Lalitāditya). Of these kings Chandrāpīḍa succeeded his father and ruled for nine years. A very important thing that occurred during his time was that he sent an ambassador in 713 A. D. to the Chinese Court to invoke their aid against the Arabs who were invading Kashmir at that time. This fact is also mentioned in some of the Chinese records. But according to Kalhaṇa the period of Chandrāpīḍa's administration in Kashmir is given as 686 to 695 A. D. which results in a difference of about 20 to 25 years from the dates given in the Chinese records. Chandrāpīḍa was succeeded by his brother Tārāpīḍa who ruled for four years. He was followed by his younger brother Muktāpīḍa who ruled illustriously for a long period of 37 years. He was powerful and famous. He waged several wars against king Yaśovarman and against the Turks. He was a great patron of learning and was gifted with a high degree of aesthetic sense. There was

1) 'Kashmir' for september 1957 p. 223.

great encouragement for Sanskrit learning during his time.

Muktāpīḍa was followed by a long line of weak kings namely Kuvalayāpīḍa, Vajrāditya, Bappiyaka, Prṭhivyāpīḍa and Saṅgrāmāpīḍa I. This line of weak kings was followed by another great ruler Jayāpīḍa, the youngest son of Vajrāditya. He was succeeded by another long line of kings namely Lalitāpīḍa, Saṅgrāmāpīḍa II, Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa, Ajitāpīḍa, Anaṅgāpīḍa and Utpalāpīḍa in succession. No event of special importance seems to have occurred during the reign of any one of these kings. It has, however, to be mentioned that the reign of Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa which extended from 826 to 838 A. D. was peaceful and encouraging as far as Sanskrit learning was concerned. With this king the fourth book comes to a close.

In the fifth book the rulership of the Utpala dynasty is described rather extensively. The use of contemporary accounts may be stated to commence from this book onwards that is, from the reign of king Avantivarman, son of Sukhavarman, who ruled in Kashmir from 855 to 883 A. D. Many important events took place during his time. It is a well-known fact that he was the patron of many poets and philosophers. A great impetus was given, during his time, to the development of philosophical thought in Kashmir by such great sages as Kallaṭa and others mainly for the benefit of humanity. His son and successor was king Śaṅkaravarman who ruled in Kashmir from 883 to 902 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Gopālavarman who ruled only for two years

from 902 to 904 A. D. Then his mother by name Sugandhā ruled for two years i. e., up to 906 A. D. She was followed by a long line of rulers whose names and regnal periods are given below :—

SERIAL No.	NAME OF THE KING.	REGNAL PERIOD.	REMARKS.
1) Pārtha		906-921 A.D.	Pārtha was the son of Nirjita-varman. The son preceded the father in rulership.
2) Nirjitavarman		921-923 A.D.	
3) Cakravarman		923-933 A.D.	
4) Śūravarman I		933-934 A.D.	He was the Minister to whom the crown was sold by traitors.
5) Śambhuvardhana		935-936 A.D.	
6) Cakravarman (Restored)		936-937 A.D.	
7) Unmattavanti		937-939 A.D.	
8) Śūravarman II		939- A.D.	
9) Yaśaskara		939-948 A.D.	
10) Saṅgrāmadeva		948-949 A.D.	He came from a humble family of clerks.
11) Parvagupta		949-950 A.D.	
12) Kṣemagupta		950-958 A.D.	He married Diddā, daughter of Simharāja,

Chief of the Loharas. Real ruler was Diddā herself.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------|
| 13) Abhimanyu II | 958-972 A.D. |
| 14) Nandigupta | 972-973 A.D. |
| 15) Tribhuvana | 973-975 A.D. |
| 16) Bhīmagupta | 975-980 A.D. |
| 17) Diddā | 980-1003 A.D. |

In the sixth book the administration of Kashmir by the kings of the first Lohara Dynasty is described in detail. The first king of this dynasty was Saṅgrāmarāja who ruled for 25 years from 1003 to 1028 A.D. During his time there was great upheaval in political condition in North India. Harirāja was his son and immediate successor to the throne of Kashmir. He ruled for one year only. Then his brother Ananta ascended the throne and ruled for a long period of 35 years from 1028 to 1063 A.D. He was a very prosperous King. He defeated the Dāmaras. He came under the pious influence of his queen Sūryamati who was also called Subhaṭā. She was god-fearing and endowed generously for the construction of beautiful buildings and temples in Kashmir. There was great encouragement and patronage for poets and men of letters during his time.

His son and successor was Kalaśa who also ruled for a long period of 26 years from 1063 to 1089 A.D. He was hostile to his father. He actually set fire to the town of Vijayeśvara. Utkarṣa and Harṣa were his

two sons. The first ruled for a few months. He was succeeded by his younger brother King Harṣa who ruled for 12 years from 1089 to 1101 A. D. He was the most striking figure among the later Hindu rulers of Kashmir. He asserted his authority even outside Kashmir. But unfortunately misrule began in the last part of his reign. He too was hostile to his father. The result of the misrule was a secret conspiracy arose against him so that he was ultimately killed in the year 1101 A. D.

The description of contemporary events is found in the last two books of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. The administration of Kashmir by the second Lohara Dynasty is elaborately described in the seventh book. The names of the kings of this dynasty are furnished below with the periods of their administration in Kashmir:-

Sl. No.	Name of King	Period	Remarks
1)	Uccala	1101-1111 A. D.	Elder son of Malla
2)	Salhaṇa	1111-1112 A. D.	
3)	Suśśala	1112-1120 A. D.	His rule was similar to that of Uccala.
4)	Bhikṣācara	1120-1121 A. D.	
5)	Suśśala (restored)	1121-1128 A. D.	
6)	Jayasimha	1128-1149 A. D.	Kalhaṇa's contemporary.

A perusal of the matter contained in these two books reveals that the contemporary history of Kashmir was

turbulent and bloody. Uccala and Suśśāla were the two partners who had to divide the kingdom after the death of king Harṣa. The Dāmaras were their enemies. In 1111 A. D. king Uccala was murdered by a secret plot of his officials. Suśśāla became alert from this incident and immediately patched up the quarrel with Gaṅgacandra, the leader of the conspiracy and became the king of Kashmir. At this the Dāmaras rose in rebellion under the leadership of Bhikṣācara and drove Suśśāla out of power. Within one year of this incident he was able to come back and resume the reins of administration. He carried on for seven years until in 1126 A. D. he too was murdered when he was planning to assassinate his rival. He was succeeded by his son Jayasimha who ruled Kashmir for 21 years by Machiavellian diplomacy. Two years after he came to power he killed Bhikṣācara. There was peace till the year 1135 A. D. Trouble seems to have begun after that until in the year 1143 A. D. prince Bhoja rose in revolt. But it was put down by the diplomacy of the king. There was actually a peaceful pact with Bhoja in the year 1149 A. D. Kalhaṇa commenced writing his historical kāvya and finished it in the following year. This, in brief, is the subject-matter that is dealt with in the eight books of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.

From the work of Kalhaṇa we get not only a clear account of the history of his own country but also an idea of the political and social conditions of the times in which he lived. A detailed topography of Kashmir can also be gathered from a careful perusal of his work. The influence of Bilhaṇa is discernible throughout his

work. A few conclusions can be drawn about the character and personal relations of Kalhaṇa from certain passages occurring in the work. For instance the events that are described in the eighth book of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* are based on personal experience and knowledge. They are arranged in a chronological order. Panegyrics are completely absent. This shows that though Kalhaṇa was a court-poet he was principally a chronicler who was free from any bias for kings and their courts. While describing the troubled times during the first part of the reign of king Suṅgala there is a verse which looks as if it was composed after personal observations.¹ It can be seen that a major portion of Kalhaṇa's life was spent in Kashmir when it was torn to pieces by civil war. The events that occurred there have their lasting effects on Kalhaṇa and his relatives. Campaka, the father of Kalhaṇa, lost his post and Kalhaṇa himself had no office under any of the rulers. This may be the reason for his describing the incidents with an open mind. He might not have received even a royal recognition. It is probably this that enabled him to freely and openly denounce the vices of any particular ruler and point out the defects in the system of administration at that time. He did not hesitate to praise even an enemy if there were good qualities in him.

On the whole it may be stated that the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is an interesting historical record of the events that occurred in Kashmir. It is also a poetic composition written in simple and lucid style. The main sentiment in it is

1) ह्यो जानके भैक्षवेऽय वल्लभतुङ्गुरङ्गमान् ।

दृष्टवन्तो वयं सैन्ये सादिनोऽद्यापि साद्भुताः ॥ (Rāj. VIII. v. 941)

Santarasa as Kalhaṇa himself states at the very commencement. ¹ It is also didactic in character. There were many opportunities for the author to study the character of his country-men and give a fairly accurate account of it whenever occasions demanded. The events are narrated with a high degree of precision. Evil qualities such as cowardice and vanity on the part of Kashmir soldiers are boldly exposed while the bravery and honesty of the Rājaputs are praised. Kalhaṇa does not appear to tolerate the tactics of the Dāmaras. There is an indication, in the work, of the intimate knowledge of human nature that he possessed. In short it would not be wrong if it is stated that Kalhaṇa was far above an ordinary poet.

At the outset Kalhaṇa mentions the names of the works from which he could collect the required material for his work. One of them was that of Suvrata, the author of an evidently celebrated chronicle of his time, which he dispenses with by calling it in-accurate and troublesome. This Suvrata is still a mere name. He seems to have consulted eleven works of earlier writers besides the Nīlāmatapurāṇa. Of these he mentions four authors by name besides Suvrata. They are Kṣamedra, the author of Nṛpāvali, Helārāja, a Pāsupatabrahmaṇa who distinguished himself as a Mahāvratin and who composed the Pārthivāvali, Padmamihira and Cṇhavillākara who are mere names still. None of the works of these writers is available at present.

1) क्षणमङ्गिनि जन्तूनां स्फुरिते परिचिन्तिते ।

मूर्धाभिषेकः शान्तस्य रसस्यात्र विचार्यताम् ॥

(Rāj. I. v. 23)

Of these four early writers Helarāja was long ago identified by Kielhorn with the Kashmirian author of that name whose commentary on the *Vākyapadīya* (Bhartṛhari's Grammatical Work) was then known in fragments.¹ In the concluding verses of this work called the *Prakīrṇaprakāśa* which has since been published separately as a complete edition by two Indian Scholars it is seen that Helarāja was the son of Bhūtirāja and was born in the family of Lakṣmaṇa, minister of Mukṭāpīḍa, king of Kashmir. This Bhūtirāja has been identified by one of the editors (Sri Charudevasastri) as the father of Indurāja, one of the teachers of Abhinavagupta. So Helarāja might have lived in the latter part of the 10th century A. D. The view of the other editor Sri K. Sambasivasastri who places him in the latter half of the 7th century A. D. is less probable. Helarāja's work seems to have contained 12,000 verses.² Dr. Ghoshal says, on the nature of these old chronicles, as follows:—"Those older chronicles partook generally of the nature of a succession of recent historical works.....These, it may safely be surmised, were subject to the characteristic defects of the *Kāvya* style of composition-its tendency to idealise the heroes and so forth. Nevertheless we can not deny them the credit of attempting (as we have shown above) to salvage the lost historical traditions as much as possible and to give a new direction to the traditional chronological datum line."³

1) Indian Antiquary Vol. III. p. 285

2) Rāj. I. line 17

3) Studies in Indian History & Culture by
Dr. Ghoshal p. 149

It has already been stated that Kalhaṇa has very little regard for the Nṛpāvali of Kṣemendra as he says it is full of errors. From Padmamiḥira information about eight kings commencing from Lava is taken. He, in turn, seems to have got the material from the Pārthivāvali of Helarāja. From Cṣhavillākara information about Aśoka and other kings is gathered. Whatever may be the nature of the sources of Kalhaṇa, it may be stated that none of them dealt with the history of Kashmir entirely. They were, probably, continuations of the chronicles of still earlier writers from the point where they had left even as the successors of Kalhaṇa continued the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Kalhaṇa specifically maintains it in one of the verses.¹ It is also gratifying to note that Kalhaṇa did not depend mainly on the works of earlier writers for his sources. He seems to have gathered information from inscriptions and edicts also. This shows that he was not merely a poet and a historian but also an antiquarian. He seems to have made use of the coinage of ancient India and the popular traditions that were then current. According to him Kaniṣka was the first king to issue coins in Kashmir with his name engraved on them. He also refers to the coins of Durlabhavardhana in the 7th Century A. D., of Vinayāditya in the 8th century A. D. and of Kṣemagupta in the 10th century A. D. The names engraved were in the Śāradā script. Lastly there was his personal knowledge of the affairs of his time which contributed to the accuracy in the enumeration of facts and events.

1) दृष्टैश्च पूर्वभूभर्तृप्रतिष्ठावस्तुशासनैः ।

प्रशस्तिपट्टैः शास्त्रैश्च शान्तोऽशेषभ्रमकृमः ॥

(Rāj. I. v. 15)

Kalhana is unsurpassed as a historian. He mentions that the earlier works which he consulted were fragmentary and did not supply him the necessary information. Since the sources are not now available and other records such as the inscriptions are not verifiable, the only basis for judging him as a historian or a Chronicler is the internal evidence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* itself. Recent numismatic research in Kashmir has enabled scholars to supply additional information in this behalf to some extent. It is to be remembered that none of the earlier works referred to as sources is more than three or four centuries old from his times. Besides, the earlier narrations seem to have been mixed up with local and traditional legends. These are reproduced by Kalhana without any critical comment except on one or two occasions as could be seen from one of the Verses.¹ It may be stated that the critical spirit which is the true characteristic of a historian was not present in him upto the required mark. He cannot also be blamed for this lacuna as the times in which he lived were such as not to enable him to make use of his critical faculties. It should also be remembered that modern history is largely based on critical principles, as it is of recent origin even in the West.

Kashmir has stood for a long time isolated from the rest of India. The effects of this isolation can be seen in the narrations that occur in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The great national ramparts which enclosed Kashmir have assured

1) शकारिर्विक्रमादित्यः स इति भ्रममाश्रितैः ।
अन्यैरत्रान्यथालेखि विषंवादकदार्थितम् ॥

(Rāj II. v. 6)

it protection from foreign invasion and a historical existence of marked individuality. Various superstitions have also taken hold of Kashmirians. Kalhaṇa states that witchcraft was wide-spread in Kashmir. It is only after the events of the 7th century A. D. that the chronology of Kalhaṇa is accurate.

Kalhaṇa is fair and impartial in recording contemporary history. He never paints "his heroes white and enemies black" as Bāṇa and Bilhaṇa do in their works. He gives life-like portraits and character-sketches of the principal and minor personalities in the later part of his narrative. He has a high sense of humour and a quick sense of perception for human weaknesses. The details which he furnishes meticulously in his work are drawn true to life from available records. The descriptions are graphic and are full of unabated historical interest particularly in the last two books of his work. The only defect, if it can be called so, is that the narrative, at times, is rather lengthy. But the narrations are at once direct and dramatic and are free from exaggerations and rhetorical ornaments. It is only from 813 A. D. i. e., from the death of Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa that the events are properly described and the dates are authentic. The Laukika Era has been freely used. After the Utpala Dynasty came into power in Kashmir, the beginning and the end of each reign is indicated by a statement of year, the month and the date. These dates are found to be reliable and correct. Kalhaṇa, at this stage, seems to have realised the importance of dates and genealogy in a historical kāvya. He has stressed to a great extent the

importance of Dharma both in national and individual life. Its observance throughout his work reveals that he is both a moralist and a fatalist. There are also a few political maxims occurring here and there in his work. On that score alone it cannot, however, be stated that the work is didactic in element.

There are very few specimens of florid style in his kāvya which is full of poetic embellishments. It is not pedantic but dramatic in character. Even though the description of Yudhiṣṭhira's exile and Śakravarman's triumphal marches are described in the usual orthodox style, the narration of Jayāpīḍa's end with the spirited dialogue between the king and the injured brahmins whose curse proved fatal is not without dramatic force.¹ King Harṣa's tragic end and king Ananta's funeral are some of the historical incidents where Kalhaṇa is at his best. These incidents leave a permanent impression on the reader's mind. Figures of speech are used to relieve the monotony which the descriptions of common-place events is bound to bring in a kāvya. His language is

1) अथ विज्ञातिसमये तूलमूल्यौकसो द्विजाः ।

चुकुशुर्जातु तस्याग्रे प्रतीहारकराहताः ॥

मनुमान्धातुरामाया बभूवुः प्रवरा नृपाः ।

अन्वमावि तदग्रेऽपि ब्राह्मणैर्न विमानना ॥

मयि क्रुद्धे क्षणादेव ब्रह्मदण्डः पतेन्न किम् ॥

तत्श्रुत्वा विहसन्नराजा कोपाद्ब्राह्मणमब्रवीत् ।

पततु ब्रह्मदण्डोऽसौ किमद्यापि विलम्ब्यते ॥

ब्रह्मदण्डकृतं दण्डं मुक्त्वा दण्डधराधिपः ।

अकाण्डदण्डस्यैवायं ययौ दण्डधरान्तिकम् ॥

(Rāj. IV. vv. 640, 641, 651, 652 and 656)

elegant and graceful as it is very often clothed in original and attractive metaphors and proverbs. Dialogues have been introduced here and there in his work mainly with the purpose of diversion. There are a few obscure passages particularly in the latter part of the work which can be understood only by those who are well-acquainted with the contemporary events in Kashmir. There are also a few indistinct references in the work.

A scientific analysis of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* discloses that the events that are described in it were small and that the political interests were limited. Apart from the historical value of the work, there is a description of the subsequent course of political events in the country. It has also helped in the determination of the dates of many Kashmirian authors and other scholars as already indicated in the respective sections of this book. There were rebellions and internal disturbances in Kashmir when the Lohara kings were in power. The Hindu rule continued in Kashmir for nearly two centuries after Kalhana. But as the administration was in the hands of weak and helpless kings Muslims occupied it in 1339 A.D. under the leadership of Shahmir who came from the South, deposed Koṭarāṇi and founded an empire of his own there. The brahmins of Kashmir retained their inherited status together with its literary traditions. Hindu traditions reasserted themselves during the reign of the Muslim king Zainulabidin (1420-1470 A.D.) who was a great patron of Sanskrit learning and a pilgrim of the ancient Tirthas of the valley. Finally Akbar's conquest of Kashmir in the year 1586 A.D. marks the commencement of its modern history.

In the candid and realistic depictions of the grim socio-political life of his country, Kalhaṇa might have taken the clue from Kṣemendra, one of his fore-runners. His keen historical sense and sharp critical talents are only matched by his flexible imagination and fine sensibility. In one of his verses he states that he is aware of the heavy burden of responsibility on his shoulders.¹ In another place he lays great emphasis on the wonders that a poet can work by his facile pen.² He also pays great respect to the inherent greatness of a poet's creative faculty in a couple of verses.³

A few examples may now be cited from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* to show the matter-of-fact way of narration and the poetic insight of Kalhaṇa. Realistic pictures of distress caused by such natural phenomena as famine, flood and frost as well as by other causes such as selfishness and tale-bearing on the part of evil-doers are also

- 1) कथादैर्धनुरोधेन वैचित्र्येऽप्यप्रपञ्चिते ।
तदत्र किञ्चिदस्यैव वस्तु यत्प्रीतये सताम् ॥ (Rāj. I. v. 6)
- 2) कोऽन्यः कालमतिकान्तं नेतुं प्रत्यक्षतां क्षमः ।
कविप्रजापतीस्त्यक्त्वा रम्यनिर्माणशालिनः ॥ (Ibid. v. 4)
- 3) भुजवनतरच्छायां येषां निषेठ्य महौजसां
जलधिरशना मेदिन्यासीदसावकुतोभया ।
स्मृतिमपि न ते यान्ति क्षमापा विना यदनुग्रहं
प्रकृतिमहसे कुर्मस्तस्मै नमः कविकर्मणे ॥
येऽप्यासन्नभिकुम्भशायितपदा येऽपि श्रियं लेभिरे
येषामप्यभवन् पुरा युवतयो गेहेष्वहश्चन्द्रिकाः ।
तान् लोकोऽयमवैति लोकतिलकान् स्वप्नेऽप्यजातानिव
भ्रातः सत्कविकृत्य किं स्तुतिशतैरन्धं जगत्त्वां विना ॥ (Rāj. I. vv. 46 & 47)

graphically described in the work. For instance there is a simple but true description of Kashmir in the first book.¹ In the second book there is a fine portrayal of famine which is caused by an untimely snowfall.² The river Vitastā is full of life and individuality for the poet.³ The description of blind Yudhiṣṭhira is graphic and heart-rending and moves the reader to a flood of tears.⁴ The encouragement to learning and patronage to

- 1) विद्यावेशमानि तुङ्गानि कुङ्कुमं सहिसं पयः ।
द्राक्षेति यत्र सामान्यमस्ति त्रिदिवदुर्लभम् ॥ (Rāj. I v. 42)
- 2) पाकोन्मुखशरच्छालिच्छन्नकेदारमण्डले ।
मासि भाद्रपदेऽकस्मान्पपात तुहिनं महत् ॥
तस्मिन् विश्वक्षयोद्युक्तकालाट्टहसितोपमे ।
न्यमजन् शालयः साकं प्रजानां जीविताशया ॥
अथासीत् क्षुत्परिक्षामजनप्रेतकुलाकुलः ।
प्राकारो नरकस्यैव वीरो दुर्भिक्षविप्लवः ।
पत्नीप्रीतिसुतस्नेहं पितृदाक्षिण्यमातुरः ।
कृक्षिमरिः क्षुदुत्तप्तो विसस्माराखिलो जनः । (Ibid II. vv. 93-95)
- 3) चिरकालनिरोधेन सौत्कण्ठेवाम्बुधिं प्रति ।
ततः प्रावर्तत जवाद् गन्तुं सागरगामिनी ॥
जम्बालका स्फुरन्मीना भूर्बभौ सलिलोज्झिता ।
व्यक्तकाष्ण्यं सनक्षत्रा निर्भयेव नमःस्थली ॥
मूलस्रोतोऽयनिष्ठयूतभूरस्रोता बभौ सरित् ।
एकमोगाश्रयानेकफणेवासितपन्नगी ॥ (Ibid V. vv. 93-95)
- 4) नानावीर्यतृणपरिमलैस्त्र्यगन्धावनौर्वी-
रम्भः क्षोभप्रतिहतशिलाः पिच्छलाश्चाद्रिकुल्याः ।
क्रान्त्वा श्रान्तैर्विषकिसलयच्छायमुग्धाङ्गलेखै-
रभ्युत्सङ्गं निहिततनुभिर्मूर्छितं तस्य दारः ॥
पथेन्ताद्वितटाद्रिलोक्य सुचिरं दूरीमवन्मण्डलं
द्रागामन्त्रयितुं जहत्सु नृपतेदरिषु पुष्पाञ्जलीन् ।
क्षोणीष्टविकीर्णपक्षतिनमत्तुण्डं स्वनीडस्थितेः
सावेगं गिरिकन्द्रासु पततां वृन्दैरपि क्रन्दितम् ॥
(Rāj. I. vv. 370 & 371)

poets during the time of king Jayāpīḍa are beautifully described in the fourth book.¹ Kalhaṇa is capable of delineating individual character much better than types. For instance the description of the lame-footed Queen Diddā who surprised her subjects when she successfully broke through all the barriers set up by her swarming enemies is really crisp and wonderful.² Finally in the last book the flatterers of the king are denounced by him in a dignified manner.³

Jayasimhābhyudaya is the name of the other work of Kalhaṇa. As the name itself suggests it may also be a

- 1) उत्पत्तिभूमौ देशेऽस्मिन् दूरदूरतिरोहिता ।
कश्यपेन वितस्तेव तेन विद्यावतारिता ॥
तावत्पण्डितशब्देऽभूद्राजशब्दादपि प्रथा ।
तैस्तैर्दोषैर्न तु ग्लानिं कालान्तरवदाययौ ॥
नृपतौ विद्वदायत्ते राजसांमुख्यकांक्षिभिः ।
गृहा बभूवुर्विदुषां व्याताः सेवागतैर्नृपैः ॥
समग्रहीत्तदा राजा सोऽन्विष्यन्निखिलान् बुधान् ।
विदुदुर्दुर्भिक्षममवयथान्यनृपमण्डले ॥
अध्यक्षो भक्तशालायां शुकदन्तस्य मन्त्रिणः ।
विदुत्तया थक्कियाख्यः तेन स्वीकृत्य वर्धितः ॥
(Rāj. IV. vv. 486-491-4)
- 2) गोष्पदोलङ्घने यस्याः शक्तिर्नाशायि केनचित् ।
वायुपुत्रायितं पंग्वा तथा सङ्घान्धिलङ्घने ॥
(Ibid VI. v. 226)
- 3) कर्णे तत्कथयन्ति दुन्दुभिरवैः राष्ट्रे यदुदबोधितं
तन्नम्राङ्गतया वर्दन्ति करुणं यस्मात्त्रपावान् भवेत् ।
श्लाघन्ते यदुदीर्यते हि रिपुणाष्युग्रं न मर्मान्तकृत्
ये केचिन्ननु शाठ्यमौग्ध्यनिघयस्ते भूभृतां रक्षकाः ॥
(Ibid VIII. v. 3138)

historical poem, But the work has not yet been traced. Jayasimha was the king of Kashmir during a major part of Kalhaṇa's life. It is possible to suppose that a full acquaintance with the affairs of the state in his time prompted him to write a composition exclusively devoted to the life and times of the ruling king. A verse from this work has already been quoted in an earlier section of this book.¹

Though Kalhaṇa does not claim any originality for the plan and form of his work, it is well-nigh impossible to gauge its merits and value for historical research on comparative standards as the sources from which he collected the material for it are lost. So we have to turn to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* itself for any light that is required in this behalf. The instructive and interesting facts that could be gathered from it as regards the author, his life and times and the historical value of the work have been dealt with in as brief a manner as possible. Says Dr. Ghoshal:—"Among authors of historical kāvyas Kalhaṇa, beyond doubt, occupies the position of pre-eminence by virtue of his attention to the minutiae of general administration and its influence for good or for evil upon the people's fortunes in a small Himālayan kingdom, his understanding of military operations, his exact topography and chronology, the individuality of his extensive series of historical characters, his impartial judgement and his approach towards the standards of historical criticism."² Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also has paid

1) Cf. pp. 300-301.

2) *Studies in Indian History and Culture* by Dr. Ghoshal p. 242.

a glowing tribute to this great work of Kalhaṇa in the following manner :—“ The Rājatarāṅgiṇī is a rich store-house of information, political, social and to some extent economical. It is not only a work of serious contribution to history but also a work of Art. In one long series, as if on a band of gellatin of a cinematograph film Kalhaṇa brings before our eyes vivid pictures of a bygone age, through episodes which contain the different rasas or sentiments of love and heroism, of pathos and marvel.”¹

While pointing out the importance of the ancient coins of India and Kashmir Sri J. L. Jalali also speaks very highly of Kalhaṇa and his great work as follows :—“ The study of old coins found in different countries of the world, has made the valuable contribution to the writing of authentic history. Kashmir has not only natural beauty and salubrious climate, but the people inhabiting this heavenly abode have been endowed with creative faculties. Throughout the long course of their history, they contributed much to the Indian culture. Kashmir has the distinction of being the only State in India which possesses a long written history. Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī written in 1148 A.D. is a comprehensive record of not only the kings and queens who ruled over the State but also of the social customs and economic conditions which prevailed there from time to time. Kalhaṇa mentions in the preface to his famous history that he made a close study of old coins besides other historical records. It is fortunate that there are several old

1) 'Kashmir' October 1954 Issue.

coins preserved in the museum in Śrīnagar which throw a flood of light on the early as well as the later history of the State. Over and above this Kashmir coins are in several private collections and museums in the rest of India and in foreign countries.”¹ It can be seen from this quotation that Kalhaṇa built up a great tradition by writing the historical kāvya. That tradition was taken up by Jonarāja and Śrīvara in their respective Rājatarāṅgiṇis a few centuries later.

4—JONARĀJA (1400–1450 A.D.)

Jonarāja says that he was the son of Nonarāja² and grandson of Lularāja.³ He was the first writer to follow in the footsteps of Kalhaṇa in the composition of historical works. He was also a very good commentator as his commentaries on the Kirātārjuniya, the Pṛthvirājaviṇaya and the Śrīkanṭhacarita are even to day very popular. He commenced his historical work from the point where Kalhaṇa had left. There was a plot of land belonging to him which had been usurped unlawfully by some of his distant relatives. It was in dispute for a long time without being settled in favour of either parties owing to the weakness of his ancestors and to the incapacity of the administrators. It was only by the kind intervention of king Zainulabidin who was then the ruling monarch and

1) ‘Kashmir’ September 1957 Issue p. 223.

2) तस्मिन् राज्ञि विचारजे नोनराजस्य नन्दनः ।

बलाद्धृता भुवं राजसभायामहमाक्षिपमू ॥ (Jon. Rāj. v. 1034)

3) इति श्रीपण्डितलोत्तनयपण्डितनोनराजतनयराजानक-

श्रीजोनराजकृतया टीकया समेत (S. C. Comm. End)

by his persistent efforts that he got back the land. This is clearly stated by him while expressing his gratitude and admiration to the sense of justice displayed by the King.¹ He was the court-poet of king Zainulabidin.

The date of Jonarāja can be determined without much difficulty. It has been stated that he continued the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa from the point where he left it. He describes in it the earlier part of the reign of king Zainulabidin who ruled in Kashmir from 1420 to 1470 A.D. Since he has written a commentary on the *Śrīkanṭhacarita* he is later than Maṅkha who was probably a contemporary of Kalhaṇa. Śrīvara, his successor, says that Jonarāja passed away in the year 4535 kali which corresponds to 1434 A.D.² On the basis of these evidences the date of Jonarāja can be placed during the first half of the 15th century A.D.

The work of Jonarāja is popularly called the second *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. It was written nearly three centuries after Kalhaṇa wrote his work. It consists of 1334 verses and is a continuous narration without being divided into divisions or chapters. It commences from the end of the reign of king Jayasimha according to Jona-rāja's own statement at the commencement

- 1) राजा कीर्तिमहं भूमिं कूटकृदण्डमद्भुतम् ।
प्रजाः सुखं खला भीतिं प्राप्तवन्तः समन्ततः ॥ (Jon. Rāj. v. 1037)
- 2) श्रीजोनराजविवुधः कुर्वन्नाजतरङ्गिणीम् ।
सायकामिमिते वर्षे शिवसायुज्यमासदत् ॥ (Śrī Rāj. I. 1. 6)

of his work.¹ It ends with the description of the early part of the administration of king Zainulabidin, that is 1434 A.D. Even though the events are described with thoroughness and accuracy yet the author is humble and unassuming.² The descriptions of incidents are handled in a very efficient manner. They appear to be superior in several respects to at least some of those in Kalhaṇa. This may be due to the narrower range of the chronicle of Jonarāja. It may also be due to enlightened administration of the Muslim monarch vis-a-vis the gruesome background of the bigotry of his predecessor and the destruction caused by marauders like Zulquerkhan and Renchen.

A few examples may now be cited from the work of Jonarāja to show the general merits of the composition. For instance the panicstricken citizens are described by Jonarāja in a graphic manner.³ Similarly the surviving citizens coming out of their hiding places like frightened rats when the cruel Dalcha left are described in a very interesting manner.⁴ The threat of

- 1) तेषामभाग्यहेमन्तनिशातमसि तिष्ठति ।
नैव कश्चिदपास्यतां काव्यार्कानुदयाच्चिरम् ॥
रसमय्या गिरा वृद्धां नित्यतारुण्यमापिपत् ।
अथ श्रीजयसिंहान्तां तत्कीर्तिं कल्हणद्विजः ॥ (Jon. Rāj. vv. 5 & 6)
- 2) राजोदन्तकथासूत्रपातमात्रं कृतं मया ।
कुर्वन्तु रचनामत्र चतुराः कविशिल्पिनः ॥ (Ibid. v. 17)
- 3) अथो डल्चाम्बुपूराद्भिर्गिरौ रिचनमास्तात् ।
छायाजुषां फलाढयानां पुत्रागानामभूत्तदा ॥ (Jon. Rāj. v. 157)
- 4) ओताविव गते तस्मिन् कश्मीरा मूषका इव ।
मन्दं मन्दं विनिर्योताः मृतशेषा बिलान्तरात् ॥
नालब्ध पितरं पुत्रः पिता तं च न कंचन ।
भ्रातृश्च भ्रातरो डल्चराक्षःसोपप्लवात्यये ॥ (Ibid vv. 192-193)

Renchen is nicely described.¹ The tyranny of the administration on the eve of king Zainulabidin's accession to the throne of Kashmir provides a beautiful pen-picture with apt similies.² The solicitude of the Muslim king for his subjects irrespective of their caste or creed is rightly praised by Jonarāja.³

The continuation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī by Jcnarāja even after a lapse of three hundred years indicates the value and influence of Kalhaṇa's own work as a historical Kāvya. Kalhaṇa showed the way and inspired later writers to feel the necessity of writing such chronicles for the benefit of posterity as otherwise there would not be any definite historical record. The work of Jonarāja was continued with the same name almost immediately by his disciple Śrīvarapaṇḍita.

- 1) डल्चराहुविनिमुक्तं राजानं तुंगिमस्पृशा ।
अरुत्सत्सभृङ्गेण रिचनास्ताचलस्ततः ॥
(Jon Rāj v. 196)
- 2) मरुद्भिरिव वृक्षाणां शालीनां शलभैरिव ।
तन्मतस्थः खलश्चक्रे भङ्गः कश्मीरसंविदाम् ॥
(Ibid v. 712)
- 3) तन्नीतिः पूर्वराजेषु कुण्ठोत्कण्ठाः प्रजा व्यधात् ।
गुणातिशायिनी या च शर्करेश्वरसेष्विव ॥
पूर्वराजव्यवस्थाः स विनष्टा नवयन्त्रभूत् ।
शिशिरोपहता वल्लीर्वसन्ते इव भूपतिः ॥
सौम्या भीमा गुणा ह्यस्मिन्नवसन्नवसंगमम् ।
कान्यत्र सागराद् दृष्ट्वा विषामृतजलानला ॥
अभङ्गान् स नयन् भङ्गं निम्नानापूरयन्नुपः ।
स्वकीर्तिर्बिजवापार्थमनुदत्तां महीं व्यधात् ॥
(Ibid. vv. 978, 979, 1023 & 1099)

5-SRĪVARA (1450-1500 A.D.)

Srivarā is the next Kashmirian historian of importance. He says at the commencement of his work that he was the student of Jonarajā.¹ He was a brilliant and intimate associate of the king. He was the recipient of the patronage from three successive sultans namely king Zainulabidin, of his son Hyder Shah and his grandson Hasan shah (1464 to 1476 A.D.). No details are, however, available regarding his parentage. But a few special qualities which he possessed can be gathered from his work. He used to recite several Sanskrit texts to king Zainulabidin who was himself a pious ruler and an erudite scholar and who was interested in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and the Yogavāsīṣṭha.² He seems to have read the famous Bṛhatkathā to king Hyder Shah.³ He was the real favourite of Hasan Shah as could be seen from a reference to that effect.⁴ Hyder shah seems to have spent complete nights listening to the sacred purāṇas of the Hindus and their Dharmaśāstras from Śrīvara, as could be seen from a reference to

- 1) शिष्योऽहं जोनराजस्य सोऽस्य श्रीवरपण्डितः ।
राजावलीग्रन्थशेषापूर्णां कर्तुमुद्यतः ॥ (Śrī Rāj. I. 1 77)
- 2) मोक्षोपाय इति ख्यातं वासिष्ठं ब्रह्मदर्शनम् ।
मन्मुखादशृणोद्वाजा श्रीमद्वाल्मीकिमाषितम् ॥ (Ibid I. 5. 80)
- 3) सोऽहं संमान्य राजास्मै दत्तस्तत्समयेऽन्वहम् ।
कुर्वन् बृहत्कथास्थानमभूवं वृतपुस्तकः ॥ (Ibid. II. v. 150)
- 4) प्रतिग्रहानुग्रहाप्ता मुक्ता यन्नृपजीविका ।
तद्वृत्तं स्वस्य निष्कृत्यै वक्ष्ये श्रीवरपण्डितः ॥ (Ibid III. v. 3)

it.¹ He was so proficient in music that he became very intimate in his associations with the king. Fortunately even the king was very fond of gāthā and Gītā to which also there is a specific reference.² A few verses occurring in the work of Śrīvara show that he was an expert in singing and thus won the favour of the king.³ Lastly Śrīvara was also a scholar in Persian and Arabic.

A special mention may be made here of Śrīvara's extraordinary proficiency in music as several interesting passages are devoted to that aspect of his merit in his work. He was an accomplished musician and gives a detailed account of contemporary music. There is a reference to a controversy that took place between a contemporary musician and Śrīvara and how the latter

-
- 1) पुराणधर्मशास्त्राणि मोक्षोपायादिसंहिताः ।
शृण्वतो नृपतेरासीद्यामिनीषु प्रजागरः ॥ (Śrī Rāj. II. v. 216)
 - 2) गाथागीतप्रियो राजा स्वयं संस्कृतपद्यवित् ।
नादशंसामयं श्लोकं रागालप्स्येदमब्रवीत् ॥ (Ibid III v. 239)
 - 3) प्रबन्धगीतचतुरः कदाचित्स नृपाग्रतः ।
अगायत्सर्वलीलाख्यं प्रबन्धं देशभाषया ॥
अनभिज्ञातया राज्ञः पृष्ठोऽहं तस्य लक्षणम् ।
तूर्णं भरतशास्त्रादेः सोदाहरणमब्रवम् ॥
श्रुत्वा प्रबन्धान्यतः स साश्चर्यो गदनोऽभवत्
अहो काश्मीरकोऽपीदृक्चतुरः सर्वशास्त्रवित् ॥
इत्युत्त्वार्लिग्य मां मे त्वं गुरुरित्यब्रवीत्स्फुटम् ॥
(Ibid vv. 258, 259, 261, 263)

came out successful in the end.¹ Śrīvara also mentions how he was amply rewarded for all his merits by King Hasan. His devotion to music and the encouragement that was given to it by the ruling king² may support the view that even Kārṇāṭic music had its origin in Kashmir. This question is dealt with more elaborately in the Miscellaneous Section of this Book. It is also interesting to note that the technical term Śaḍaṅga is mentioned in his work. An earlier reference to this term is seen to occur in the commentary on the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana.³ The names of a few musical instruments especially those which are constructed with strings

- 1) यदपाठस्वरैस्तैस्तु तालरागैर्मनोहरम् ।
 श्रुत्वा षडंगं तन्मतो राजाभूदुदिताशयः ॥
 तद्रीतस्याङ्गवैकल्यं ज्ञात्वा मामब्रवीदिदम् ।
 गीतदर्पभृतानेन वादं कुरु समान्तरे ॥
 तथेत्युक्ते महाराजो तयोर्वादमकारयत् ।
 सभायां विहिते वादे गीतग्रन्थावलोकनात् ॥

(Śrī Rāj. vv. 260-262)

- 2) घोषाः स्वोत्पत्तिघोषा गतिगुणचतुराः पीवराङ्गास्तुरङ्गाः
 स्फीतं यज्ञोपवीतं कनकमणिचितं द्रव्यमन्यत्र्य भव्यम् ।
 वस्त्रोद्योताश्च पोता निजवपुषि धृता वस्त्रयोगाः सभोगा
 राजा श्रीहस्तेन प्रसभमिह मयि श्रीवरे किं न दत्तम् ॥

(Śrī Rāj. III. v. 265)

- 3) रूपभेदाः प्रमाणानि भावलावण्ययोजनम् ।
 सादृश्यं वर्णिकाभङ्गं इति चित्रषडङ्गकम् ॥

(K. S. V. p. 33 Comm.)

are also mentioned.¹ The names of the following rāgās viz: Kedāragauḍa, Gāndhāra, Deśabhaṅgila, Mālava and Karṇāṭa and of two kinds of dancing namely Lāsikā and Dīpikā are also mentioned in addition to a prabandhagīta. Thus the poet and musician Śrīvara seems to have amused his Sultan by his mastery and skill in pada, pāṭha, svāra, tāla, rāga and ṣaḍaṅga.

There is no difficulty in the determination of the date of Śrīvara. He begins his historical Kāvya from the middle of king Zainulabidin's reign, that is from where Jonarāja left. Even though the exact year from which the narration commences is not specifically mentioned, it may be stated that it begins at the latest from 1434 A. D. i.e. the year in which his teacher Jonarāja passed away.

The last verse of Śrīvara's work contains the name of Fathe Shah who ruled from 1479 to 1488 A.D. Though he ruled there twice, there is reference only to the first period as it lasted for a longer time. It may, therefore, be stated that Śrīvara recorded incidents in his work upto the year 1479 A.D. It is stated in the fourth Rājatarāṅgiṇī that a total period of 62 years in the history of Kashmir is covered by the two Historians

- 1) मत्सहस्सननामापि पितुरभ्यधिको गुणी ।
 प्रथमं दशतन्त्रीकां मोदवीणामकारयत् ॥
 भाषाधिगीतसामग्रीं पारसीगीतकौशलम् ।
 तुम्बवीणाधरः सोऽहं नृपाज्ञतोऽप्यदर्शयम् ॥

(Śrī Rāj. II. vv. 237 & 238)

Jonarāja and Śrīvara.¹ This also agrees with the period commencing from the accession of Zainulabidin upto that of Fathe Shah taking into account the fact that Jonarāja started describing the history of Kashmir from the sixth year of Zainulabidin's reign. On the basis of all these facts the date of Śrīvara can be placed during the second half of the 15th century A. D.

The work of Śrīvara is popularly called the third Rājatarāṅgiṇī. It is, in fact, much superior to the work of his predecessor in some respects and at times closely approaches the sublimity of Kalhaṇa's famous work. The events pertaining to the period 1434 to 1486 A.D are described in it. It is divided into four books with six sub-divisions in the first. There are altogether two thousand two hundred and seventeen (2217) verses in it. The general get up and plan of the work is indicated below:-

Sl. No.	Name of the Division & Subject Matter	No. of Verses
1.	I—(1) मल्लशिलायुद्धवर्णनम्	176
2.	I—(2) दुर्भिक्षवर्णनम्	36
3.	I—(3) हाजिखानसंयोगवर्णनम्	120
4.	I—(4) पुष्पलीवर्णनम्	54
5.	I—(5) क्रमसरोयात्रावर्णनम्	108
6.	I—(6) जैनशाहिवर्णनम्	279
7.	II हाजी हैदरशाहराज्यवृत्तान्तवर्णनम्	220
8.	III इस्सनशाहराज्यवृत्तान्तवर्णनम्	565
9.	IV फातिशाहराज्यप्राप्तिवृत्तान्तवर्णनम्	659

1) श्रीजोनराजविबुधश्रीवराभ्यां मनोरमम् ।

कृतं द्वाषष्टिवर्षान्तं ग्रन्थं राजावलीद्वयम् ॥ (P. & S. Rāj v. 6)

Srīvara commences his work with a modesty which is becoming of his birth and learning.¹ He states that he has recorded facts and figures collected and compiled by him for the benefit of later generations.² His work is a chronicle which is exactly similar to that of Kalhana and is a rich store-house of apt and effective descriptions, of pleasure-trips, social festivals, bitter quarrels and fateful mishaps. For instance the incident connected with a letter that was addressed by the distressed monarch to one of his sons is considered to be one of his master-pieces as far as the description is concerned.³

- 1) क काव्यं मदगुरोस्तस्य क च मन्दमतेर्मम ।
वर्णमात्रेण मन्कोले धनसारायते कथम् ॥
राजवृत्तानुरोधेन न काव्यगुणचर्चया ।
सन्तः शृण्वन्तु मद्वाचः स्वधिया योजयन्त्वपि ॥
अथवा नृपवृत्तान्तस्मृतिहेतुरयं श्रमः ।
क्रियते ललितं काव्यं कुर्वन्त्यन्येऽपि पण्डिताः ॥

(Sri Rāj. I. 1-8 to 10)

- 2) कायस्थोक्तिवदेयं कृता स्मृत्यै भविष्यताम् ।
दृष्ट्वेदं ललितं काव्यं कुर्वन्त्यन्येऽत्र पण्डिताः ॥ (Ibid. III. v. 6)
- 3) पुत्र मेऽवसरो दृष्टस्तादृक् प्राप्तो दुस्तरः ।
यत्र मत्प्राणसन्देहे गतिर्नान्या त्वया विना ॥
मत्पत्रावेक्षणे युक्तं शयितस्य तवासनम् ।
आसीनस्य समुत्थानमुत्थितस्य च धावनम् ॥
किमन्यत्सत्यमेवोक्तं त्यक्त्वापि श्रुतयन्त्रणम् ।
यथागच्छसि तत्पूर्वं पूर्णं प्राप्स्यसि बांछितम् ॥
अतिपूर्णं न चेत्प्राप्तो मयि जीवति विह्वले ।
गते मयि मदभ्यर्णं पुनरागमनेन किम् ॥ (Ibid. I. 3. 86 to 89)

The description of famine¹ due to untimely rainfall is another good example of graphic description in his work. Similarly flood occasioned by heavy rains is described equally nicely.² The festival of music and dance at Vijayeshvaraksetra (modern Bihahari) is described in an original manner stating that the eye and the ear of the observers were vying with each other in the derivation of pleasure.³ The life on the Dal lake is portrayed in an excellent manner.⁴

- 1) दुर्मिक्षदुःखितं लोकं कथं पश्यति संप्रतम् ।
इतीव भूरभूच्छन्नमुखी हिमसितांशुकैः ॥
सर्वस्मिन् दिवसे रात्रावपि भिक्षुपरम्पराः ।
शरा इवाविशन् देहे गेहे धान्यावहे तदा ॥ (Sri Rāj 1. 2. 13 & 17)
- 2) वृष्टयुपद्रवसन्नद्धा फलद्विहरणाकुलाः ।
उत्थिता बुद्बुदव्याजाद् दुष्टा नागफला इव ॥
वृक्षाः सर्वत्र पत्रान्तः पतद्बृष्टिस्वनच्छलात् ।
अश्रुबिन्दूनिवामुञ्चन् रुदन्तो जनचिन्तया ॥
सविभ्रमा घनावर्ता बाहिन्युत्थाः सहेषिताः ।
जवाधवावन्तुङ्गस्तत्तरङ्गतुरङ्गमाः ॥
अत्युच्चपातकृन्नीचोन्नतिदं च निङ्कुशम् ।
आसीदपथगं सत्यं तदा जलविजृम्भितम् ॥
(Sri Rāj. 1-3-5-7-9 & 10)
- 3) यासां नृत्ये च गीते च त्वत्तो मेऽस्त्यधिकं सुखम् ।
इति वादोऽभवत् श्रोत्रनेत्रयोः प्रेक्षणक्षणे ॥
(Ibid 1-4-12)
- 4) शैवलन्ति द्रुमा यत्र कमठन्ति च पर्वताः ।
पूर्यश्च नागालोकन्ति जलान्तर्यत्र बिम्बिताः ॥
यच्चलत्तृणभृगालिकुलानि सरसीह्वाम् ।
तत्सौगन्ध्यमिवघ्रातुमानतानीक्षते जनः ॥
(Ibid 1-5-37 & 38)

Thus the historical work of Śrīvara is at once a beautiful poetic composition and a valuable chronicle of recorded events. It is specially important from two points of view. Firstly it furnishes a good deal of information about the development of music, both vocal and instrumental, in Kashmir and the literature that existed on it at that time. Secondly it gives a list of scholars that adorned the court of king Zainulabidin and describes the part played by the Muslim rulers of Kashmir at that time. A few of the names of these scholars are also mentioned by Jonarāja in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī. They are Tilakācārya, a Buddhist scholar, Śīryabhaṭṭa poet and vedic scholar, Simha, an Astrologer and Rāmānanda, a Grammarian.¹

The other works of Śrīvara, are Kathākautuka a poetical work and Subhāṣitāvalī, an anthology which have already been dealt with². Thus Śrīvara is a historian, a poet and a compiler all in one. His chrrnicle was

- 1) सम्यग्दशबलेनाथ सर्वज्ञेन महीभुजा ।
 सौगतस्तिलकाचार्यो महत्तमपदे कृतः ॥
 स शिष्यमहत्स्तिलकः स सिंहगणनापतिः ।
 सोपानान्यभवनुच्चपदारोहे द्विजन्मनाम् ॥
 कर्पूरभट्टो निर्दर्यः प्राणरक्षो महीभुजः ।
 गुणिनां शरणं चक्रे स्वगुणैः सुरभिं सभाम् ॥
 पूर्वाब्दग्रहसंवारादुत्तराब्दग्रहस्थितिम् ।
 रूपभट्टो विदन्नासीद्विनैव गणितश्रमम् ॥
 श्रीरामानन्दपादानां भाष्यव्याख्या क्षणेक्षणम् ।
 वीक्षते शारदा क्षोणीमेव संभ्रान्तमानसा ॥

(Jon. Rāj. vv. 1096 to 1101)

- 2) Cf. pp. 259 & 260.

continued by Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka. It is interesting to note that Śrīvara by his genius and poetic skill won the admiration of even Muslim rulers of Kashmir and produced beautiful poetic compositions and valuable chronicles.

6-PRĀJYABHAṬṬA (1525-1575 A.D.)

&

7-Śuka(1550-1600 A.D.)

Prājyabhaṭṭa & Śuka are the two Kashmirians who succeeded Śrīvara in the important work of writing chronicles. They have to be dealt with together as the fourth Rājatarāṅgiṇī is a result of their united efforts. Prājyabhaṭṭa was a brahmin scholar of Kashmir and Śuka was his beloved disciple who assisted his guru in the task of writing historical records. Both these writers kept up the tradition by following in the path chalked out by Kalhaṇa and the other writers on history. Very little is known about the personal history of either of these two historians. Their chronicle which is known as the Rājāvalipatākā or more popularly the fourth Rājatarāṅgiṇī is written in the same manner as those written by Kalhaṇa and other historians and is also full of poetic descriptions.

As regards the determination of the date of these two historians there is not much difficulty. The annexation of Kashmir by the Moghul Emperor Akbar took place in the year 1586 A.D. Because the fourth Rājatarāṅgiṇī commences with the reign of Fathe Shah i. e.,

from where Śrīvara left and describes the incidents till the advent of Moghuls in Kashmir and its annexation by Akbar with which the two historians seem to have been personally acquainted, the date of Prājyabhaṭṭa may be placed during the second and third quarters of the 16th century A. D. and of Śuka, his disciple, the second half of the same century. This is further confirmed by the statement of Prājyabhaṭṭa to the effect that he actually commenced the chronicle when Fathe Shah was ruling in Kashmir¹. Śuka also states that he continued the chronicle till the arrival of Asafkhan who, it is known from history, was sent by Akbar to Kashmir in his 39th regnal year².

The fourth Rājatarāṅgiṇī altogether consists of 950 verses and is actually called, फातिशाहिअकबरजलालुद्दीनस्य काश्मीर-प्रातिवर्णनम्. It can be said to consist of two parts, the first being fairly accurate and the second sketchy and confusing. This conspicuous difference in the quality and nature between the two parts may be mainly due to the illtreatment shown to the Hīndus, particularly brahmins, by the Muslim rulers. This is clearly expressed at the

- 1) राजावलिपताकां तां राज्ये फतिहभूपतेः ।
एकोननवतिं यावद्व्यक्तीचक्रे ततः परम् ॥ (P & S. Rāj. v. 8)
- 2) अथ देशादिदोषेण दुष्टलुब्धकमीतितः ।
नाग्रहीद्राजवृत्तान्तशैवालं मानसे कविः ॥
तदाग्रभृति तद्वृत्तवर्णनं क्रियते मया ।
बुद्ध्याश्रयात्मजेनाव शुकाख्येनात्मचापलात् ॥

(Ibid vv. 9 & 10 p. 322)

end of the work¹. The taxes that were levied and the troubles that were given to them were so many and so oppressive that it was impossible for any one with self-respect to live peacefully even for a day in Kashmir at that time.

The fourth Rājatarāṅgiṇī was translated into Persian a few years later. It appears that the Sanskrit work itself was presented to Akbar during his first visit to Kashmir. There seem to be many interpolations in the text of the chronicle. For though the entire work was intended to be entirely in poetry, there occurs a prose passage between the two verses 809 and 810. A correct list of the kings who ruled in Kashmir during the half century preceding the events described at the end of the chronicle is also not forthcoming. This may be due to the various interpolations in the text based on the Akbarnāmā which was translated into Sanskrit. Lastly seven verses (from 926 to 933) are introduced and

- 1) पुरा चक्रकुलोत्पन्नैर्भूषैर्जातिविरोधतः ।
 ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्तदा दण्डो गृहीतः किल वार्षिकः ॥
 यो ररक्ष निजां जातिं कुलशीलसमन्वितः ।
 स ददौ वार्षिकं राज्ञे करं प्रतिग्रहं द्विजः ॥
 ब्रह्मयज्ञोपवीतस्य रक्षणाय समर्पितः ।
 प्रत्यब्दं ब्राह्मणे राज्ञां चत्वारिंशत्पणाः कराः ॥
 उत्तमो ब्राह्मणो देशं तत्याज म्लेच्छदूषितम् ।
 तत्याज मध्यमो लजां जातिं तत्याज चाधमः ॥
 म्लेच्छमेधे स्थिते तस्मिन्नन्धकारितदिङ्मुखे ।
 विप्रा देशान्तरं जग्मुर्मैरालां इव मानसम् ॥

(P. & S. Rāj. vv. 885-889)

appear to be completely unconnected with the trend of narration in the historical kāvyas as they describe the origin of saffron and its growth in Kashmir.¹

The important events that are described in the chronicle are briefly as follows. The second invasion by Mirza Hyder and his occupation of Kashmir for a period of ten years are described in verses 408 to 415. The condition of the people in Kashmir after the departure of the Moghuls is described from verses 416 to 420. This is probably the place where Śuka commences his part of the chronicle. This is followed by a description of the administration of certain kings who ruled in Kashmir after the Moghuls left. It is this part of the chronicle that looks rather unreliable and confusing. Even the dates furnished therein do not appear to be correct. Since a few spurious passages are found intermingled with the narration of events that took place in Kashmir in this part, it may not be of much historical value.

With this the contribution of Kashmir to history in Sanskrit Literature practically comes to a close. It may be stated that Kashmir stands distinguished in this respect. Though the historical Kāvya's are principally poetic compositions they are certainly not panegyrics but are chronicles in which events have been recorded with precision along with dates of their occurrences.

1) भूतलान्निर्गता रेजे कुङ्कुमाङ्कुरसन्ततिः ।

शरद्विदक्षया शेषशिरःपङ्क्तिरिवोत्थिता ॥

..... ॥ इति कुङ्कुमोत्पत्तिवर्णनम् ॥

(P. & S. Rāj. v. 926 etc.)

These chronicles became very interesting and popular because of the valuable information that they contain. They have, to some extent, mitigated the charge that some Western Scholars have levelled against India and Sanskrit to the effect that India has no historical literature as such, as it did not make any history. Another noteworthy factor is the great interest that even foreign scholars are evincing in the Rājatarāṅgiṇīs of Kashmir. They have not only translated them into the languages of their respective countries but also have drawn up critical analyses of the work. There are Persian translations of these historical Kāvya. They were translated into Persian along with several other works during the reign of king Zainulabidin as could be seen from a reference in the third Rājatarāṅgiṇī.¹ There exist translations of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī in a few European languages also at present. All these references indicate the importance of the Rājatarāṅgiṇīs in Sanskrit Literature. As pointed out in the quotation of Dr. Stein at the beginning of this chapter strenuous efforts are necessary to unearth the treasures of antiquity like these historical Kāvya that are hidden there before it is too late and before much of what is of value is lost for ever due to rapid foreign influences.

- 1) दशवतारपृथ्वीशग्रन्थराजतरङ्गिणीः ।
 संस्कृताः पारसीवाचा वाचकारास्त्वकारयत् ॥
 पुराणादि च तद्युक्त्यावाच्यन्त निजभाषया ।
 स्लेच्छैर्द्वैतकथासारं हाटकेश्वरसंहिताः ॥

(Śrī Rāj. 1-5-85 & 86)

Speaking on the historians of Kashmir and the work of writing history there Dr. Kaumudi observes as follows :—“ After Kalhaṇa's death, the work of writing history was continued by other scholars. In the Muslim period, during the time of king Zainulabidin (1420 to 1470 A.D.) the narrative was continued by Jonarāja who wrote in Sanskrit and Mulla Ahmed who preferred Persian. Both these writers brought the history of Kashmir from Kalhaṇa's time right up to their own day. Zainulabidin, it may be pointed out, was one of the most progressive rulers of Kashmir. No account of the literary history of Kashmir during the Muslim period can be complete without a mention of his name, for he not only brought peace and goodwill in the spheres of religion and politics, but also left a lasting impression in the field of letters. This great monarch attracted chroniclers and scholars and poets to his court from far and near. Speaking of his benevolence, Abul Fazal writes in the *Ain-Ei-Akbari*, ‘such was his benevolence and love of his subjects that he abolished the polltax, which used to be levied on the Hindus, forbade oxen from being slain etc....). The Sultan was undoubtedly one of the greatest of medieval patrons of letters’. ¹

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- 1) ‘Kashmir, Its Cultural Heritage’ by Dr. Kaumudi
p. 44.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF KASHMIR

CHAPTER VII

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF KASHMIR

ANALYSIS

Geographical Elevation and Natural Beauty—Rivers, Mountains, Flora and Fauna of Kashmir—Description of Kashmir by Kashmirian Poets—The effect of Geographical Situation of Kashmir on the Life and Conduct of the People—Conclusion.

CHAPTER—SEVEN

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF KASHMIR

The Topography of Kashmir will now be briefly dealt with in this chapter. From a look at the map of Kashmir it can be seen that it is surrounded by the lofty ranges of the Karakoram and the Himālayas. It has been described by various people in various ways as 'a dream of loveliness', 'the jewel of Asia' and 'a Terrestrial Paradise of the Indies' and so on. In the words of Dr. Kaumudi "Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring or an ironfort to a palace of Kings.¹ It has many attractions and delights. Its beauties are variegated, snows perennial and vistas picturesque. It is a mass of colour in spring, it is covered with green grass and glistening dew-drops in summer, it is paleochre in autumn and pearly white in winter. These are the reasons for its charms which attract poets from far and near.

To account for this wealth of natural beauty in which Kashmir is clothed, a study of its geography and topography is essential. The State of Kashmir is surrounded by Russia, China, Pakistan, Tibet and Afghanistan and is therefore a strategic point in International affairs. It extends from $32^{\circ} 17'$, to $36^{\circ} 50'$, North latitude and $73^{\circ} 26'$, to $80^{\circ} 30'$, East longitude and occupies a total area of about 81,000 square miles.²

- 1) 'Kashmir-Its Cultural Heritage' by Dr. Kaumudi p.34
- 2) Imp. Gaz. Vol. VIII. p. 60.

Kashmir is like a basin encircled by lofty mountains on every side. In the middle there is a wide alluvial tract intersected by the river Jhelum (Vitastā) and its tributaries. The Valley is situated at an altitude of 5200 feet above the sea-level. There are also vast plateaux of comparatively slight elevation stretching from the mountains to the plains. The Southern portion of Kashmir is more inhabited than the others and includes the lower half of the Kṛṣṇa Gaṅgā valley. The entire district lying to the South of the snowy range that separates the drainage of the Indus from that of the Jhelum and the Chenab also lies in this part of Kashmir.

The highest peaks in the Pansal range are Muh (14,952 ft.), Ahertatopa (13,042 ft.) and Haramuk (16,015 ft.). Beyond the limits of Kashmir the isolated peak of Nangaparbat is 26,629 ft. and stands between Kashmir and the Indus. The beautiful scenery of the Kashmir valley is on the Southern side where the mountains slope gently. On the Northern side the country is wild and sublime, the mountains rising roughly to an average height of 26,000 ft. They have always attracted many visitors from all parts of the world.

The principal river of Kashmir is the Jhelum or the Vitastā of the Vedic hymns which is supposed to have been brought down by the sage Kaśyapa as stated by Kalhaṇa in his famous work.¹ It is also described as the energy of the Lord of Universe by Jayadratha.² It is

1) कश्यपेन वितस्तेव तेन विद्यावतारिता । (Rāj. IV. v. 486)

2) शक्तिर्भगवतो यस्य वितस्तरूपमाश्रिता ।

चराचरस्य जगतो माक्षि कल्मषकर्दमम् ॥ (Har. Cint. p. 3. v. 27)

formed by the junction of three streams namely the Arpat, the Bung and the Sandaran and receives a number of tributaries such as the Liddar from the North-East, Sind from the East (opposite to Shadipur) and the Pohru which flows into it near Sopur (the Surapura of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī¹). On its left bank it is joined by the Veshan and the Runbaora near Murhana, by the Ramshir at Karkarpur and the Dudh-Gaṅgā at Srinagara. The other rivers are the Kṛṣṇa-Gaṅgā which flows in a North-North-Westerly direction and the Mau Wardwin which flows Southwards. Of these the Jhelum alone is navigable to a distance of about 60 miles. It is spanned by thirteen bridges through the valley of Kashmir. These are peculiar constructions and are called Kadals. They are all made of Devadāru wood. There are also smaller bridges and rope-suspension bridges which are often of great length and which are popularly called Chika and Jhola respectively. The Srinagara tract is intersected by a labyrinth of canals. Irrigation canals are as numerous as the lakes of Kashmir both in the valley and on the mountains. The Mānasbal, situated at a distance of eighteen miles from Srinagara and referred to by Bilhāṇa as the Mānasasarovara is the loveliest and the most beautiful lake in Kashmir situated near the right bank of Jhelum ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in width and very deep).² The Wular which is deep and wide (14 miles in

1) Rāj. V. v. 118 & VI. v. 186

2) धृत्वा काश्चित्कनककपिशः कौतुकाद्यक्षकन्याः

प्रत्यागच्छन् धनपतिपुरादुत्तरं मानसं यः ।

दत्तादलेषं हरमुकुटतो ग्रस्तया नाकनद्या

हेमाब्जानामकृत वसतिं मानसादाहृतानाम् ॥ (Vik. XVIII. v. 55)

summer and 7 miles in winter) is the largest of the lakes in Kashmir and the biggest fresh-water lake in the whole of India. Truly has it been remarked by Arthur Neve that "Ancient India has nothing more worthy of its early civilisation than the grand remains of Kashmir." ¹

The Dal or city lake and the Anchar six miles from Srinagara are the other lakes of Kashmir. It appears that a manuscript was discovered inside this Dal lake. In this connection an interesting information is given by Dr. Bühler. He says as follows:- "The Pandits regularly kept the manuscripts in water before selling them to me in order to improve their appearance. I was also told of a manuscript which had been fished out of the Dal, the lake near the city in which it was probably thrown during one of the Musalman persecution. It must have been lying in the water for many years." ² Besides these there are a few mountain-lakes namely (1) Konsanāg on the Pirpanjal (2) Seṣanāg on the Liddar valley on the way to the famous Amarnāth cave (3) Gaṅgābalnāg and (4) Sarbalnāg on the Haramuk (Haramukūṭa of Bilhaṇa). Sopur is on the banks of the Wular lake. Seṣanāg beautifully reflects the eternal grandeur of the Himālayas. Its blue waters look like emerald set in a Jewel.

1) "Kashmir—Its Cultural Heritage" by

Dr. Kaumudi p. 78.

2) B. K. R. p. 30.

The mineral wealth of Kashmir is also considerable. Inferior varieties of iron and copper are found. Sulphur springs are common. There are also large quantities of lead sulphide (surma). Anthracite coal is generally found there. Gold washing is carried on in small measure.

The flora of Kashmir is almost similar to that of Europe. The Devadāru tree merits first notice. Its range extends from 7000 to 12,000 feet above the sea-level. It reaches a height of 100 to 200 feet and has a girth ranging from 20 to 40 feet. Sandal-wood is also found there, though in small quantities. Flowers are very numerous and various. The crocus is cultivated for the production of saffron which is used both as a condiment and as a medicine. The fruits that are grown there are apple, almond, pomogranate, grapes, hazel-nut and melon. There is a great variety of vegetable. The paper produced in Kashmir has a great reputation. The floating gardens of Kashmir are worthy of mention. Bears, Wolves, Monkeys, Muskdeers, Porcupine and birds of prey are common in the forests of Kashmir.

The people of Kashmir belong to the Āryan Origin and are physically fine, tall, strong and well-built. In this connection the observations of Prof. Huxley and others on the significance of the word Āryan is worthy

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- 1) It is contended whether the word Āryan has any ethnic significance.

of note. 1 The population of Kashmir is nearly half a crore 70% of which are Muslims, 20% Hindus and the rest Sikhs, Buddhists and others. Kashmiri women are exceptionally charming and seldom fail to impress the aesthetic eye. They are fond of tea. Thirteen different languages chief of which are Dogri, Kashmiri, Pahari, Ladakhi and Darda are spoken in Kashmir. The Kashmiri language is mostly used in Kashmir proper and is curiously and closely related to Sanskrit. In fact, Sanskrit was the State language in Kashmir for a number of years. Till very recently it held its supreme sway not only over Kashmir but also over India. The following are the observations of Dr. Bühler regarding the Kashmiri dialect :—“Kashmiri is a Prākṛt, one of the languages descended from Sanskrit or rather from one of the dialects out of which the classical Sanskrit was formed. It differs, however, very considerably from all its Indian sister-tongues. Sindhi comes nearest to it. The chief peculiarities of this language are :—

- (1) Short *a* is preserved as a substitute of long *a*
- (2) The neuter and masculine genders are unified.
- (3) Four of the ancient cases namely Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental and Vocative have been retained.

- 1) “To me an Ethnologist who speaks of Āryan race, Āryan blood, Āryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a Dolichocephalic Dictionary or Brachycephalic Grammar.”
(‘We Europeans’ by Huxley, Haddon & Carr Saunders pp. 127 & 128).

(4) Three old tenses and moods namely the Present, Imperative and the Future have been preserved.

(5) There is the usual liberal allowance of periphrastic Tenses formed with the Participles. Kashmiri has three chief varieties. One of them is used by brahmins consisting of the prevalence of Sanskrit words, one by Muslims full of Arabic and Persian words and the third used by women and the common people in general. The first one is the most precious for the philologist." 1

Ever since the Muslim occupation of Kashmir i.e., from the 15th century A.D. onwards Persian has become the State language. But still the interest that is evinced in and the respect that is shown to the Sanskrit language and books are really remarkable. There is no doubt that with the slightest impetus Sanskrit will regain its former position ere long.

The climate of Kashmir is varied and differs from place to place. There are many fertile lands in the valley of Kashmir. There is hardly another instance of so vast a valley on such a high altitude with a navigable river passing through it for a fairly long distance. While many foreigners are attracted towards Kashmir there is no desire on the part of Kashmiris themselves to leave their homes.

Kashmir is thus Geographically a beautiful spot set in the heart of the Himālayas. Its snow-capped peaks

1) B.K.R. pp. 83, 84 and 90.

and sparkling streams, vast valleys and limpid lakes combine to make it a paradise on the earth. Kashmir is to the Himālayas what Switzerland is to the Alps. Its beauty is sublime and idyllic, untouched and unspoiled by the hand of man. Kalhaṇa has rightly called it the best part of the Himālayas.¹ It may be added that Dal lake which is situated at the Śaṅkarācārya hill and is the heart of Śrīnagara is the best part of Kashmir. There are beautiful lotuses in this sweet-water lake which enters into the Jhelum at the Dal gate.

The foreign influences, if not attacks, on Kashmir have been devastating in recent years. There is such a change in every part of it that it is very difficult to recognise it in its original form. The language, the life and the names of rivers and places which were originally in Sanskrit have all under-gone complete change. In fact the entire outlook of the people of Kashmir has undergone a thorough change. But still, with a little effort, the modern names of places in Kashmir could, with accuracy, be traced to their original Sanskrit names. Bilhaṇa has given such an accurate description of his birth-place in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* with a faithfulness of memory and appropriateness of facts that it is possible to compare it with the activity that exists in Kashmir to-day. The map of Kashmir which is inserted at the end of this Book indicates the modern names of important places. The eighteenth Canto of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* gives us fairly accurately the ancient names

1) त्रिलोक्यां रत्नसुः श्लाघ्या तस्यां धनपतेर्हस्ति ।

तत्र गौरीगुरुः शैलो यत्तस्मिन्नपि मण्डलम् ॥

(Rāj. I. v. 48)

and the exact places where they were situated. A statement showing the names of places, rivers, mountains and sacred spots which are given in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* with their modern equivalents and notes and references thereof is also furnished in Appendix V of this Book to give an idea of the change that has undergone in Kashmir. A few instances may now be noted. Modern *Śrīnagar*, the capital of the State of Kashmir, was popularly called *Pravarapura* formerly. This is perhaps the only name except that of Kashmir itself which, even in a change, has retained the sacredness and significance. The modern *Zevan* is the ancient *Jayavana* of Kashmir.¹

In the same manner the modern names of *Khunmouh*, *Takshak* and *Ramotta* correspond to *Koṇamukha*, *Takṣakasaras* and *Ramusa* respectively, of the names used by *Bilhāṇa* in his historical *kāvya*. The first of them is excellently described by the poet in one of the verses.² The lavish growth of grapes and saffron everywhere in Kashmir is beautifully described in another

- 1) तस्मादस्ति प्रवरपुरतः सार्वगव्यूतिमात्रीं
भूमिस्त्यक्त्वा जयवनमिति स्थानमुत्तुङ्गशैलम् ।
कुण्डं यस्मिन्नमलसलिलं तक्षकस्याहिमर्तु-
र्धध्वंशो यत्कलिवरशिरश्छेदचक्रत्वमेति ॥ (Vik. XVIII. v. 70)

- 2) यस्यास्ति खोनमुख इत्युपकण्ठसीम्नि
ग्रामः समस्तगुणसंपदवातकीर्तिः ।
आलानरूपबहुयूपवति प्रविष्टं
नो यत्र बन्धनभियेव कलिद्विपेन ॥ (Vik. XVIII. v. 71)

verse.¹ The island of Prayāga at the confluence of the rivers Sindhu and Vitastā is now called Shadipur. The lake Ullola is now called the Wular. The modern names of Manasbal and Baramula correspond to the ancient names Mānasasarovara and Varāhamūla respectively. What is now called Bahirkut was called Dvāravati during the time of king Jayāpiḍa of Kashmir who ruled there from 779 to 813 A.D.² Similarly the Sūrapura of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī corresponds to modern Sopur.³ The modern name of the Mound of Chakdhar corresponds to the Cakradhara referred to by Kalhaṇa in his work.⁴ The modern city of Bijbror in South Kashmir (please see map at the end) corresponds to Vijayeśvara of the ancient times. The towns Parihāsapūr, Saṅkarpūr, Pratāpapūr, and Sūrapura are also mentioned by Kṣemendra.⁵

This, in brief, is the topography of Kashmir giving an idea of the scenic beauty and natural wealth that exists there. Kashmir is a city of Gods and Goddesses created

- 1) ब्रूमस्तस्य प्रथमवसतेरद्भुतानां कथानां
किं श्रीकण्ठश्चशुरशिखरिकोडलीलालाम्नः ।
एको भागः प्रकृतिसुभगं कुङ्कुमं यस्य सूते
द्राक्षामन्यः सरसरयूपुण्ड्रकच्छेदपाण्डुम् ॥ (Vik. XVIII. v. 72)
- 2) Rāj. VI. vv. 505 to 510.
- 3) Rāj. V. v. 118. VI. v. 186.
- 4) Rāj. I. v. 261.
- 5) परिहासपुरे पूर्वं पान्थावसथपालिका ।
उवास शङ्करपुरे महणेति; कृताभिधा ॥
भूत्वा नागरिका नाम प्रतापपुरवासिनः ।
पान्थानां सर्वमांदाय निशि शूरपुरं ययौ ॥
(Sam. Māt. II. vv. 3, 13, 21 & 57)

by the far-sighted sage Kaśyapa for the delight of men and women on the earth. Dr. M.A. Stein has rightly observed as follows:- "From the high mountain Plateau which my camp once occupied, almost the whole of Kashmir lies before me, from the ice-capped peaks of the Northern range to the long snowy line of the Pirpanjal, a little world of its own, enclosed by mighty mountain ramparts. Small indeed, the country may seem by the side of the great plains that extend in the south, and confined the history of which it was the scene. And yet, just as the natural attractions of the valley have won it fame far beyond the frontiers of India, thus too the interests attaching to its history far exceed the narrow geographical limits,"¹

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- 1) 'A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir' (English Translation) Preface page xxiv.

SECTION—IV

MISCELLANEOUS

CHAPTER—VIII
MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS
OF KASHMIR
ANALYSIS

Part I....Vedic Glosses and Grammatical Works

Preliminary — Candra — Bhāmaha — Jayāditya —
Vāmana — Kṣīraśvāmī — Laugakṣīdevapāla — Jyeṣṭhakalaśa
— Kayyāṭa — Uvaṭa — Nāga — Jineḍrabuddhi —
Cucukabhaṭṭa — Jagaddhara — Ugrabhūti — Śitikanṭha —
Śabarāsvāmī — Govardhana and others.

Part 2 — Works on Social Topics

Damodaragupta — Kṣemendra

Part 3 — Miscellaneous Works

Candra — Nīla — Kāmandaka — BhaṭṭaLaṭṭaṇa —
Śārṅgadeva — Bhaṭṭotpala — Koka — Concluding
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CHAPTER — EIGHT

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS OF KASHMIR

Part 1 — Vedic Glosses and Grammatical Works

So far the contributions of Kashmir to Poetics, Poetry, Philosophy and History in Sanskrit Literature, have been dealt with in their various aspects. In this Chapter the Miscellaneous contributions of Kashmir which do not belong to any one of the branches of Sanskrit Literature mentioned above will be dealt with in as brief a manner as possible. It is seen that many Kashmirians have written on various topics of general interest. In order to give an idea of these Miscellaneous Contributions of Kashmir this Chapter is broadly divided into three parts. The Vedic Glosses and Grammatical Works are dealt with in the first part; Works on Social Topics in the Second and Miscellaneous works such as Lexicons, Works on Music and Astronomy and Technical Works in the Third Part.

Even Technical Literature in India has its origin in Theology. The study of Vedic hymns early led to phonetic, grammatical and metrical investigations as well as the beginnings of Lexicography. Grammar is the first and the most important of Sciences as it is the basis of all of them. The greatest achievement of the Indian Science consists in its eminent contribution to the Science of Philology. The Sanskrit Grammarians of India were the first to analyse word-forms, to recognise the difference between roots and suffixes, to determine

the functions of suffixes and on the whole to elaborate a grammatical system so accurate and complete that another system equal to it is not found anywhere else. Grammatical studies began with the linguistic investigation of the Vedic hymns. The *Prātiśākhya*s are Phonetic works and the *Śikṣa*s are grammatical treatises. Though grammatical terms occur in the Vedas and their several branches, the oldest grammatical work as such in Sanskrit is the *Śabdānuśāsana* of Pāṇini.

The main feature of the grammar of Pāṇini is that all words are derived from verbal roots and rules are expressed with Algebraic brevity. He mentions about ten predecessors. But not much is known about any of them. Kātyāyana and Patañjali were his successors who developed Sanskrit Grammar to a conclusion and shape. The later writers only explained the rules of Pāṇini and did not add anything new. The same system was transferred to Prakrit which is regarded as a literary language derived from Sanskrit. The oldest Prakrit Grammar is the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* of Vararuci on which Bhāmaha wrote a commentary.

Kashmirians have contributed their share to this branch of technical literature also in Sanskrit. Dr. Bühler, by his efforts, has thrown some light on this by discovering the names of a few grammarians and Vedic commentators and their works. Some of these works are available only in fragments and very little information is available as regards their authorship and the times in which they were written. An attempt is, however, made to

collect as much information as is available at present. Indicating how far these works can be ascribed to Kashmirians and to what extent they had analysed the grammar of Pāṇini and explained the rules contained therein and commented upon the Vedas. It is a wellknown fact that Sanskrit Grammar is difficult to comprehend even with the help of the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali and the Vārtika of Kātyāyana. Similarly the Vedas too are unintelligible without a commentary. The need to explain further the grammatical rules and the Vedic hymns was felt very early and Kashmirians were, perhaps, the earliest to supply this need. Candra, Jayāditya, Vāmana and other Kashmirian grammarians have tried to present a clear analysis and explanation of the intricate rules of Sanskrit grammar. They will now be dealt with in the first part of this chapter as far as possible in a chronological order.

1 - CANDRA (400-500 A.D.)

Candra is, perhaps, the earliest Kashmirian author now known who wrote a treatise on grammar. There may not be any reason to doubt his genuineness as a Kashmirian writer. He seems to have been a good teacher of grammar in Kashmir. He is probably, different from the dramatist Candraka who has been mentioned in an earlier section of this Book.¹ There is a reference, perhaps, to him in the Vākyapadīya.² Some scholars identify him with Candragomin, the author of Candravayā-

1) Cf. pp. 177 to 179.

2) पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।

स नीतो बहुशास्त्रत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥

(V.P.II.v.489)

karāṇa and Līṅgānuśāsana.¹ Details regarding his parentage are not available.

The small fragment of Candra's grammar is available now. It is more curious than useful. Dr. Bühler says that according to Dr. Kielhorn the arrangement of his grammar must have resembled that of the Kaumudī or as Dr. Burnell would say that of the Aindra school.² The Candravvyākaraṇa was, however, used profusely by Jayāditya in his Kāśikāvṛtti. It was, probably, best known in the Buddhist circles of Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and Ceylon. In it there is a reference to the Huns.³ Sri Ramesachandra Muzumdar has slightly altered the reference by introducing the word गुप्तः for जर्तः which has been explained as a person having long hair.⁴ It is this change that has brought the date of Candra to a period so late as the 5th century A. D. Probably he lived much earlier. There is also a reference to Candra in a commentary on the Vākyapadīya.⁵ Candra appears to have been also a poet of no mean order. It is stated that he fell into disfavour at the court of prince Ratnakīrti. The authorship of two short poems namely

1) Auf. C.C. I. P. 180.

2) B.K.R. 1877 p. 72

3) अजयजर्तौ हूणान् ।

(C.V. I-2-81)

4) जर्तः दीर्घरोमः उणादिवृत्ति ।

5) आचार्यवसुरातेन न्यायमार्गान् विचिन्त्य सः ॥ ५४ ॥

मयापि गुरुनिर्दिष्टाद् भाष्यान्त्यायाविहस्ये ॥ ५५ ॥

शशाङ्कशिष्यात्श्रुत्वैतद्वाक्यकाण्डं समासतः ॥ ५६ ॥

वाक्यपदीयम्—पुण्यराजकृतटीकायां (C

(28A. 7. 11. 9 V)

द्वितीयकाण्डस्थितान्तिमाः श्लोकाः ॥

Śiṣyālekhaḍharmakāvya (containing 114 verses) and Tarāsādhanaśataka is ascribed to him.

2 — BHĀMAHA (675—725 A.D.)

Bhāmaha, the great Kashmirian Rhetorician who has been assigned to the period between the last quarter of the 7th and the first quarter of the 8th century A. D. was also a grammarian. Dr. Bühler discovered two works of his on Prakrit Grammar and has referred to their manuscripts (though not very good) in his report.¹ The names of the two works are Prākṛtamanoramā and Prākṛta-Prakāśatikā.

3 & 4 — JAYĀDITYA AND VĀMANA (750—800 A.D.)

Two manuscripts of Kāśikāvṛtti, a gramatical work connected with the system of Pāṇini, have been discovered by Dr. Bühler in his researches in Kashmir. It is highly probable that its origin is Kashmirian though its authorship is still unsettled. For, in the final colophon as well as at the end of most Adhyāyas and Pādas the work is mentioned as Kāśikāvṛtti without the name of the author. But in the colophon of the third and fourth pādas of the fourth Adhyāya, the name of the author is mentioned as Jayāditya and at the end of the seventh Adhyāya the name of the joint author Vāmana is inserted. On the basis of this Dr. Bhandarkar concludes that the first four Adhyāyas might have been written by Jayāditya and the last three by Vāmana. This is the information that is available in one of the two manuscripts.

1) B. K. R. 1877 p. 75

In the other manuscript that is available, the name of the author is given as Jayāditya in some places and Jayanta in some others. For instance upto the end of the second pāda of the sixth Adhyāya the names of both are mentioned indifferently and thereafter the name of Vāmana or Vāmanabhaṭṭa is mentioned in similarly worded statements.¹ The beginning and the end of the Kāśikāvṛtti do not contain any clue to the authorship of the work in either of the two manuscripts.²

The mention of the name Jayanta at the end of some of the Adhyāyas of the work has given rise to fresh speculations regarding the authorship of the Kāśikāvṛtti. Jayanta may be an alternate name of Jayāditya and the two names may refer to one and the same person. It has already been seen that there is only one Kashmirian scholar by name Jayanta who is the father of Abhinanda, the author of Kādambarikathāsāra. He is described as a great scholar well-versed in the Vedas, the Vedānta and the other Śāstras and as having the distinctive surname

1) जयादित्य - जयन्त - विरचितायां काशिकायां वृत्तौ, जयादित्य - जयन्त - काशिकायां वृत्तौ.

2) Beginning is as follown :— स्वस्त्यस्तु “ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥
ओं नमो गुरवे ॥
श्रेयोऽस्तु ॥ ओं नमः सरस्वत्यै ॥ ओं नमः परमात्मने ॥ ओं नमो ब्रह्मणे
नमो नमः ॥ ओं—

येनाक्षरसमाप्तनायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।

कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥

अज्ञानतिमिश्रान्धस्य ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकया ।

चक्षुरुन्मीलितं येन तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥

the end is :— इति काशिकायां वृत्तावष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थपादः ॥

Vṛttikāra.¹ The vṛtti referred to here may be the Kāśikāvṛtti.

That Jayāditya may be the same as Jayanta can also be inferred on the basis of the dates of Vāmana and Jayanta. The date of Vāmana is the second half of the 8th century A.D. as he was the minister and poet in the court of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir.² Abhinanda states that Śaktisvāmī, the great grand-father of Jayanta, was a minister of king Candrāpīḍa (Muktāpīḍa according to Aufrecht) of the Karkoṭa dynasty who ruled in Kashmir about the end of the 7th century A.D.³ The date of Jayanta may therefore be taken as the second half of the 8th century A.D. This makes both Jayanta and Vāmana contemporaries resulting in a possibility of their joint authorship of the Kāśikāvṛtti.

Kalhaṇa refers to an edition of the Mahābhāṣya and the writing up of a grammar after consulting the works of Candrācārya and others.⁴ The reference here

- 1) पुत्रं कृतजनानन्दं स जयन्तमजीजनत् ।
व्यक्ता कवित्ववक्तृत्वफला यत्र सरस्वती ॥
वृत्तिकार इति व्यक्तं द्वितीयं नाम विभ्रतः ।
वेदवेदान्तविदुषः सर्वशास्त्रार्थवादिनः ॥ (K.K. vv. 10 & 11)
- 2) मनोरथश्शङ्खदत्तश्चटकः सन्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाख्यश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥ (Rāj. IV. v. 497)
- 3) स शक्तिस्वामिनं पुत्रमवाप श्रुतिशालिनम् ।
राज्ञः कर्कोटवंशस्य चन्द्रापीडस्य मन्त्रिणम् ॥ (K.K.S. v. 7)
- 4) चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वादेशतस्मात्तदागमम् ।
प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यं स्वं च व्याकरणं कृतम् ॥ (Rāj. I. v. 176)

may be to the Candravyākaraṇa. In this reference occurring in the work of Kalhaṇa most manuscripts read देशात्तस्मात् for देश. Dr. Bühler is of the opinion that this alternate reading may not be a happy one and agrees with Dr. Keilhorn¹ who is of the opinion that देशान्तरात् would be a more suitable amendment both on account of the occurrence of a similar passage in the Vākyapadīya and on account of a similar occurrence in the work of Kalhaṇa.² The word आगम used in these verses of the Rājatar-aṅgiṇī may actually mean tradition or traditional interpretation of the śāstras. It may now be stated that both Jayanta (Jayāditya) and Vāmana are the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti.

Jayāditya (Jayanta) is also the author of a commentary on the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra and of a short treatise on Vedic accentuation called Svarāṅkuśa according to Prof. Aufrecht.³ Some of the manuscripts of these works show that the name of the author is Jayantasvāmī which is in conformity with the names of his ancestors Śaktisvāmī and Kalyāṇasvāmī.

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- 1) B.K.R. 1877 p. 71
 - 2) वचो मृतोऽयमित्येव कस्मैचिद्वदते स्फुटम् ।
सर्वज्ञानं ददच्छक्रे सर्वान्विद्याभियोगिनः ॥
देशान्तरादागमस्य व्याचक्षाणः क्षमापतिः ।
प्रावर्तयत विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यं स्वमण्डले ॥ (Rāj. IV.vv. 487 & 488)
 - 3) Auf. C.C. I. p. 200

5—KṢĪRA OR KṢĪRASVĀMĪ

(750—800 A.D.)

Kṣīrasvāmī or more popularly Kṣīra is the next Kashmirian Grammarian of importance. According to tradition he seems to have been a popular teacher in Kashmir. He is referred to as Kṣīra only, by Kalhaṇa who states that he guided and instructed king Jayāpīḍa.¹ So his date may be placed in the latter half of the 8th century A.D. when king Jayāpīḍa was the ruler in Kashmir. He is known to be the author of three works on grammar. They are Dhātupāṭha, Nipātavyayāpasargapāṭha, and Liṅgasūtra which explain the appendices to Pāṇini's grammar. No other particulars are available about him.

6—LAUGĀKṢIDEVAPĀLA

(1000—1050 A. D.)

According to Kashmirian tradition Laugākṣidevapāla is a sage who is frequently associated with the modern compilation on sacred law. Till very recently it was not possible to connect him with any Vedic school. The manuscripts that have so far been discovered give, besides the text of the Gr̥hyasūtra, the mantra and the commentary of Devapāla, son of Haripāla. So it is believed that he was a commentator on the Vedic texts. The Kashmirians believe that he lived before the Muslim

1) क्षीराभिधाच्छन्दविद्योपाध्यायात्संभृतश्रुतः ।

बुधैः सह ययौ वृद्धिं स जयापीडवण्डितः ॥ (Rāj. IV. v. 489)

conquest. His date may, therefore, be provisionally placed in the first half of the 11th century A.D. But Dr. Bühler says that he is unable to state who he was and where he lived.

The name of Devapāla is, however, mentioned in the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra also. He appears to be the author of a number of works namely Ārṣādhyāya, Upanayana-tantra, Kāṭhakagṛhyasūtra, Pravarādhyāya and Ślokatarpaṇa.¹ The first four works cited above do not appear to be entirely free from errors. Like many similar works they consist of strings of names.

7—JYEṢṬHAKALAŚĀ

(1000—1050 A.D.)

Bilhaṇa, the poet and historian of Kashmir is the son of Jyeṣṭhakalaśa. He refers to his father with great respect in his historical kāvya. He has mentioned that he was deeply learned in the Vedas and states that he wrote a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.² But the commentary has not been so far traced. It has not also been referred to anywhere else. It is not known what commentary he wrote on the Vedas. Because he is the father of Bilhaṇa his date may be placed in the first half of the 11th century A. D.

1) Auf. C.C. I. p. 547

2) क्षमासरः सारस्वतरसनिधानं श्रुतिनिधिः

समुत्पन्नस्तस्मादमलयशसो ज्येष्ठकलशः ।

महाभाष्यव्याख्यामखिलजनवन्द्यां विदधतः

सदा यस्य च्छात्रैस्तिलकितमभूत्प्राङ्गमपि ॥ (Vik. XVIII.vv. 79)

8 & 9 — KAYYAṬA AND UVAṬA

(1050-1100 A.D.)

Kayyaṭa and Uvaṭa, as the names indicate, are Kashmirians by birth. Kayyaṭa is a grammarian of repute who wrote the Mahābhāṣyapradīpa. The name of the vedic commentary he wrote is not known. He was the son of Jayyaṭa. Mammaṭa was probably his brother. He is also known by the name of Upādhyāya. He was the disciple of Maheśvara. He was a popular teacher in Kashmir and is a well-known writer in Sanskrit. He is different from that Kayyaṭa who commented on the Devī-śataka of Ānandavardhana. Uvaṭa, on the other hand, calls himself the son of Vajraṭa and a contemporary of the reputed poet and patron Bhoja.¹ But according to tradition they are both supposed to be brothers of Mammaṭa who is considered as Goddess Sarasvatī in masculine form who descended on the earth with the purpose of giving a correct interpretation to Śabdabrahma.² The only objection to this possibility is that Kayyaṭa calls himself the son of Jayyaṭa and not Vajraṭa. The name of Mammaṭa's

- 1) आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवज्रटाख्यस्य सूनुना ।
मन्त्रभाष्यमिदं क्लृप्तं भोजे भूमिं प्रशासति ॥
काव्यादींश्च पुरस्कृत्य अबन्त्यामुवटोऽवसत् ।
मन्त्रभाष्यमिदं चक्रे भोजे राष्ट्रं प्रशासति ॥ पुस्तकान्तरे.
(K.P. Int. p. 7. and Vaj. Sam. p. 610)
- 2) शब्दब्रह्म सनातनं न विदितं शास्त्रैः क्वचित्कैचि-
त्तदेवी हि सरस्वती स्वयमभूत्काश्मीरदेशे पुमान् ।
श्रीमज्जैयटगेहिनीसुजठराज्जन्माप्य युग्मानुज-
श्रीमन्मम्मटसंज्ञयाश्रिततनुं सारस्वतीं सूचयन् ॥ (K.P. Int. p. 6)

father is also Jayyaṭa as already mentioned before.¹ This question still remains unsettled. Some hold the view that Jayyaṭa may be identical with Jayāditya, the joint author of Kāśikāvṛtti. This may not be tenable as there is a stronger ground in favour of the view that Jayāditya and Jayanta are identical.

Vāmanācārya, in his introduction to the Kāvyaaprakāśa, says that since Uvaṭa calls himself the son of Vajraṭa he may not be the brother of Mammaṭa. This question has been discussed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland on the following lines:— “He (Vāmanācārya) disbelieves Bhimsena’s theory and does not consider Uvaṭa as the brother of Mammaṭa. The arguments of Bhaṭṭa Vāmanācārya are too weak and untenable. He presumes that Mammaṭa should be later than Bhoja and bases his arguments on that presumption. But this reference only goes to prove that Mammaṭa cannot be earlier than Bhoja and I am of the opinion that he must have been a contemporary of Bhoja in as much as it would be more natural to interpret the passage ‘भोजपट्टपतेस्तत्यागलीलायितम्’ as referring to the munificence of a ruling prince under whose patronage the author and his brother flourished. On this supposition there would be nothing inconsistent in the tradition that Kayyaṭa and Uvaṭa were younger brothers of Mammaṭa and that all the three brothers were contemporaries of Bhoja. In fact Uvaṭa himself has, in his commentary on the Vājasaneyīsamhitā, stated that he wrote the work while Bhoja was the ruling king (as already stated). In

1) Cf. pp. 96 to 98.

the face of such an explicit admission on the part of Uvaṭa it is hard to disbelieve the tradition about the brothers and assign them to different periods."¹ There is some force in this argument and it looks as though that all the three scholars Kayyāṭa, Uvaṭa and Mammaṭa were brothers even though there may be a difference in the names of the fathers.

The Kashmirians tell an interesting anecdote regarding Kayyāṭa which is given by Dr. Bühler briefly as follows:— He was an inhabitant of one of the smaller towns of the valley (Pampur according to some and Yochgam according to others). He lived in great poverty giving himself up entirely to the study of grammar and the Mahābhāṣya. He acquired such a proficiency in them that ultimately he could explain the entire Mahābhāṣya to his pupils without looking at the original. He was able to understand even those passages which Vararuci had marked by Kuṇḍalas or Asterisk marks as unintelligible. Once a Pandit from South India, Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭa by name, came to Kashmir and went to see him in his home. He found him sitting before his house engaged in manual labour and at the same time explaining to his pupils the most difficult portions of the Bhāṣya from memory. Being amazed at the vast learning of Kayyāṭa, the South Indian Pandit went to the king of Kashmir and obtained from him a Śāsana granting him a village and an allowance of grain. But Kayyāṭa did not accept it as, according to him, it was unlawful to accept a royal gift. Later on he seems to have left Kashmir for Kāśī where

1) J.R.A.S. 1908 pp. 68 & 69.

scholars were amazed at his depth of learning and mastery over the subject. It was there that he seems to have written the *Bhāṣyapradīpa* at the request of the *Sabhāpati*.¹

Assuming that *Kayyāṭa* and *Uvaṭa* are the brothers of *Mammaṭa* there is not much difficulty in determining their date. *Kayyāṭa* quotes *Harisetu* and *Kāśikāvṛtti* and so he is later than *Jayāditya* and *Vāmana*. He is quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* and *Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti*. *Vitṭhala*, *Puruṣhottama* and *Mallinātha* also quote him. If the anecdote narrated in the previous paragraph is true then the date of *Kayyāṭa* cannot be earlier than the 9th century A.D. as the town of *Pampur* was built by *Padma* when King *Ajitāpīḍa* was ruling in Kashmir (844–849 A.D.)². Dr. *Kielhorn* is of the opinion that he is not a very old writer. The earliest Indian grammarian who quotes him is *Sāyana Mādhava*. On the basis of these evidences the date of *Kayyāṭa* and *Uvaṭa* may be placed in the second half of the 11th century A.D.

Kayyāṭa is the reputed commentator on the *Mahābhāṣya* of *Patañjali* which, as already stated, he wrote after he went to *Kāśī*. His work is called the *Bhāṣyapradīpa* or more popularly *Pradīpa* on which *Nāgojibhaṭṭa* has written an exposition called the *Uddyota*. This *Pradīpa* has been written on the model of the *Vākyapadīya*

- 1) B.K.R. 1877 pp. 71 & 72.
- 2) ते राजन्यजितापीडे राज्योत्सयपहारिणः ।
पुरदेवगृह्यदीनां प्रतिष्ठाकर्म चकिरे ॥ (Rāj. IV. v. 603)

of Bhartṛhari. Its manuscript was first discovered by Dr. Būhler during his researches in Kashmir. It bears the same date as that of the Bhāṣya itself. Kayyaṭa is also the author of Pravartakīya. He quotes Kāśikākṛtsna and Apīśāli. Padamañjarī is the name of another commentary on the Pradīpa. It may be stated that Kayyaṭa was perhaps the last writer of original works on grammar in Kashmir. After him a series of commentaries on grammatical works commences.

Uvaṭa has been ascribed with the authorship of three works which are Vedic Glosses. They are Vājasaneyī Prātiśākyabhāṣya, Vājasaneyī Samhitābhāṣya or Mantra-bhāṣya and Vedānta-dīpikāsarvānukrama-bhāṣya. The nature of these works indicates that Uvaṭa was a Vedic scholar and a writer of commentaries on the several branches of the Veda.

10—JAYADEVAMIŚRA (1100–1150 A.D.)

Jayadevamiśra is probably a Kashmirian who wrote a work on grammar called the Śabdāvaloka. No information is available either about him or his work. His name is, however, mentioned by Siddesvaraśāstry Chitrav.² There is also no reference to the times in which he lived.

11—NĀGA (1100–1150 A.D.)

Nāga is probably the next Kashmirian grammarian chronologically. He is one of the thirty scholars who examined the work of Mañkha who refers to him with

- 1) Auf. C.C. I. p. 70; B. K. R. 1877. App. i & v.
- 2) M.C.K. p. 395.

great respect and admiration. He was a contemporary of the poet Mañkha who states that though he was of middle age he was a person of high intellect. His date may, therefore, be placed in the first half of the 12th century A.D. The exact name of his work on grammar is, however, not known.

12 – JINENDRABUDDHI (1150–1200 A.D.)

Jinendrabuddhi was a Buddhist monk who, perhaps lived in Kashmir not later than the 12th century A.D. He is the author of *Kāśikāvṛttinyāsa* which is quoted by Vopadeva. The pieces of this *nyāsa* have been transcribed from old manuscripts which were available in Kashmir.

13 – CUCUKA BHATTA (1200–1250 A.D.)

With Cucuka Bhaṭṭa, a different type of writer on grammar has to be dealt with. By his time the collection of works referring to the *Kātantra* or the *Kālāpa* grammar of Śarvavarman began to be written for the first time in Kashmir. The collection includes the *sūtras* and the commentaries. Some of the commentators appear to be Kashmirians. None of the Kashmirian commentators on the *Kātantra* seems to be earlier than the 13th century A.D.

- 1) बहुशः श्रावणे यस्य रुचिरकर्षमीयुषो ।
नास्मि पुष्यति याथार्थ्यमुद्यत्पदशतश्रियः ॥
यस्य पाणिनिवद्धेन वररुच्यञ्चितश्रिया ।
व्यज्यते कङ्कणेनेव लक्षणेनादरिद्रता ॥
वयसो मध्यमस्त्वेऽपि गुणैरधिकवांर्धकम् ।
नागं साहित्यविद्यायाः सौविदलं समैक्षत ॥

(S. C - XXV. vv. 62 to 64)

For, the Kashmirian poets of the 11th and 12th centuries do not mention anything about their acquaintance with the Kātantra. For instance Bilhana, Mañkha, Alankāra and others represent themselves as students of Pāṇini's grammar and of the Mahābhāṣya. The Kātantra became popular only in later years when Kashmirian scholarship gradually indicated signs of decline.

The Kashmirians state that Śarvavarman was the originator of the Kātantra or the Kālāpavyākaraṇa. He wrote it for the king Śātavāhana, son of Dipakarṇi and ruler of Pratiṣṭha, in whose court were Guṇāḍhya, Śarvavarman and other scholars and who, when engaged with his wives in Jalakrīḍā, had to blush for his ignorance of Sanskrit grammar.¹ In the beginning of the Kātantra Kaumudī there is a verse in which it is stated that Śarvavarman was the originator of this type of grammar.² Cucuka Bhaṭṭa appears to be the first Kashmirian writer

- 1) अथैका तस्य महिषी राज्ञः स्तनभरालसा ।
 शिरीषसुकुमारालङ्गी क्रीडन्ती कलममभ्यगात् ॥
 सा जलैरभिषिञ्चन्तं राजानमसहा सती ।
 अब्रवीन्मोदकैर्देवं परिताडय मामिति ॥
 तत् श्रुत्वा मोदकात्राजा द्रुतमानाययद् बहून् ।
 ततो विहस्य सा राज्ञी पुनरेवमभाषत ॥
 राजन्नवसरः कोऽत्र मोदकानां जलान्तरे ।
 उदकैः सिञ्च मा त्वं मामित्युक्तं हि मया तव ॥
 सन्धिसात्रं न जानासि माशब्दोदकशब्दयोः ।
 न च प्रकरणं वेत्सि मूर्खस्त्वं कथमीदृशः ॥ (K. S. S. I. vv. 113-117)
- 2) नैमि तं शर्ववर्मणं यः समाराध्य पावकिम् ।
 शातवाहनराजार्थं शब्दशास्त्रं शुभं व्यधात् ॥

on Kātantra. His work is known as Laghuvṛtti. As he is the first writer on Kātantra his date may be placed in the first half of the 13th century A.D. Beyond this no other information is available about him.

14—JAGADDHARA

(1350–1400 A.D.)

Jagaddhara is the next Kashmirian writer on the Kātantra. He has furnished an account of his ancestry in the last chapter of his work *Stutikusumāñjali* according to which he is the son of Ratnadhara and grandson of Gauradhara who is stated to have been very learned in the Vedas and the Śāstras. Because Śitikanṭha, the son of the daughter's daughter of his great grandson, who wrote a commentary on his work on grammar is known to have lived during the time of Hasanshah in Kashmir (i.e., at the end of the 15th century A. D. and the beginning of the 16th century A. D.) his date may be placed in the second half of the 14th century A.D.

Jagaddhara is the author of the *Bālabodhini* which is a Kātantra vṛtti which was written for the benefit of his son Yaśodhara. The work begins with an invocation to Śiva which occurs again as the second verse of the second prayer in the *Stutikusumāñjali*.¹ The circumstances in and the purpose with which the work was written are indicated in a few verses occurring at the

- 1) नमः शिवाय निःशेषकलेशप्रशमशालिने ।
त्रिगुणग्रन्थिदुर्भेदभवबन्धविमेदिने ॥

commencement of the work. The chief merits of the work are enumerated in a verse occurring at the end of the work.² There is a commentary on it called the Nyāsa written by Śitikanṭha, the son of the daughter's daughter of his great grandson.

15—UGRABHŪTI

(1350-1400 A.D.)

Ugrabhūti is probably the next Kashmirian grammarian who wrote on the Kātantra. He may be a contemporary of Jagaddhara. The name of his work is Śiṣyahitanyāsa which is frequently referred to by the Tibetan Pandit Tārānātha.

16 - ŚITIKANṬHA (1475-1525 A.D.)

Śitikanṭha is a Kashmirian as the title Rājānaka is appended to his name and names ending in Kanṭha are common in Kashmir. He states that he is the son of the daughter's daughter of the great grandson of Jagaddhara and he wrote his work when Hasanshah was ruling in

- 1) दिशि दिश्यमृतद्रवं स्रवन्त्यः प्रथयन्त्यः कृतिनां दृशि प्रसादम् ।
विशदाः प्रसरन्ति यस्य गावः स महात्मा जयति द्विजाधिराजः ॥
स्वसुतस्य शिशोर्यशोधरस्य स्मरणार्थं विहितो मया श्रमोऽयम् ।
उपयोगमियाद्यदि प्रसङ्गादपरत्रापि ततो भवेद्वन्ध्यः ॥
इह युक्त्यखिलानवद्यद्वयक्रमदब्धाः कृतिनां हरन्तु वाचः ।
मतिजाड्यलवं लवङ्गजातीफलपूतासविलासमासजन्यः ॥
- 2) इति मितमतिबालबोधनार्थं परिहृतवक्तृपथैर्मया ब्रवीमि ।
लघु ललितपदा व्यघ्राणि वृत्तिर्मुदुसरला खलु बालबोधिनीयम् ॥

Kashmir and Mohamedshah in Gujarat.¹ According to Srivara the date of Hasanshah is from 1472 to 1484 A.D. and according to the Rasamālā Mohamedshah ruled in Gujarat from 1458 to 1511 A.D. On the basis of these facts the date of Sitikanṭha may be placed during the last quarter of the 15th century A.D. and the first quarter of the 16th century A.D.

Sitikanṭha is well-known as a commentator. His fame rests on his commentary on the Bālabodhini of his learned ancestor. The introductory part of this commentary is interesting as it supplies some information about a few poets and philosophers of Kashmir. At the outset he says that he is the author of the commentary.² It can be gathered from a few verses in the introduction that he was a descendant of Soma (probably Somānanda, the author of Sivadr̥ṣṭi) on the paternal side. In one of the verses he describes the accomplishments of his ancestor Soma.³ His family tree can be roughly drawn up from

- 1) न्यासाभिधमेतद्व्याख्यानं च जगद्धरभट्टस्य नप्तृकन्यातनयातनूजो
राजानकशितिकण्ठः कश्मीरान् प्रशासतो हैदरशाहसूतोर्हस्सनस्य-
राज्ये विहितवान् यस्यायमारम्भः ॥ (B. B. Comm. Com)
भूजानौ हस्सनाख्ये भुवमवति मया तन्यते ग्रन्थ एषः ।
- 2) यो बालबोधिन्वमिधां बुधेन्द्रो जगद्धरो यां विततान वृत्तिम् ।
तन्नप्तृकन्यातनयातनूजो व्याख्यामि तां श्रीशितिकण्ठवोऽल्पम् ॥
- 3) विद्यातीर्थविहारशालिनि परं श्रीशारदासेश्वरे
कौबेर्था हरितो ललाटतिलके कश्मीरदेशोऽभये ।
यत् श्रीपद्मपुरं पुरन्दरपुरप्रोद्यत्प्रभं भासते
तत्राचार्यवरो बभूव भगवान् सोमः स सोमप्रभः ॥

the information available in the other verses.¹ It is also gathered that Śrīvara (probably the historian), Śrīnātha, Śeṣa and Varadeśvara were his preceptors. It can thus be seen that Śitikanṭha was born in a family of illustrious scholars both on the paternal and the maternal sides and had personal associations with contemporary scholars who guided him in the composition of useful works in Sanskrit.

17—ŚABARASVĀMI

(date not known)

Śadarasvāmī is probably a Kashmirian. He is the son of Dīptisvāmī. It is not known whether he is the same person who is the author of the Śābarabhāṣya as the name of his father has not been mentioned anywhere in the work. His date is also not known. He has written a work on grammar (probably a commentary) called the Līngānuśāsanatīkā. No other information than this is available at present about him.

1) Soma (Somānada?)

|
Avatāraka

|
Manohara

|
Mocaka

|
Yodhaka

|
Srikanṭha

|
Arjuna

|
Śitikanṭha

18—OTHER GRAMMARIANS

In addition to these seventeen grammarians and vedic commentators there are a few other grammarians who are probably Kashmirians but whose works are known only in name. Their dates and other particulars are not available. The information as furnished by Dr. Bühler is now given in brief to give an idea of the nature and content of the contribution.

Govardhana is the author of a work called Kātantra-Kaumudī which he has arranged in the same manner as Bhaṭṭojī Diskita has done his Siddhāntakaumudī. Yogarāja has written a work called Padaprakaraṇasaṅgati. Mānikyadeva is another grammarian whose works are Uṇādivṛtti and Daśapadī. He is quoted by Ujjvaladatta. It is difficult to say to which grammatical school he belongs. The sūtras do not appear to have anything in common with those commented upon by Ujjvaladatta. Besides these three grammarians there are two other works by name Vyākhyānaprakriyā and Rūpavatāra whose authors are not known. In the first work the method of interpreting the Kātantrasūtras is indicated while in the second the verbal forms and their derivations are given so as to resemble the Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti.¹

This, in brief, is the contribution of Kashmir to grammar and vedic commentaries. The credit of developing the Kātantra system of teaching grammar goes to Kashmir to some extent as we have seen. There are also many explanatory works on the Mahabhaṣya and other commentaries.

1) B.K.R. 1877 pp. 70-75

Part 2—Works on Social Topics

1—Dāmodaragupta (750–800 A.D.)

Works on Social Topics are very rare in Sanskrit Literature. There are a few Kashmirians who have written on Social Topics also. Of them Dāmodaragupta appears to be the earliest. He was a contemporary of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir who ruled from 779 to 813 A.D. His name is mentioned by Kalhaṇa¹, who says that he was not only the constant companion of the king but also his chief counsellor. But no information is given about his personal history. His date may be placed during the second half of the 8th century A.D. as he was a contemporary of king Jayāpīḍa.

The name of the work written by Dāmodaragupta is Kuṭṭinīmata or Sambhālīmata, as can be seen from the reference in Kalhaṇa. It is an amusing work on erotics and is full of peculiar interest. It is printed in the Kāvya-mālā Series (Vol. III.) along with the Śṛṅgāratilaka of Rudrabhaṭṭa. There are altogether 927 verses in it composed in the Āryā metre. The style in which it is written is smooth-flowing. It depicts the laxity of morals prevalent among a certain class of people particularly those who are the votaries of singing and dancing. The work, on the whole, gives an idea of the society and moral of the times in which the poet lived and throws some light on the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra as it stood in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D.

- 1) स दामोदरगुप्ताख्यं कुट्टिनीमतकारिणम् ।
 कविं कविं बलिस्त्रि धुर्यं धीसचिवं व्यधात् ॥

The scene of the incidents that are described in the *Kuṭṭinīmata* is laid in the holy city of Banaras. The life of a gentle courtesan of the city is described in all its phases indicating how there are courtesans even in such holy cities as Banaras who are out for money and make no secret of their motives to pilgrims and to passers-by. The name of the courtesan is *Mālātī*. She once heard from the terrace of her house a beautiful verse in an *Āryā* metre sung by a stranger on the streets below. The purport of the verse was to direct women to acquire the art of pleasing lovers. As soon as she heard this verse she set off to the house of a woman by name *Vikarālā* who was just the opposite of beautiful and learnt from her the wonderful ways of beguiling the hearts of men.¹ The poet has described the courtesans in the holy city as being equal to *Śiva* himself by employing *śleṣālaṅkāra* in a very skilful manner.² There are many graphic descriptions of men and manners in the work which impress the readers by their special charm and ingenuity. For instance the description of *Vikarālā* is extremely amusing.³ The description of the tresses of a young maiden is also equally nice.⁴

- 1) यौवनसौन्दर्यमदं दूरेणापास्य वारवनितामिः ।
यत्नेन वेदितव्याः कामुकहृदयावर्जकोपायाः ॥ (K.M. v. 23)
- 2) चन्द्रविभूषितदेहा भूतिरताः सद्भुजङ्गपरिवाराः ।
वारस्त्रियोऽपि यस्यां पशुपतितनुतुल्यतां याताः ॥ (Ibid v. 5)
- 3) अथ चिकलोन्नतदशनां निम्नहनुं स्थूलचिपिटनासाग्राम् ।
उल्बणचुवुकलक्षितशुष्ककुचस्थानशिथिलकृत्तितनुम् ॥
गम्भीरारक्तदृशं निर्भयणम्बकण्ठपालीं च ।
कतिपयपाण्डुरचिकुरां प्रकटशिरासंतायसग्रीवाम् ॥ (Ibid vv. 27 & 28)
- 4) अयमेव दलमानस्मरनिर्गतधूमवर्तिकाकारः ।
चिकुरभरस्तव सुन्दरि कामिजनं किंकीकुरते ॥ (Ibid v. 44)

2 - Kṣemendra (1025-1075 A.D.)

Kṣemendra seems to have taken the hint from Dāmodaragupta to write works on Social Topics in Sanskrit. He is, as already stated, a prolific writer on a variety of topics. His contribution to poetics and poetry has already been dealt with.¹ His date and parentage have also been discussed before. His valuable contribution to Social Topics will now be dealt with in as brief a manner as possible. His works on Social Topics depict different phases of the society in his times. Their value is considerable particularly because of the rarity of such works in Sanskrit. The condition of society in India at different times could be gathered indirectly from the dramas, poems and prose-works of great poets and authors. There were practically no works for a long time in Sanskrit which directly dealt with Social Topics. Dāmodaragupta and Kṣemendra wrote independently on such topics and filled the gap at least to some extent. Kṣemendra is often called the polymath of Kashmir. A complete list of his works has already been furnished.² The form and content of each one of his works on Social Topics are furnished below.

1—KALĀVILĀSA

This work of Kṣemendra deals with one aspect of society and is considered to be his best work. The entire poem is edited in the Kāvya-mālā Series (Vol. I). It is divided into ten cantos and the verses are composed in the Āryā metre. A notorious character by name Mūla-

1) Cf. pp. 86 to 95

2) Cf. pp. 217 & 219.

deva who is a cheat is introduced in the first canto. The following cantos consist of the discourses given by him to his pupil Candragupta. To begin with arrogance is described as existing in three different forms namely crane-like, tortoise-like and cat-like. The last type is supposed to be the worst of the group. The origin of greed is then narrated and it is stated to exist mostly in business and trade. In the third canto the pitiable condition of lovers is narrated with an interesting illustration. In the next canto the tricks of courtesans are elaborated. There is a satire in canto 5 on the Kāyasthas who were clerks in Government Offices at that time. In canto 6 Mada or arrogance is denounced. The poet has humourously stated that 'Dama' in Kṛtayuga has become 'Mada' in Kaliyuga. He then classifies 'Mada' into fourteen types after giving an interesting account of its origin and the places where it is often found. There is also a realistic description of a drunkard who, like an ascetic, cannot differentiate between good and bad. The seventh canto consists of a satire on bards whose victims are the singers. It is stated that money is extracted from people by just uttering a few tunes. A legendary origin of music is given in this canto. The eighth canto is a satire on goldsmiths who are clever in deceiving people. As many as sixty-four different types of deception practised by the goldsmiths while weighing gold and making ornaments, are described. They are described as mice reborn to undermine the gold (Meru) mountain. In the last two cantos a valuable advice is given to young men to enable them to avoid falling into evil ways.

It can thus be seen that the entire poem is a sustained satire on different classes of persons particularly against the Kāyasthas as a class. The language is simple and the style is elegant. It provides interesting reading from the beginning to the end. A few verses can be quoted to illustrate the salient features of this satirical poem. For instance the poet's heart must have bled when he saw the cruelty of the Diviras whom he rightly compares to the planet Rahu.¹ In another verse the unrelenting attitude of the Kāyastha is described beautifully.²

There is a master-stroke of the poet's pen when he says that in the black drops of ink dripping from the tip of the Kāyastha's pen can be observed the collyrium-tinged tears of national glory lamenting over her sad lot.³ There is an excellent portrait of the Kāyastha when he is compared to the messenger of death.⁴ It is explicitly stated that the Kāyasthas were frightful experts in forgery and embezzlement.⁵

The illustrations which are furnished in the Kalāvilāsa to describe the unscrupulous character of the Kāyas-

- 1) चन्द्रकला इव पूर्णा निष्पन्ना सस्यसम्पत्तिः ।
ग्रस्ता क्षणेन दृष्टा निःशेषा दिविरराहुकलयेव ॥ (K.V.V: v. 2)
- 2) कूटकलाशिबिरैर्जनघनविवरैः क्षयक्षपातिमिरैः ।
दिविरैरेव समस्ता ग्रस्ता जनता न कालेन ॥
- 3) कलमाग्रनिर्गतमषीविन्दुव्याजेन साञ्जनाश्रुकणैः ।
कायस्थलुण्ठ्यमाना रोदिति खिन्नेव राजश्रीः ॥
- 4) एते हि कालपुरुषाः पृथुदण्डनिपातहतलोकाः ।
गणनागणनपिशाचाश्चरन्ति भूर्जध्वजा लोके ॥
- 5) एते हि चित्रगुप्ताश्चित्रधियो गुप्तचारिणो दिविराः ।
रेखामात्रविनाशात्सहितं कुर्वन्ति ये रहितम् ॥
(K.V. V. vv. 4. 7. 5 & 11)

thus indicate, the personal contact that Kṣemendra had with various classes of people. The descriptions are so accurate that it can be stated that they are the outcome of the poet's keen observation of men and manners in the several walks of life. All kinds of tricks that the Kāyasthas employed to deceive people and to accumulate wealth by foul means are very well described. Several interesting anecdotes are also introduced to show the mean mentality of a Kāyastha. The pen-picture of a money-lender playing clever tricks on a needy peasant is so realistic that it not only proves that the system of lending money was in vogue even at that time in all its cruelty but also urges every sensible person to revolt against the unjust system that always nurtures such an economic maladjustment in society at all times. This aspect has been nicely brought forth by the poet in two beautiful verses.¹ On the whole it may be stated that Kalāvilāsa is a rare specimen of satire in Sanskrit.

2—SAMAYMĀTRKĀ

This is another work of Kṣemendra in which the various kinds of snares cast by courtesans are described at length. The object with which the work is written is stated at the very commencement.² Kalāvātī is the

- 1) दानोपभोगविरहितहिरण्यरक्षा कृतक्षणाः सततम् ।
संसारजीर्णमन्दिरविषममहामूषका वणिजः ॥ (K.V. II.vv. 19 & 20)
अटति समुत्कटवेष्टितविकटपटस्फुटपटाटोपः ।
कुटिलः कण्टकनिचितः पुरपतिनामा निधिव्यालः ॥
- 2) क्षेमेन्द्रेण रहस्यार्थमन्त्रतन्त्रोपयोगिनी ।
(॥ क्रियते वाररामाणामियं समयमातृका ॥

(S.M.I. v. 3)

name of the heroine of the story that is narrated in it. A barber by name Kaṅka introduces her to an old woman who instructs her in the tricks of the trade. The entire poem has been edited in the Kāvyaṃālā series (Vol.x). It is divided into Chapters called Samayas and hence it is called Samayamāṭṛkā. The word Samaya in Sanskrit means a condition. Because the story depends to a large extent on the conditions imposed by the heroine, the name Samayamāṭṛkā is given to it. This is mentioned by the poet at the end.¹

There are altogether eight Samayas in the work. The meeting between Kaṅka and Kalāvati is described in the first samaya. It commences with a beautiful description of the heroine.² An amusing account of the bawd's wandering is given in the second samaya. It is this part of the work that is of some value as it contains the names of several important places in Kashmir which can be identified with their modern names.³ The name

- 1) समयेन मातृका सा कृत्रिमरूपा कृता कलावत्या ।
तन्नाम्नैव निबन्धः क्षेमेन्द्रेण प्रबद्धोज्यम् ॥ (S. M. VIII. v. 129)
- 2) यत्र त्रिणेत्रनेत्राग्नित्रस्तरत्यक्तवो जगत्त्रयीम् ।
पौरस्त्रीजिवलीकूले वसत्यसमसायकः ॥
तत्राभूदभिभूतेन्दुद्युतिः कन्दर्पदर्पभूः ।
कान्ता कलावती नाम वेश्या वश्याञ्जनं दृशोः ॥
कुचयोः कठिनत्वेन कुटिलत्वेन या भ्रुवोः ।
नेत्रयोः श्यामलत्वेन वेश्यावृत्तमदर्शयत् ॥ (Ibid I. vv. 5 to 7)
- 3) एवं कृत्वा लवणसरणी भारिकं भर्तृसंज्ञं
तस्मिन्निद्रावशमुपगते रात्रिमन्यैः क्षिपन्ती ।
प्रातर्बद्ध्वा पृथुकटितटं संकटे दीर्घदाम्ना
मूर्ध्ना भारं दिवसमखिलं सा विलासैस्त्वाह ॥ (S.M. II, v. 91)

of China is mentioned in one of the verses.¹ These verses indicate the contact that existed between Kashmir and other parts of India and even Asia for commercial and social purposes. In the third samaya the incidents that usually take place in the house of a prostitute in the evening are described in a graceful manner. In the fourth samaya, Kalāvati is instructed and initiated into her trade by the bawd. The division of lovers into eighty different types and the twenty-three ways in which a penniless lover can be got rid of are described in the fifth samaya. An account of the morning routine in the house of Kalāvati is given in the sixth samaya. Finally the last two samayas give an idea of the ability of the heroine to take in a young fool and his parents.

This poem is, on the whole, a very good piece of didactic matter and is almost similar to the *Kalāvīlāsa*. It often contains wise statements made by the poet as a result of his ripe experience and keen observation.²

- 1) चीनानकानामण्डानि साथ रुद्राक्षसंज्ञया ।
 ददौ मूल्येन जिघ्याणां रुद्राक्षाधिक्यदायिनी ॥
 पूजासज्जा भजन्ते जयनुतिषु नर्ति दिक्षु कांभोजभोजः
 सेवाशुष्कास्तुरुष्काः परिचरणरसे किंच चीनाः प्रलीनाः ।
 उत्कण्ठांतास्त्रिगर्ताः परिचरणविधौ पीडयन्त्येव गौडा
 दम्भारम्भेण तस्या विदधति कुसुमोत्सङ्गनामङ्गवङ्गाः ॥
 (S.M.-II. vv. 99 & 104)
- 2) कुले महति वैधव्यं वैधव्ये शीलविप्लवः ।
 शीलभ्रंशे वियोगोऽयं वह्निना मम यास्यति ॥
 शीलशालेव शिशिरे दीपमालेव वासरे ।
 जीर्णा निर्मालयमालेव वेश्या कस्योपयुज्यते ।
 कृशः शशी गणा नग्रा भार्या वस्त्रार्धहारिणी ।
 शम्भोर्धनपतिप्रीतिर्न विद्मः कोपयुज्यते ॥
 हारिणी सा तनुलता हारिणी च कुचस्थली ।
 दृष्टिश्च हारिणी तस्या बभौ स्मरविहारिणी ॥
 (S.M. II. vv. 34 & 56. IV. v. 26 VII. v. 12)

There is a reference in the poem to Kṛtyāśramavihāra and Pāñcāla Dhārāmaṭha which were the two famous Buddhist Monasteries at that time in Kashmir. The ancient salt trade is also described in the poem. Thus the poem is not merely a work on social topics but supplies various kinds of information besides providing interesting reading.

3—CĀRUCARYĀ

This is the name of a very short poem containing one hundred verses composed in the simple sloka metre. The main purpose with which it was written was to teach law and polity. The first line of each verse in it is a moral aphorism while the second line is an illustration of the truth embodied in the first. The illustrations are drawn from the epics and the Purāṇas. The poem has been edited in the Kāvya-mālā Series (Vol. II.). The importance of this short poem lies in the fact that it has influenced later writers to compose similar works. At least two of them namely the Nītimañjarī of Dyādviveda (1494 A.D.) and the Mugdhopadeśa of Jalhaṇa appear to have been modelled on Cārucaryā.

4—SEVYASEVAKOPADEŚA

This is another short poem of Kṣemendra containing sixty-one verses. It is also edited in the Kāvya-mālā Series (Vol. II.) and deals in general with the duties and responsibilities of the master and the servant. It appears to have been written with the main purpose of improving the relationship between the employer and

employee. There seems to be an autobiographical touch in this short poem. Mr. Bhandare observes that it is a "vindication of the dignity of the service rendered by a faithful servant to a worthy master."

The composition of this work and the previous ones indicates that Kṣemendra had closely observed people and professions in his country. Otherwise it would have been rather difficult for him to depict the many facts of Kashmirian society with accuracy and effect. The poet's social vision is so wide and comprehensive that it surveys all aspects of society and helps him to record his observation in attractive and appealing verses. The callousness of stiff-necked Kāyasthas which has already been described with suitable examples is a glaring contrast to the utter poverty that dehumanises a servant humbling himself to dust before his master.¹ The irony of his vain expectation is realistically brought about by the poet.² The sad plight of a job-hunter is nicely described by him.³ In the end the poet mentions the purpose with which he wrote this short poem,⁴ and mentions his name

1) प्रभुप्रणामे जठरं दैन्यमूलं विलोकयन् ।

प्रवेष्टुं सेवकः शङ्के विलक्षः क्षितिमीक्षते ॥

2) सेवाध्वजोऽञ्जलिर्मूर्ध्नि हृदि दैन्यं मुखे स्तुतिः ।

आशाग्रहणीतानां क्रियतीयं विडम्बना ॥ (S. S. vv. 11 & 12)

3) कूजत्कूरकपाटपीडनरुषा दत्तप्रहारैः परं

द्वारावस्थगनाय सुस्थिरभुजैर्द्वारैः स्वैर्भुजैः भस्मितः ।

कुब्जीभूय जनस्य जानुविवरैः क्षिप्रप्रवेशोऽस्युकः

पृच्छत्यन्तरनिर्गतामवसरं मौनव्रतान् सेवकः ॥

(S.S. vv 53)

4) विद्वज्जनाराधनतत्परेण सन्तोषसेवारसनिर्भरेण ।

क्षेमेन्द्रनाम्ना सुधियां सदैव सुखाय सेवावसरः कृतोऽयम् ॥ (S.S. v. 61)

with titles in the colophon.¹

5—DARPADALANA

This is comparatively a long poem consisting of seven chapters each of which is called a vicāra. It is edited in the Kāvya-mālā Series (Vol. VI). In the first chapter the poet describes seven causes of pride namely high birth, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, munificence and austerities. Each one of these causes is then dealt with in succession in each of the seven chapters. There is a generalisation at the commencement appropriate to the particular cause of pride that is dealt with and it is followed by an illustration in the form of an interesting story with a moral at the end. The poem is didactic in character and is full of general maxims and useful proverbs. For instance, the vivid portrait of an upstart scholar suffering from snobbery and jealousy is nicely described and stands on par with similar descriptions which occur in satirical works of modern times.²

6—DEŚOPADEŚA

This work has been edited by Mr. Madhusudan Kaul and is published in the Kashmir Series. (Vol. XI) It is the poet's earliest attempt to write a work on an original theme. It looks as though it was his first step to write satirical works of the type of Kalāvīṣa. In this poem Kṣemendra describes a few specimens of notorious characters of his time and their peculiar habits. It is divided into eight upadeśas. The first is full of ridicules against wicked men. In the second the misers are criticised with a lengthy caricature of their habits.

- 1) इति श्रीव्यासदासापराख्यमहाकविक्षेमेन्द्रकृतः सेव्यसेवकोपदेशः ॥
- 2) श्रीवास्तम्भभृतः परोन्नतिकथामात्रे शिरःशूलिनः
सोद्वेगभ्रमणप्रलापविपुलक्षोभाभिभूतस्थितेः ।
अन्तर्द्वेषविषप्रवेशविषमक्रोधोष्णनिःश्वासिनः
कण्ठा नूतनपण्डितस्य विकृतिर्भीमज्वरारम्भभूः ॥ (D.C. III v. 68)

There is an interesting cartoon of a hoarder dancing in glee whenever there is a flood or a famine.¹ In the third chapter the poet deals with courtesans whom he calls "dancing mechanical puppets fitted with strings." In the fourth the bawds are ridiculed while in the fifth the paramours are criticised. The sixth chapter contains a satire on a Bengali student who goes to Kashmir for study. In the seventh the poet laughs at the marriages of old men with young girls. The frustration of one such marriage is nicely described and can be quoted as an instance.²

- 1) सोऽपि सर्वकषः कालः सत्यं दुःखस्य विस्मृतः ।
षष्ठिवर्षस्य धान्यस्य यः करोति न विक्रयम् ॥
नृत्यत्यवृष्टिसु पुरा अतिवृष्टिषु नृत्यति ।
दुर्भिक्षोपप्लवाकांक्षी कदर्यो धान्यगौरवात् ॥ (Des. II. vv. 33 & 34)
- 2) कृतारुचिः पृथुश्चासतमोऽष्टविरागवान् ।
कन्याया वरणे वृद्धो मूर्तो ज्वर इवागतः ॥
अकाले जरया पुत्रि व्याप्तोऽयं धनिनां वरः ।
इति वृद्धः पिता ब्रूते तनयामश्रुवर्षणीम् ॥
वृद्धहस्तेन कुचयोः स्पर्शो मे कथमेतयोः ।
इत्युच्छ्वासवती कान्तं कन्या शोचति यौवनम् ॥
आलम्ब्य कन्यामञ्जया विवाहे पाणिपल्लवम् ।
वृद्धः कुचफलन्यस्तवदनो वानरायते ॥
वधूर्वरोत्सवायत्ततरुणन्यस्तलोचना ।
नोपसर्पति वृद्धस्य शय्यां वध्यशिलामिव ॥
भार्यासमागमे वृद्धः प्रणामानतमस्तकः ।
पादास्फोटनमग्नास्यः पतितो मूर्च्छितः क्षिती ॥
लालापूणेन वक्त्रेण परिचुम्बनमीहते ।
धिगहो वत नष्टा धीरिति वृद्धं ब्रवीति सा ॥
पितुः पितामहोऽस्तीति त्वत्तुल्यः किं न लज्जसे ।
आनीताहं कुपतिता वद कस्य कृते त्वया ॥
इति प्रलापिनीं वृद्धः शयनं याचते वधूम् ।
चाक्रयैः पतितदन्तालीगललालावाकुलैः ॥
वधूर्वृद्धभुजङ्गेन स्पृष्टा हा कण्ठवादिनी ।
दष्टेव खट्वामुत्सृज्य गेहाद्रेहं पलायते ॥
बलाद् बन्धुजननीता पुनः शय्यानिकेतनम् ।
वधूर्वृद्धस्य संस्पर्शं चण्डालस्येव रक्षति ॥
(80) पृथग्शुकसंवीतां सुतामालिङ्गतः प्रियाम् ॥
वृद्धस्य निद्रा नायाति कुपितेव तदीर्ष्या ॥ (Ibid VII vv. 4 to 15)

In the eighth chapter different types of people such as the poet, the quack and the grammarian are all criticised.

This poem reveals the poet's sharp and critical acumen and keen observation of men and matters. There is a fine command over the language and the idiom. The poet seems to have been fully conscious of the utilitarian aspect of his work as he says that it is an attempt to rectify social evils existing at that time in his country.¹ He is also aware of the precarious condition of an ordinary citizen who is surrounded by one or the other of the persons who are either wicked, wealthy, mean or powerful by virtue of their possession in life.² It can be seen that the poet has handled topics of variety with an extraordinary skill. The work is practically a comment on the times in which the poet lived.

7—NARMAMĀLĀ

This work has also been edited by Mr. Madhusudan Kaul and is published in the Kashmir Series (Vol XL). It is exactly similar to *Deśopadeśa* in form and content. It is divided into three *Parihāsas* in each of which the poet laughs at the evils of society. The purpose of ridicule introduced in this work is to rectify those evils. Even in this work the villainous *Kāyastha* is the object of his ridicule. But the entire machinery of officialdom has been subjected to severe criticism. The

- 1) हासेन लज्जितोऽत्यन्तं न दोषेषु प्रवर्तते ।
जनस्तदुपकाराय ममायं स्वयमुद्यमः ॥ (Des. I. v. 4)
- 2) खलेन धनमस्तेन नीचेन प्रभविष्णुना ।
पिशुनेन पदस्थेन हा प्रजे क गमिष्यसि ॥ (Ibid v. 17)

intention of ridiculing social maladies is expressed at the commencement of the work.¹

There is a story which gives the origin of the Kāyastha who is stated to be "the incarnation of the home-accountant of the Daityas." The Kāyastha is also called Divira. His main ambition is to become a state official. He is described as a hypocrite without any redeeming features about him. He finds pleasure in the destruction of temples and in making the brahmins go on hunger-strike. His behaviour as an official is unbearable. The pen in his hand is really mightier than the sword as stated by the poet.² He is painted in the blackest of colours with a description of his camp luggage and a repulsive account of his private life. He is described as a blood-thirsty hound pouncing upon the client entering the premises of a court or an office.³

In the next canto of the work the poet criticises physicians, astrologers and teachers. The touching caricature of a guru and his family suffering from penury is worthy of particular mention as it recalls to our mind the present pitiable condition of a professional

- 1) हासायातीतकायस्थचरितं कर्तुमीरितः ।
करोति तत्प्रसङ्गेन दुराचारविडम्बनाम् ॥ (N.M. I. v. 6)
- 2) अहो भगवती कार्यसवसिद्धिप्रदा मयी ।
अहो प्रबलवान् कोऽपि कलमः कमलाश्रयः ॥
- 3) भट्टैर्मट्टैः सदिविरैः शटीविपतितो जनः ।
मुच्यते नास्थिशेषोऽपि रक्तक्षीबैरिव श्वभिः ॥ (N.M. I. v. 146 & II. v. 136)

teacher.¹ The concluding part of the poem deals with the tragic end of the Kāyastha who is arrested and put into prison. All his wealth and property are confiscated and he dies a miserable death. In the midst of these descriptions of the evil nature of the Kāyasthas, the poet has also found time to praise king Ananta who was the ruling king of Kashmir at that time, for re-establishing law and order in the country.

8—CATURVARGSAṆGRAHA

This is another work of Kṣemendra which is printed in the Kāvya-mālā Series (Vol. V). It has four paricchedas in each of which a single puruṣārtha or the aim in life is dealt with. Thus all the four aims of man in life namely Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa are fully described in the poem. The importance of each one of the Puruṣārthas is stressed in an appealing manner

- 1) आकारेण गुरुर्गुरुश्च वचसा कासीद्यमौख्यैर्गुरु-
 मन्त्रेणातिगुरुस्तथास्यकुहरश्मश्रूदरस्फिग्गुरुः ।
 वेश्याकामिनियोगिवंचनगुरुः सदृत्तशून्यो गुरु-
 श्चित्रं सर्वगुरुः शिवोदितमहाशिक्षासु नित्यं लघुः ॥
 अपि नाम स जायेत पवित्रचरितः क्षितौ ।
 अशौचनिधयो येन गुरवो नोपसेविताः ॥
 अहंपूविकया सर्वे पतितास्तस्य पादयोः ।
 चक्रुः शिरोभिर्भूकम्पलुठत्पठिरकभ्रमम् ॥
 रक्षायै निजभार्यायाः संपदां च विवृद्धये ।
 नियोगिना यानविधौ विज्ञप्तौ भगवान् गुरुः ॥
 लिखित्वा कुङ्कुमेनाशु स्वल्पसंभारकारिकाम् ।
 दृष्टः प्रातः समेष्यामीत्युक्ता प्रायात्सहानुगः ॥

(N.M. II. vv. 112 to 116)

in beautiful verses. For instance the importance of Dharma and Artha in the social life of a country is described nicely.¹ The part that Kāma and Mokṣa play in the life of an individual is also described in an equally graceful manner.² It may be stated that the work is a good guide on moral standards.

The success of Kṣemendra lies to a great extent on his satires. He wrote long epic poems like the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī and the Bhāratamañjarī. But they are only restatements of existing works and so their value may

- 1) न दानतुल्यं धनमन्यदस्ति
न सत्यतुल्यं व्रतमन्यदस्ति ।
न शीलतुल्यं शुभमन्यदस्ति
न क्षान्तिरतुल्यं हितमन्यदस्ति ॥ — धर्मः—
पूजा धनेनैव न सत्कुलेन
कीर्तिर्धनेनैव न विक्रमेण ।
रूपं धनेनैव न यौवनेन
क्रिया धनेनैव न जीवितेन — अर्थः— (C.S. I. v. 10 & II. v. 4)
- 2) कर्तुं धनानां फलमग्र्यमाहुः
फलं कर्तूनामविवादि पुण्यम् ।
पुण्यस्य पूर्णं फलमिन्द्रलोको
द्विरष्टवर्षाः स्त्रिय एव नाकः ॥
विकसति सहकारे दुःसहे कर्णिकारे
मधुकरपरिहारे स्मिते सिन्धुवारे ।
अहह विरहभीत्या कामिनीं कण्ठलग्नां
त्यजति नववसन्ते हन्त कापालिकः कः ॥
रागेण सार्धं वयसि प्रयाते
गतेषु भोगेषु सह स्पृहाभिः ।
देहे च मोहेन समं प्रलीने
निर्गलोऽसावपवर्गमार्गः ॥ (C.S. III. vv. 3 & 21 & IV. v. 22)

not be so great as his works on satire and social reforms. His aim was to strike at the root of things and present a true picture of society before his readers with a view to reform it on high ethical standards. Satyam, Sivam and Sundaram was the motto of his poetic compositions. He had a very sharp eye for the weaknesses of human nature. He wanted to wash the society of all its evils. The only way by which he could do it was by laughing loudly at them. In doing so he did not laugh at individuals but at a whole class of them.¹ He hated the sin and not the sinner. He had understood the psychology behind the commission of errors by individuals. His criticism was not destructive as it was generally followed by a suggestion of reform.² It would have been better if many later writers had emulated him in the composition of satirical works. Only two writers Dyādviveda and Jalhaṇa attempted to write in the manner of Kṣemendra in their Nītimañjarī and Mugdhopadeśa respectively.

Part 3—MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

1—CANDRA—(400–500 A.D.)

Candra, the earliest known grammarian of Kashmir, appears to be the earliest known writer on Miscellaneous Works also. His date and other particulars have been mentioned before.³ He has writ-

- 1) हासाधातीतकायस्थचरितं कर्तुमीरितः ।
करोति तत्प्रसङ्गेन दुराचाचारविडम्बनाम् ॥ (N.M. I. v. 4)
- 2) हासेन लज्जितोऽत्यन्तं न दोषेषु प्रवर्तते ।
जनस्तदुपकाराय ममायं स्वयमुद्यमः ॥ (Des. I. v. 4)
- 3) Cr. pp. 571 and 572

ten two short poems which are didactic in character. One of them is called *Siṣyālekhadharmakāvya* containing 114 verses which point out the uselessness of Mundane existence. The other one is called *Tārāsādhanaśataka* containing 100 verses which are full of morals. Five stray verses ascribed to him are also quoted in the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva. But these are not to be found in either of the two works cited above. Two of them are probably found in the second work mentioned above.¹

2—NILA (650–700 A.D.)

Nilā is the next Kashmirian writer on Miscellaneous Works. He is a sage who wrote a book on the origin of Kashmir and the greatness of the sacred tirthas that are there. He was the son of the sage Kaśyapa. Both the father and the son worked hard to rid Kashmir of the demon who committed atrocities there. Kalhana mentions him as sage and states that he referred to his work also along with others before he commenced his chronicle.² Nilā mentions his name in the colophon of his work.³

- 1) विषय विषयाणां च दूरमत्यन्तमन्तरम् ।
उपभुक्तं विषं हन्ति विषयः स्मरणादपि ॥
केचिन्द्रजन्ति हि भयेन विनीतभाव-
मन्ये जना विभवलोभकृतप्रयत्नाः ।
केचिच्च साधुजनसंसदि कीर्तिलोभा-
त्सद्भाववान् जगति कोऽपि न साधुरस्ति ॥

(Subh. vv. 3368 & 3449; H.S.L. by M.K. p. 314)

- 2) दृग्गोचरं पूर्वसूरिग्रन्था राजकथाश्रयाः ।
मम त्वेकादश गता मतं नीलमुमेरपि ॥
- 3) नीलमते वितस्तामाहात्म्यम् ।
संपूर्णं नीलमनपुराणम् ॥

(Rāj. I. v. 14)

The sage Nīla is thus a purāṇic figure and therefore it may not be possible to determine his date correctly. But Western Scholars have fixed the date of his work tentatively during the 7th century A.D. as it is called a purāṇa and on the basis of certain internal evidence available in it. For instance Buddha is mentioned there as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu. This idea became popular only in the sixth or the 7th century A.D. according to the views of scholars. So the date of the Nīlamatapurāṇa may be placed in the second half of the 7th century A.D. though the date of the author Nīla cannot be easily determined.

The only existing edition of the Nīlamatapurāṇa in Sanskrit which is "the most authoritative compendium of Kashmirian hieratic lore"¹ is that which was published in Lahore in 1924 A.D. by Rāmālakanjilāl, Professor of Sanskrit. S.P. College Śrinagara and Pandit Jagaddaradeo [Śāstry, Research Department of Kashmir.² It is not a critically reliable text as the lacunae do not appear to have been filled up with a critical judgement. Pandit Sahebram, under orders from the Mahārāja Raṇabir Singh of Kashmir, restored the whole work to the best of his ability by about the middle of the last century. A recent edition of the purāṇa has been brought out in English by Professor Wreese of the University of London in the year 1936 A.D. The entire portion of the available text has been transliterated into

1) Studies in Indian History & Culture by Dr. U.S. Ghoshal p. 146

2) The Punjab Sanskrit series Vol. No. V.

English on the authority of two reliable manuscripts one of which belongs to Sir Auriel Stein and is preserved in the Library of the Indian Institute, Oxford. The colophon states that this copy was written in the Laukika year 81 which corresponds to 1605 A.D. It may be noted here that all Kashmirian manuscripts are generally written in the beautiful Śāradā characters. Those written in the Devanāgarī script are of comparatively recent times.

The Nilamatapurāṇa is one of the books which Kalhaṇa consulted. It is supposed to have been narrated by the sage Vaiśampāyana, a pupil of Vedavyāsa, to king Janamejaya as stated at the end of the work.¹ It opens with an invocation to Lord Viṣṇu.² It is stated at the beginning that king Janamejaya approached the sage Vaiśampāyana for clarification of certain doubts.³ This is followed by a question put by king Janamejaya as to why no ruler of Kashmir took part in the Māhābhārata.⁴

- 1) इत्येतदुक्ते जनमेजयस्य व्यासस्य शिष्येण महाव्रतेन ।
क्षिप्रं न यदग्रन्थगुरुत्वभीत्या समग्रशास्त्रैः खलु भारते वै ॥
सर्वत्र नैतद्विषयोपयोग्यं तदा न चक्रे भगवान्महात्मा ।
अतीव दृष्टो बहुविस्तरेऽपि जनप्रिये भारतपूर्णचन्द्रे ॥
(नीलमते वितस्तामाहांत्म्यम्)
- 2) श्रीनिवासं हरिं देवं वरदं परमेश्वरम् ।
त्र्यैलोक्यनाथं गोविन्दं प्रणम्याक्षरमव्ययम् ॥
- 3) परीक्षिदंशमृच्छ्रीमान्नुपतिर्जनमेजयः ।
पप्रच्छ शिष्यं व्यासस्य वैशंपायनमन्त्रिकात् ॥
- 4) जनमेजयः — महाभारतसंग्रामे नानादेशा नराधिपाः ।
महाशूराः समायाताः पितॄणां मे महात्मनाम् ॥
कथं काश्मीरिको राजा नायातस्तव कीर्तय ।
पाण्डवैर्धर्तराष्ट्रैश्च न वृतः स कथं नृपः ॥
काश्मीरमण्डले चैव प्रधानं जगति स्थिरम् ।
कथं नासौ समाहूतस्तव पाण्डवकौरवैः ॥
किं नामाभूत्स राजा च काश्मीराणां महाशयः ।
कथं नासौ निशम्यैतन्नायातश्चान्मना तदा ॥
नायानो भारतं युद्धं राजा काश्मीरिको महान् ।
(N. M. P. vv. 1 to 5)

In the next few verses the sage Vaiśampāyana answers the question indicating the nature of the work written by Nīla.¹ The sage's answer, perhaps, consisted of many more verses originally. A greater part of the Purāṇa appears to have been lost. It is available now only in fragments. It can be gathered from the available material in it that the expedition of Gonanda I to Mathurā to help Jarāsandha in a battle in which he was slain, is described. There is also an account of how his son Dāmodara attempted to avenge his father's death when Śrī Kṛṣṇa came to a Svayamvara in the Gāndhāra country. These accounts have been probably restated by Kalhaṇa in his chronicle as there is a close similarity in the descriptions of the two accounts.² Then there is a description of the Sva-yamvara and an account of how Śrī Kṛṣṇa killed Dāmodara. The Lord then coronated the pregnant queen of Dāmodara on the throne of Kashmir. After a description of this incident the birth of Gonanda II is mentioned in it.

When Janamejaya listened to these accounts he asked the reason for the coronation of a pregnant woman on the throne of Kashmir by Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself. The sage replied that Kashmir was actually an incarnation of Satī or Goddess Umā and began describing to him the

1) वैशम्पायनः—सत्यमेतन्महाराज त्वया प्रोक्तं महीपते ।

यथा नासौ समायातस्तन्निशामय सुव्रत ॥

कश्मीरान् पालयन् सौम्य गोवन्द इति संज्ञया ।

यैव देवी उमा सैव कश्मीरा नृपसत्तम ॥

(N.M.P. vv. 5 to 6)

2) Rāj. I. vv. 57 to 66

various excellences that existed in the country adding in the end that it was formerly in the form of a lake called Satīśaras.¹ This is the introduction to the story of the creation of Kashmir by the sage Kaśyapa. Vaiśampāyana does not narrate the story directly but gives it in the form of a conversation between Gonanda and Bṛhadaśva.

The account of the creation of Kashmir as given in the Nilamatapurāṇa is briefly as follows. It begins with the story from the Mahābhārata regarding the bet between Kadrū and Vinatā which resulted in a life-long enmity between the Nāgas (the offspring of the former) and Garuḍa (the son of the latter). It is further related therein that Vāsuki, the king of the Nāgas, being sorely pressed by Garuḍa, obtained, through the favour of Viṣṇu, for his people a safe residence in the Satisaras where he made Nila their king. A demon by name Sangraha then attempted to ravish Śacī, Indra's wife and was punished for it. The birth of the demon Jalodbhava is then described. He began destroying the neighbouring countries Dārvabhisāra, Ja-landhara, Gāndhāra and the territories occupied by the Śakas and other foreigners. After he was killed the lake was dried up and Kashmir resulted out of it.

It is interesting to note that the Purāṇa gives a detailed account of the destruction of the demon Jalodbhava.

- 1) त्वमेव परमा शक्तिर्बहुभिर्मूर्तिभिः स्थिता ।
 क्षीरोदकान्ये विरजे पवित्रे मङ्गलप्रदे ॥
 त्वमेव देवि कश्मीरा त्वमेवोमा प्रकीर्तिता ।
 त्वमेव सर्वदेवीनां मूर्तिभिर्देवि संस्थिता ॥

(N.M.P. vv 273 & 274)

At the time when he was committing atrocities in the territories mentioned above, the sage Kaśyapa who is the father of the Nāgas was engaged in a pilgrimage to all the tīrthas on the earth. His son Nīla went in search of his father and met him at Kanakhala and narrated to him the sanctity of the tīrthas in Northern India and prevailed upon him to visit them. The sage agreed and while he was going towards them he saw that the country known as Madra was uninhabited. He asked Nīla why it was so. Nīla seems to have explained to him that it was due to the destruction wrought by the demon Jalodbhava on the country. At this the sage felt unhappy and promised that he would soon punish the evil-doer. Accordingly at the end of his pilgrimage he started with Nīla for the seat of Brahmā and implored him as well as Śiva and Viṣṇu to assist him in slaying the demon who was troubling the people of different countries. His prayer was granted. So the Gods in heaven including the Lord of the Oceans and the River Goddesses started for the Narabandhanatīrtha on the lofty peaks of the hill which is now known as Konsanāg (see map at the end). Brahmā took his seat on the Northern side and Viṣṇu on the Southern, Śiva placing himself in between them. By virtue of a boon granted to the demon by Indra he was invincible and refused to come out of the lake. On the advice of Viṣṇu, Śiva drained off the water of the lake by striking the mountains with his trident and made a path for the water to go out. When the lake was thus dried up Jalodbhava enveloped the place in darkness which was immediately dispelled by Śiva with the help of the sun and the moon in his hands. Then Viṣṇu took another form and directly

attacked the demon. The battle was fierce and long and trees on the hill-tops were freely used as weapons on both sides. Finally Viṣṇu cut off the head of the demon with his disc.

This is, in brief, the creation of Kashmir by the sage Kaśyapa as narrated in the Nilamatapurāṇa. Even now there is a tradition in Kashmir according to which the rivers that flow there are supposed to be the incarnations of Goddesses who occupied it immediately after its creation. The Gods and the Nāgas also received their respective places in it. But when the sage wanted to introduce men also to inhabit the land, the Nāgas protested. At this, the sage became angry and cursed them to dwell with devils. At this juncture Nīla interceded on behalf of his brothers and obtained a slight mitigation in the rigour of the curse. As a result of this the country was not to be handed over to the devils completely; but they were permitted to remain there only for six months in the year i.e., from the month of Āśvayuja to that of Caitra for a total period of four Kalpas. The instructions given by Kaśyapa were as follows:— "During the six months of winter Nikumbha, the king of the devils who dwells in an island six yojanas long in the sandy ocean will occupy Kashmir with fifty thousand warriors. In Caitra all the devils will have been killed and men will return to cultivate the land." With these instructions the sage introduced men of the four castes from various countries into Kashmir where they dwelt for six months in the year only.

When the period of four kalpas stipulated in the curse of the sage was completed, an old brahmin by name Candradeva, a descendent of the sage himself, somehow, remained in the country even after the duration of six months was over. He was caught by the devils who reappeared in the second half of the year and began to play with him as children would play with birds and tied him to a string. After a continuous torture for sometime at the hands of these devils in this manner he seems to have recovered his freedom and wandered disconsolate throughout the country until he met Nīlanāga who received him into his house where he spent the six months of the winter season. During his stay there he learnt from his host a number of rites and observances which would deliver the country from the cruel clutches of the devils and from the biting cold which used to envelop it. When Caitra came and with it the emigrant population of Kashmir, Candradeva communicated to them the ordinances which Nīla had revealed to the king by name Vīryodaya. The king then called all his people together and enjoined on them a strict performance of all the rites indicated by Nīla. When these rites were performed they were able to drive out the devils once for all from Kashmir. From that time onwards Kashmir became habitable for men throughout the year, having been completely rid of the cruelty of the devils.

In addition to the story of the creation of Kashmir, the Nīlamatapūrāṇa also gives, in detail, an account of the rites proclaimed by Nīla, Vaiśampāyana repeating them for the benefit of king Janamejaya. It is interesting

to note that these rites exactly coincided with those that Bṛhadaśva gave to Gonanda and that Nīla gave to Candradeva. Nearly two-thirds of the bulk of the purāṇa consists of descriptions of these rites. Many of them are similar to those explained in the Purāṇas in general and observed during festivals in India. Some of them are peculiar to Kashmir only and some others are curious. For instance there is a rule which lays down that new wine should be drunk on the day of the first snow-fall which looks revolting to the orthodox brahmins living in other parts of India. In the same manner the birth-day of Buddha is celebrated as a great festival in Kashmir on the Vaisākha Pūrṇimā of every year. According to the procedure laid down in the purāṇas, Buddha's statue is required to be put up and worshipped with the recitation of the hymns employed by the śākyas who are also worshipped on that occasion and are presented with cows, garments, food and books. Thus Buddha is considered as an avatāra of Viṣṇu in the Nīlamatapurāṇa. But there does not appear to be any evidence to show that he was similarly worshipped in other parts of India. The existence of such a custom in Kashmir may be ascribed to the accommodating spirit and good nature of the Kashmir brahmins and to the more universal prevalence of Buddhism there which in India proper was never more important than Jainism is at present. The concluding part of the Nīlamatapurāṇa consists of a number of miscellaneous Māhātmyas of all the sacred places in and around Kashmir. One of the most interesting of these is the origin of

the Mahā Padma lake which now goes by the name of Wular in Kashmir.

Thus the Nīlamatapūrāṇa is an important and useful miscellaneous work. There is not much material of historical value in it. Some information regarding the origin of Kashmir and its creation by the sage Kaśyapa and the connecting link that exists between Kashmir and the rest of India from ancient times is contained in it. It also supplies the authority for the ceremonial rites that are now being performed in Kashmir. It served as a source for the historical kāvyā of Kalhaṇa. It is, therefore, partly historical and partly ethical. It also furnishes information regarding the exact position of the sacred places of Kashmir and its suburbs commencing from their very birth. There are several legends in it which enable us to understand the tradition behind each rite that is being performed in Kashmir and help us to grasp the significance of certain technical terms used in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Another important information that is furnished in it is the method of calculation of time in India. The duration of the Kaliyuga as mentioned in it is 4,32,000 years, that of the Dvāpara is twice as big of Treta thrice and of Kṛta four times. The length of Manvantara is stated to be 3,06,72,000 years. The beginning of the Saptarṣi era is placed by the Kashmirians on the first day of the bright half of the Caitra of the twenty-fifth year of the Kaliyuga as stated in the Nīlamatapūrāṇa. This helps us to determine the relation that exists between the śaka era, Saptarṣi era and the Kaliyuga. Accordingly the twenty-

81

fourth year in which Kalhaṇa wrote the Rājatarāṅgiṇī corresponds to the Saptarṣi year 4,224.¹

3—KĀMANDAKA (700–750 A.D.)

Kāmandaka is probably the next Kashmirian writer of miscellaneous works. His name has been mentioned by Siddesvarasastry Citrav.² It is stated that he was a poet who lived in the suburb of Kashmir, during the eighth century A.D. So his date has been tentatively placed in the first half of the eighth century A.D. But more details about him are not available. He wrote a work called Nītisāra dealing with morals in general. Dr. Winternitz has examined this work and is of the opinion that he is as famous a writer as Kautilya, the author of Arthaśāstra. The special feature of his work seems to be Satyanīti.

4—KSEMENDRA (1025–1075 A.D.)

Kṣemendra has written a few works on Miscellaneous topics also. Their utility and importance will now be considered in as brief a manner as possible. There are four miscellaneous works generally ascribed to him. One of them is on metrics, another a dictionary,

1) The distance between Kali 25 and the beginning of the Śaka era	3154
The distance between Śakasamvat 1 and Kalhaṇa's time	1070
Total Saptarṣi Years	4224

2) M.C.K. page 221

the third a work on ethics and the fourth a short poem which is a eulogy. The particulars of each of these works will now be furnished.

1) SUVṚTTATILAKA

This is a work on metrics and is edited in the Haridas Sanskrit Series (Vol. XXVI) and also in the Kāvya-mālā Series (Vol. II). It consists of three chapters each of which is called a Vinyāsa. The first chapter deals with Vṛttāvacaya or the selection of metres. Twenty-four metres are defined in it with appropriate illustrations. One special feature about these illustrations is that they are all from the poet's own compositions. The second chapter is called Guṇadoṣadarśana and is devoted to a brief discussion of the merits and demerits of metres. The third chapter called Vṛttaviniyoga discusses the use of metres in general.

The second and the third chapters of this work are really valuable as they contain the names of many Sanskrit poets and verses from their works. In these two chapters the poet has attempted to assign particular metres to describe particular situations or sentiments. Such a treatment of the subject is rarely to be seen in the works of other writers on prosody. The definition of the metre itself serves as an illustration usually in all works in Sanskrit on prosody. But Kṣemendra has deviated from this traditional procedure in his work in as much as he has given the definition and the illustration separately. The illustrations indicate how gracefully he has composed them himself and how

he is extremely fond of the Mālinī metre which is considered to be the loveliest metre in the Sanskrit language. In fact Kṣemendra is at his best when he is composing in that metre. For instance the definitions of the metres called Vidyunmālā and Mālinī with illustrations can be quoted to serve as examples.¹

According to Kṣemendra the Anuṣṭubh metre is excellent for Scientific and Technical works, for stories and also at the commencement of a poetic composition. He is of the view that the metre Upajāti is good for the depiction of erotic sentiment; the metre Vasantatilakā for describing the Vīra and the Raudra rasas; the metre Vamśastha for ethics and the metre Mālinī for the concluding part of a canto in a poetic composition. In this manner Kṣemendra suggests that a particular metre is suited for a particular sentiment. This is the novel way in which he has handled prosody in Sanskrit. He has finally wound up this work with a verse in which the name of the author and the time of its composition are

1) मकारयुगपर्यन्ते यत्संयुक्तगुरुद्वयम् ।

विद्युन्मालामिव तद्धि वृत्तमष्टाक्षरं विदुः ॥

यथा मम—मौनं ध्यानं भूमौ शय्या गुर्वी तस्याः कामावस्था ।

नैवोत्सङ्गे नृत्तासक्ता यस्मिन् काले विद्युन्माला ॥

अष्टाक्षरविरामेण युक्ता ननमयैः सयैः ।

वदन्ति मालिनी नाम वृत्तं पञ्चदशाक्षरम् ॥

यथा मम—ननननमयवाणीं मेखलाकृष्टिकाले

प्रविचलदिव शोले नोत्सृजन्ती दुकूलम् ।

तृणलवचलनेऽपि स्वैरिणी शङ्कमाना

दिशि दिशि कृतदृष्टिर्मालिनी कस्य नेष्टा ॥

(Suv I vv. 12 & 30)

mentioned.¹ Dr. V. Raghavan's observations in this connection are as follows :— "Kṣemendra always displays some refreshing originality. In his *Suvṛttatilaka* he devotes some attention to those aspects of handling of metres. None will object to his observation that *Anuṣṭubh* is good for didactic compositions".²

The names of poets who are quoted in this work are Kālidāsa, Utpalarāja, Tuṅjina, Kalaśa, Bāṇa, Harṣadeva, Ratnākara (Vidyādhīpati), Parimala, Bhaṭṭa Vallāṭa, Gaṇḍinaka, Rājaśekhara, Bhaṭṭendurāja, Vāsudeva, Sahila, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Dīpaka, Mukṭākāṇa, Bhaṭṭa Syāmala, Bhavabhūti, Rissu, Cakra, Menṭha, Abhinanda and Bhūmaka. Some of these poets are Kashmirians who have already been dealt with in this Book. Very few names of works are given in this work of Kṣemendra. Of these a work by name *Pavanapañcāśikā* is ascribed to Kṣemendra himself. It would have been better if Kṣemendra had furnished the names of the works from which he took the verses for illustrating the several metres which he has defined. This is probably the only lacuna in it.

2) LOKAPRAKĀŚAKOŚA

This is a dictionary which has been compiled in the same manner as the other kośas in Sanskrit like the

1) इत्तौचित्यप्रचुररचनाविश्रुतश्रव्यवृत्त-

व्यक्तिः शक्तिप्रसृतवचसां दर्शिता संग्रहेण ।

क्षेमेन्द्रेण प्रणयि विपदां हर्तुराश्चर्यकर्तु-

भूभृद्भर्तुर्भुवनजयिनोऽनन्तराजस्य राज्ये ॥ (Su.v III. v. 40)

2) J. M. U. Section A Vol. XXII. 1 & 2 July & December 1952.

Amarakośa and the Viśvakośa. Two manuscripts of this work have been got; one by Mr. Weber and the other by Dr. Bühler. It has not been possible to publish the work as both the manuscripts are equally fragmentary and bad. Mr. Weber is of the opinion that it is not a work of Kṣemendra. Mr. Kaul also thinks that it must be a work of some recent writer. But Dr. Buhler thinks that it is genuinely from the pen of Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa. He writes as follows in his Kashmir Report :— “ This work gives a great amount of information on the daily life of the Hindus which elsewhere we seek in vain. He gives forms of hundis or letters of exchange bonds and the like, the titles of most of the Kashmirian officials (in some cases with explanation), a list of the paragaṇas into which Kashmir was divided. The importance of such an information cannot be over-rated as all the kośakāras lived too high in the clouds of the sāstras and poetry to care about such trivial matters as the Geography, Administration and Commerce of the country etc., etc.,”

3) NĪTIKALPATARU

This is another Miscellaneous work which is generally ascribed to Kṣemendra. It is edited critically for the first time by Dr. V.P. Mahajan in Vol. I. of the Post-Graduate and Research Department Series of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It is a recent publication of the Institute. It was printed and Published in the year 1956 from a manuscript of 111 folios which is available in the Institute.¹ Though from the invoca-

1) Ms. Ns. 352/1875-76 of B.C.R.I., Poona

tory verse! it looks as though Kṣemendra is the author of the work, a general feeling that he may not be the author arises by a perusal of the work which contains many interpolations. Later writers might have introduced some verses spuriously into this work. So all that it contains may not be entirely the composition of Kṣemendra. There are two reasons for this. One of them is that the title of the work is some times Nitikalpa or Nītikalpalatā or Nītikalpataru and therefore it does not bear a constant name throughout. The second reason is that even the titles of sub-sections vary with different names such as Kusuma, Guṇḥaka, Śākhā or Prakāṇḍa. Such variations are not to be seen in any of the existing works of Kṣemendra. On the other hand he is very particular of mentioning his full name with the title Vyāsādāsa at the end of each chapter correctly. He is also in the habit of mentioning the date of his compositions at the end of the work as already pointed out.

The Nītikalpataru contains many quotations from other authors who are even later than Kṣemendra himself. There is also a close resemblance between the Bṛhatkathāmanjarī and the Nītikalpataru on the one hand and Kathāsaritsāgara and Nītikalpataru on the other. This may be partly due to the fact that the author of Bṛhatkathāmanjarī is also Kṣemendra and that of Kathāsaritsāgara was his younger contemporary as has already been stated. Besides this resemblance there are many stories which occur in all the three works.

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- 1) ओ-नत्वोमात्तनयं गौरीं व्यासमुख्यमुनीश्वरान् ।
श्रीव्यासदासः क्षेमेन्द्रो नीतिकल्पतरुं व्यधात् ॥

The grounds on which the authorship of the Nītikalpataru is ascribed to Kṣemendra will now be discussed. As the name of the work is mentioned in the Maṅgalaśloka it may be stated that Kṣemendra is the author of at least the mūlaślokas or of the work as originally composed by the poet. It is a well-known fact that Kṣemendra was good at epitomisation as his fame in writing the epitomes of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata stands fairly established. He was well-acquainted with the Royal activities and also had the good fortune of having princes and sons of noble-men as his students. He was also a historian and it is possible that he was well-versed in Rājanīti as history and politics generally go hand in hand. Lastly the plan and execution of the work is almost similar to that of the Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja who is often quoted in the Nītikalpataru.

The general plan of the Nītikalpataru is as follows. It is divided into six major sections. The topics of discussion are usually mentioned in a śloka at the beginning of each one of the sections and are then elucidated. The work commences with the definition and nature of Nīti.¹ The importance of Nīti in the public and private life of an individual is then stressed quoting in support of it the well-known story of king Nahuṣa.² The second section deals with the prac-

- 1) नीतिर्नाम नरस्य चक्षुरदितं दिव्यं यदाश्लेषतो
देवत्वं नितरां वरं तु बलिनी मान्या परेहा बुधैः ।
तत्राप्यत्र पदं विदां विदधतां किं नाम नाप्यं मया
स्मायं सा समुपैति सिद्धिमह प्रज्ञा च सोक्तान् ततः ॥ (N. K. I. v. 1)

- 2) आसाद्य पीन्द्रपदवीमिन्द्रा उत्पथगामिनः ।
भ्रष्टास्तस्मात्पदात्तूर्णं तस्मात्तामनुपालयेत् ॥ (Ibid p. 6. v. 29)

tice of Niti singly and collectively. The third section consists of an advice to the king to acquire learning and avoid folly either of which are two-fold in nature namely practical and philosophical. The fourth section deals with the general knowledge of things and situations. For instance the qualities of a wise man are nicely described. The fifth and the sixth sections are concerned with men and material connected with the king. They define the qualities of different persons and situations generally associated with the king in his various Royal activities. For instance the requisites of a minister are laconically described in a single verse.² Finally, the merits of a queen are also nicely described in another single verse.³ These examples give an idea of the general scheme of the work.

4—VYĀSĀṢṬAKA

This is another short Miscellaneous work of Kṣemendra which is edited in the Kāvya-mālā Series (Vol. XXVIII). It consists of eight verses composed by the poet to eulogise the great sage Vyāsa, the author of the Mahābhārata. It is an appendix to the Bhāratamanjarī which has been dealt with before. It is only after he wrote this eulogy that Kṣemendra seems to have taken upon himself the title Vyāsadaśa which occurs in the

- 1) प्राज्ञोऽसौ यो न संमोहं विपत्कालेऽपि गच्छति ।
श्रुतं मृत्यौ शिरः प्रान्ते स्वं रक्षन्ति महाधियः ॥ (N.K. p. 48 v. I)
- 2) मन्त्री राज्ञा विधातव्यो विनीतः प्रियदर्शनः ।
उत्साही स्वामिभक्तश्च प्रियवादी सुलक्षणः ॥ (Ibid p. 177. v. 1)
- 3) विनीता गुरुभक्ता च ईर्ष्याक्रोधविवर्जिता ।
राज्ञः प्रियहिते सक्ता सुदेहा वसुलक्षणा ॥ (Ibid. p. 179. v. 1)

colophons of his works which were written later than Bhāratamanjarī.

Kṣemendra appears to have written two dramas also. Their names are mentioned in his works on Poetics and verses have been quoted from them in illustration of a few technical terms pertaining to propriety and sentiment. But the works themselves have not yet been discovered. One of them is Citrabhārata which is referred to in both his works on Poetics.¹ The other is Kanakajānakī a verse from which is quoted to illustrate a fine sentiment.² Another drama by name Lalitaratnamālā is also mentioned by him in the Aucityavicāracarcā while discussing some aspects of propriety. These dramas show that Kashmir has contributed even to dramatic literature in Sanskrit.

The chronology of all or at least some of the most important works of Kṣemendra may be drawn up on the basis of the information that is available in his works on poetics and metrics which also serve as good

1) यथा मम चित्रभारते नाटके—

नदीवृन्दोद्दामप्रसरसलिलापूरिततनुः

स्फुरत्स्फीतज्वालानिविडबडवाग्निक्षतजलः ।

न दर्पं नो दैन्यं स्पृशति बहुसत्त्वः पतिरपा-

भवस्थानां भेदाद् भवति विवृतिर्नैव महताम् ॥

(A. V. C. vv. 21 & 31)

2) रसगतो यथा मम कनकजानक्याम्—

तत्रार्यः खरदूवणत्रिशिरसां नादानुबन्धोद्यमे

मन्याने भुवनं त्वया चकितया योद्धा निरुद्धः क्षणम् ।

सस्नेहाः सरसाः सहासरमसाः सञ्चुभ्रमाः सस्पृहाः

सोत्साहास्त्वयि तद्वबले च निदधे दोलायमाना दृशः ॥

(K. K. III. p. 131)

anthologies. From the point of view of language, style and treatment of topics the Aucityavicāracarcā will have to be placed first, Kavikanṭhābharana next and Suvṛtta-tilaka last. The earliest of his works is the Rāmāyaṇa-manjarī as his name appears in the colophon without the title Vyāsadāsa. Of the thirty-five or forty works ascribed to him as many as twenty have been published.

Apart from the four works of Kāemendra which are of a Miscellaneous nature and his works on poetics, poetry and social topics dealt with before, there appear to be some more works ascribed to him which are known only by name. They are mentioned either in his works on poetics and metrics or in the works of other poets and authors. They have been mentioned in the table furnished in an earlier section of this thesis.¹ There is still another work (not included in the table) which is doubtfully ascribed to Kṣemendra. Its name is Hastiprākāśa according to the view held by Pandit Śivadatta.

In conclusion it may be stated that Kṣemendra's contribution to Sanskrit Literature is considerable and valuable. The credit of widening the scope of several branches of Sanskrit Literature goes to some extent to Kṣemendra and therefore to Kashmir. Traditional rules were examined and re-presented. Authors till then unknown were got out of the oblivion into which they had fallen. Topics of various interests are vividly depicted and artistically caricatured against the back-ground of social objectivity such as the orthodox brahmin showing

1) Cf. pp 217 to 219

off his piety on the Vitastā, a Medical, Literary or Musical quack playing upon the credulity of his victims, an unchaste woman preying upon the young and the old, a student at the university indulging in voluptuous ventures and a state official making hay while the sun shines by taking bribes and resorting to such unscrupulous tricks as forgery and deceit, in his works on social topics. All the famous Jātaka stories have been brought together in the Baudhāvadānakalpalatā. The dates of nearly sixty poets have been approximately fixed on the basis of information available in his works on poetics and metrics. It is supposed that a copy of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya was with him when he wrote the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī. If it can be proved that the work of Kṣemendra is only a recast of the work of Guṇāḍhya in Paśācī, much light could be thrown on the history of the Pañcatantra and such other works.

5—BHAṬṬA LAṬṬAṆA (1025-1075 A. D.)

The name of Bhaṭṭa Laṭṭaṇa is quoted by Kṣemendra in his Aucityavicāracarcā without mentioning the name of the work. He is, most probably, a Kashmirian and a contemporary of Kṣemendra. His date has, therefore, been placed in the second and third quarters of the 11th century A. D. His name is sometimes cited as Bhaṭṭa Va-llabha. But no information is available either about his pedigree or his compositions. The verse that is ascribed to him by Kṣemendra and quoted in his work

illustrates propriety in the use of attributes and is quoted to show that it is wanting in that very quality.¹

6—SĀRŅGADEVA (1200-1250 A.D.)

Sārṅgadeva is the next Miscellaneous writer from Kashmir. He belonged to an affluent family. His grandfather Bhāskara migrated to the Deccan. According to an account given in Bhandarkar's early history of the Deccan and in Wilson's Theatre his father Soddhāla obtained fame by the worship of Bhīllama and established the sovereignty of king Singhaṇa of the Yādhava dynasty who ruled in Devagiri from 1130 to 1169 A.D.² So his date may be placed during the first half of the 13th century A.D. He seems to have been the Auditor - General under that king. He was learned in music, medicine and philosophy. His literary attainments were of such a high order that it is often stated that Goddess Saraswati sought repose in him. He seems to have invented a particular type of Viṇā under that name. These facts are contained in a few verses which occur at the commencement of his work on music.³

- 1) ग्रीष्मं द्विषन्तु जलदागममर्थयन्तां
ते सङ्कटप्रकृतयो विकटास्तडागाः ।
अब्धेस्तु सुग्धशफरीचदुलाचलेन्द्र-
निष्कम्पकुक्षिपयसो द्रव्यमप्यचिन्त्यम् (A.V.C.)
- 2) H.S.L. by M. K. pp. 852 & 853
- 3) नानास्थानेषु संभ्रान्ता परिश्रान्ता सरस्वती ।
सहवासप्रिया शश्वद्विश्राम्यति यदालये ॥
स विनोदैकरसिको भाग्यवैदग्ध्यभाजनम् ।
धनदानेन विप्राणामार्तैः संहृत्य शाश्वततीः ॥
जिज्ञासूनां च विद्याभिर्गदातीर्ता रसायनैः ।
अधुनाखिललोकानां तापत्रयजिहीर्षया ॥
शाश्वताय च धर्माय कीर्तिनिःश्रेयसाप्तये ।
आविष्करोति संगीतरत्नाकरमुदारधीः ॥

The name of the work which Saṅgadeva wrote is Saṅgitaratnākara. It is popular and authoritative. It deals with the views of ancient writers and has obtained almost the first place in musical literature by virtue of the comprehensive treatment that it gives on the theory and practice of music. It is not merely an epitome of the older works that were available to him but it proceeds on original lines with regard to certain definitions and discussions on the various aspects of music. The efflux of time might have wrought changes in the modes and practices of singing in different parts of India. But they are all based on the original ideas that are dealt with in this work. The description of Rāgās and Tālās differs from those that are given in modern treatises. Sārṅgadeva has faithfully recorded the art of his time and gives us a glimpse of the progress of music in India from very early times.

The Saṅgitaratnākara is divided into seven parts each of which is called a prakaraṇa. The first part is called the Svarādhyāya and treats of musical notes and accents. The second one is the Rāgādhyāya as it consists of definitions and examples of different types of melodies in music. The third part is the Prakīrṇādhyāya which explains certain technical terms in music. The fourth part is the Prabandhādhyāya which is full of rules for composing songs. There is an interesting treatment of the ideas and measures of time in music in the fifth part which is appropriately called the Tālādhyāya. The sixth part is the Vādyādhyāya which is devoted completely for instrumental music and its implications. The seventh

and the last part is the Nṛtyādhyāya in which a full exposition of the art of dancing and acting is furnished. The entire work is in Sanskrit and is composed in simple verses. There are altogether six commentaries on it one of which is anonymous. There is also a commentary in Hindi by Gangaram.

It may be stated, in conclusion, that the first foundations of even South Indian Music which is popularly known as Karnatic Music were laid in Kashmir. The Saṅgītarinākara is held in very high esteem by scholars and musicians all over the country. The credit of inaugurating an interesting and authentic literature on music may go to Kashmir. It has already been stated that Śārṅgadeva was an expert in medical science also. He might have written a work on medicine. But so far no traces of it exist.

7—BHATṬOTPALA (1650–1700 A.D.)

Bhaṭṭotpala was a great astrologer and a mathematician who probably belonged to Kashmir. He is different from the philosopher Utpalācārya who is one of the expounders of Kashmir Śaivism. Perhaps he flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century A.D. He is well-known as a good commentator especially on the famous astrological works of Varāhamihira. Commentaries on the Brhatsamhitā and the Laghujātaka of Varāhamihira are ascribed to him. He is the author of a commentary on the Khandakhādyā. A commentary on the Yā-trā of Varāhamihira is also ascribed to him. But it has not yet been traced.

Besides being a good commentator on astrological works, Bhaṭṭotpala seems to have written an original work also called the Praśnañāna. It is a brief work consisting of 72 verses composed in the Āryā metre. In it the author shows that he is very good at mathematics and that he is gifted with an aptitude for research. He seems to possess a high degree of critical acumen. In his commentary on the Bṛhatsamhitā there is a reference to his commentary on the Khaṇḍakhādyā.¹ So he might have written the latter long before the former. It is also seen that there is a difference of about eleven months between the dates of his commentaries on the Bṛhatjātaka and the Bṛhatasamhitā one of which contains 14,000 verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre. This shows that his commentaries are elaborate and that he could write them within short intervals of time. He is also credited with the authorship of a commentary on the Śaṭpañcāsikā which is an astrological work of Pṛthuyāśas, son of Varāhamihira. It may be stated that Bhaṭṭotpala is probably the only writer from Kashmir who has written a large number of commentaries on Astrological works and a short original work on Praśna, a branch of Astrology.

8—KOKA (DATE NOT KNOWN)

Koka is supposed to have been a minister to the king of Kashmir according to the statement of Prof. Siddhesvarasastry Citrav.² But no other details either about his

1) खण्डखाद्यरणे अस्मदीयवचनम् ॥

2) M. C. K. p. 274.

date or his personal history are furnished by him. He is supposed to be the author of a work on Sexology and Eugenics. The work has not yet been traced. The name of the work is also not known. The science of sex is also known by the name Kokaśāstra at least in some parts of India. It is possible that he might have written other works on the same subject as Koka is frequently referred to in several Sanskrit works. If Koka is a Kashmirian, it may be stated that Kashmir contributed its share to this branch of Sanskrit Literature also.

It may be stated, in conclusion, that Kashmir has contributed to Miscellaneous Compositions in Sanskrit including works on Scientific and Technical subjects like grammar, satire, mathematics and music. Kashmirians seem to have written on the Kātantra and originated a literature in music as the later grammarians have explained the Kātantra and the Saṅgitaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva lays the foundations of even South Indian music and is an authority on it as no earlier work has so far been discovered. Besides a purāṇa by the sage Nīla and a work on Astronomy by Utpala, there are Vedic commentaries and works on social topics written by Kṣemendra and Dāmodaragupta. There are also many commentaries on various works in Sanskrit literature which throw some light on the wealth and variety of the contribution of Kashmir to various branches of it. They are useful as they give us an idea of the men and manners that were prevalent in Kashmir at different times of its history and help us in determining the dates of several writers and their works. The names of many

poets and authors occur in various works in Sanskrit. But the nature of their contribution to Literature is not furnished therein. Their names with relevant references to the works in which they occur and the [branch of Science or Sciences in which they were proficient have been collected together in Appendix VI of this Book. This gives an idea of the contribution that has been made by Kashmir and that has to be unearthed.

It may be stated, in conclusion, that Kashmir has contributed to Miscellaneous Compositions in Sanskrit including works on Science and Technical subjects like Grammar, Logic, Mathematics and Music. Kashmirians seem to have written on the Kāṇva and originated a literature in music at the later grammarians have explained the Kāṇva and the Śaṅkhaśāstra of Śaṅkhaśāstra. Besides a purāṇa by the sage Nīla and a work on Astronomy by Jyotiṣa, there are Vedic commentaries and works on social topics written by Kaṇvaśāstra and Damodaragupta. There are also many commentaries on various works in Sanskrit literature which throw some light on the wealth and variety of the contribution of Kashmir to various branches of it. They are useful as they give us an idea of the and manners that were prevalent in Kashmir in different times of its history and help us in determining the dates of several writers and their works. The

CHAPTER — IX

RESUMÉ

Analysis

Preliminary Remarks – The Varied Mass of Kashmirian Contribution to Sanskrit Literature – The Reasons for the Composition of Great Works during a particular period namely the 8th century to 14th century A.D. – Encouragement and Patronage to Sanskrit Works by Muslim Kings with reasons thereof - The decline of Sanskrit in Kashmir - How far the Book is original and contributes to the advancement of knowledge - Concluding Remarks.

CHAPTER – NINE

RESUMÉ

In winding up this Book it may be stated at the outset that the contribution of Kashmir has embraced various branches of Sanskrit Literature. Kashmirians have written many original works. New paths are traversed, new theories are expounded and new Schools of Thought are organised in a systematic and methodical manner by Kashmirian Scholars. The causes for this are not far to seek. They may be mainly due to the strategic and important position of Kashmir Geographically where natural scenes exist and upon which the Divine Grace has been showered in plenty. The happy valley of Kashmir is described as Goddess Umā in the Nilamatapurāṇa.¹ It was created by the sage Kaśyapa as stated therein. It is Kaśyapapuri or Kāśmirakāśyapī in the words of Jonarāja,² and Sāradādeśa in the words of Bilhana.³ It has a rich recorded cultural history from very early times. It was one of the earliest homes of the Āryans where the first Vedic hymns were composed in all their beauty and grandeur. Sanskrit was a spoken

- 1) त्वमेव देवि कश्मीरा त्वमेवोमा प्रकीर्तिता ।
त्वमेव सर्वदेवीनां मूर्तिभिर्देवि संस्थिता ॥ (N.M.P. p. 25)
- 2) श्रीगोनन्दमुखैर्धर्मसंमुखैराकलेः किल ।
काश्मीरकाश्यपी भूपैरपालि गुणशालिभिः ॥ (Jon. Rāj. v. 4)
- 3) सहोदराः कुङ्कुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥
(Vik. I. v. 21)

language there. Even women and children could speak in that language as fluently as they could in their mother tongue. Kashmir has been a meeting place of various cultures and religions with many opportunities for the mutual exchange of views and a free policy of give and take. The new ideas which emanated from Kashmir to enlighten the people may be the inevitable outcome of such a coalition of cultures and synthesis of religious and social associations. As a result of these a considerable mass of literature was produced by Kashmirians.

The names of various works written by Kashmirians on different topics are at present lying scattered in different places and references. In some cases it is doubtful if the writer is really from Kashmir. The names of such works are collected together in one place in the relevant section according to their nature. As much information as is possible to collect in respect of these works such as authorship, the subject-matter, the availability, the date of the author and the composition, the commentaries on them and their importance and utility is furnished. It is now possible to have an idea at one glance as to how much Kashmir has contributed to each branch of Sanskrit Literature (Poetics, Poetry, Philosophy, History, Grammar, Satire and Miscellaneous) and how valuable the contribution is to the country and to the world.

The contribution to Sanskrit Literature suffered a serious set-back in Kashmir with the advent of Muslim rule there. Its effect was that Sanskrit ceased to be a

spoken and a written language. Its place has now been taken by Kashmiri, an *apabhramśa* of Sanskrit, formed by the intermixture of Persian and Sanskrit. The development of Sanskrit Literature is now practically at a standstill in Kashmir. So the contribution of Kashmir from very early times up to the 17th or the 18th century A. D. is dealt with in this Book.

It can be seen from a glance at the matter in this Book that there are over two hundred writers from Kashmir on various subjects. Of these fifteen are original writers on Poetics, fifteen are commentators on the *Nāṭya* and *Alaṅkāra Śāstras*, twenty-one are Major Poets, twelve are Royal Poets, twenty-three are Minor Poets, twenty-seven are writers on Kashmir Śaivism, eight are Buddhist Philosophers, four are Other writers on Philosophy, four are writers on Tāntric works, Seven are Historians, sixteen are Grammarians, four are Vedic commentators, two are writers on social Topics, eight are writers on Miscellaneous subjects and forty-three are those whose works have not yet been traced. The magnitude of the total contribution of all these writers put together works up to nearly four hundred works of which the major portion pertains to Abhinava-gupta, Kṣemendra and Kṣemarāja to whom as many as forty-two, thirty-eight and twenty works respectively have been ascribed.

The large number of works on Poetics written by Kashmirians may be partly due to the conducive environments in which Kashmir is situated and partly due to the spontaneous ideas of scholars like Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa and others. The *Alaṅkāraśāstra* took its birth in

Kashmir. Several Schools of thought were also born there and placed new ideas and theories before the world of scholars. Udbhaṭa, Vāmana and Ānandavardhana represented some of these schools.

As opposed to the schools of thought represented by Udbhaṭa, Vāmana and Ānandavardhana, three more schools represented by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Kuntala and Kṣemendra also took their birth in Kashmir. They did not deny the existence of the Dhvani idea but showed new ways of approach to the conception of Poetry putting forth some original ideas. They could not eclipse the Dhvani theory. It is, however, pleasing to note that there was in Kashmir alone a move for opposing the all-pervading Dhvani theory. It shows the existence of critical acumen and intellectual stamina among Kashmir scholars. They were able to put forth new and novel ideas. Though the work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka exists only in fragments and that of Kuntala has now been published in full it can be shown how, by a reconsideration of a few concepts in Poetics, this theory of Vakrokti appears more well-balanced than the Dhvani theory. This aspect has been discussed at length in the second chapter of this Book. The possibility reconstructing the work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka from the available fragments has also been dealt with earlier.

A brief account of the matter that is contained in the third and fourth chapters of the Vakroktijīva of Kuntala which were unpublished till very recently, is

given in the first chapter. Though the idea of vakrokti was there from very early times, the credit of analysing it in a proper manner and pointing out its efficacy in good poetry goes to Kuntala. The value of his work from the point of view of originality and utility is discussed with quotations from the texts in the chapter in which a few concepts in Sanskrit Poetics have been reconsidered. The broad lines on which the concept of Vakrokti is handled are very interesting as Kuntala divides Vakratā into minute sub-divisions as existing in words, phrases, sentences, incidents and even in plots. The novel way in which the idea of Vakratā is treated and developed is worthy of note. This particular concept does not appear to have originated anywhere else in India. The credit in this behalf goes to Kashmir.

Even so in respect of the Hṛdayadarpaṇa of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the dominant part that Rasa plays in poetry and the several phases of its existence seem to have been dealt with in it as could be gathered from the available fragments. For Abhinavagupta quotes frequently from that work. Though Nāyaka seems to have opposed the Dhvani theory, Abhinavagupta quotes him and interprets to say that he does not fundamentally differ from the views of Dhvanikāra. Abhinavagupta may be called the prince among commentators. His exposition of the Dhvani theory and the principles of Nāṭya stands unexcelled even to-day. In some places it can be felt that the commentary is more authoritative and forceful than the original. The speciality about his commentaries is that he quotes a number of earlier critics and analyses

the views of each one of them. Even when he condemns them he does so in a dignified and a graceful manner. His contribution to philosophy is unique and original. He was not satisfied with one teacher and not even with a good number of them. His thirst for knowledge was so great that he had to go in search of teachers like the bee hovering from flower to flower in search of honey.¹ There were many Kashmirians who followed in the footsteps of this great teacher who has been rightly called आचार्येपादाः with which he is often referred to rather than by his real name.

Even Kālidāsa, the national poet of India, might have been born in Kashmir. It looks as though scenes in his dramas are laid somewhere in and around Kashmir and the descriptions of natural landscape on the Himālayas in his Kumarāsambhava and Meghadūta remind us of some sacred spot in Kashmir where modern places are identified with those spots. It has been thought by a few scholars that the birth-place of Kālidāsa might be somewhere in Kashmir. The arguments in favour of the theory that Kashmir might have been the birth-place of Kālidāsa have been furnished in Appendix II of this Book.

Composition of poetry and original works was quite common in Kashmir. It has been seen how there have been various classes of poets and original thinkers. While Kṣemendra wrote satirical works describing the

1) आमोदार्थी यथा भृङ्गः पुष्पात्पुष्पान्तरं व्रजेत् ।

विज्ञानार्थी तथा शिष्यो गुरोर्गुर्वन्तरं व्रजेत् ॥

(T.A. Ahn. XIII. v. 135)

several facets of society in Kashmir, Kṣemarāja wrote authoritative commentaries on the philosophical works of Vasugupta, Somānanda and Abhinavagupta on Kashmir Śaivism. If Bhaṭṭotpala wrote on Astrology and Astronomy, Śārṅgadeva wrote on Music and Medicine. The credit of writing chronicles and Historical Kāvya also goes to Kashmir resulting in the production of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī by Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, Śrīvara, Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka. Similarly Anthologies are written by Śrīvara and Vallabhadeva, Prayerpoems by Jagaddhara, Avatāra and Gopāla, Ethical works by Kṣemendra and Bhallaṭa and Tāntric works by Abhinavagupta and Vidyāraṇyayati. All these facts indicate the great past of a great land. Dr. Kaumudi observes as follows :-“ Kashmir has all through its history been the great seat of Art and Learning. Here flourished from days of yore various schools of thought and culture. Art and Literature blossomed forth, bringing in their train influences and inspirations from different parts of the world.

“The ancient Āryans, when they set their foot on Indian soil, made Kashmir, with the high mountain ranges of the Himālayas, one of their earliest homes. Seekers of truth and knowledge came here from different nooks and corners of the then known world to seek solace and inspiration from the eternal mountains. Religions and creeds grew and thrived there and then spread enlightenment to other regions of Asia. Thus a distinctive cultural and spiritual tradition was founded and many a great shrine and monument, reminding the people of this tradition, was raised in different parts of the great valley. These architectural

ruins and remnants are today the embodiment of those great spiritual achievements."

"How vividly do these scattered ruins, though half-crumbled and faded, confirm the praise bestowed upon the Kashmiris in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. What greater praise could these monuments elicit for a people who have still preserved their ancient traditions of refinement and grace?"¹

There was a great impetus for the composition of new and original works in Kashmir only during a particular period namely from the 8th century to the 14th century A.D. Many works were written in many branches of learning. Works on Poetics practically commenced from the 8th century A.D. with Udbhaṭa and Vāmana. Works on the Trika system of philosophy began to be written about the same time and historical works also fall in the same period. The reasons for this are clear. Firstly the literary glory of Kashmir was at its zenith during this period. Secondly foreign ambassadors like Hiuentasang and Itsing visited India so that there was an opportunity for exchange of ideas between the great nations like China, Persia, Greece, and India. The Kings like Jayāpīḍa and Avantivarman who ruled in Kashmir were enlightened and generous. Being poets themselves they knew the intrinsic worth of learning and how to honour those who dedicated their lives to the composition of Poetry. Otherwise King Jayāpīḍa would not have paid a daily salary of one lakh gold coins to Udbhaṭa, the President of the Royal

1) "Kashmir," Its Cultural Heritage p. 28

Assembly of Poets during his time.¹ Kalhaṇa has stated that during his time king Jayāpīḍa invited scholars from all parts of India in large numbers. Lastly Kashmir was a seat of learning whose fame had reached, different parts of the world.

Particular mention may be made, in this connection, of the encouragement that was given to Sanskrit learning during the latter part of this period even by Muslim rulers such as king Zainulabidin, Sultan Hasanshah and Emperor Akbar. They were noble, cultured and very broad-minded. They could not think with prejudice or bias because they had assimilated their scriptures and had understood that all religions speak of the same universal God and merge in Him like the rivers in the ocean.² It was their samskāra to have devoted their time and attention to poetical and philosophical works in Sanskrit and the Purāṇas and the Epics. They were not satisfied with their own enjoyment which they derived from a deep study of these well-known works. They wanted even those who did not know Sanskrit to reap the benefits of pleasure and usefulness. It was with this intention that they ordered the translations of these works into Persian and Arabic. Great scholars were entrusted with the task of translating them into other languages so that they could be within the reach of all citizens in and out of Kashmit. Speaking of the munificence and magnanimity of Zainulabidin Dr. Kaumudi

1) Rāj. IV. 495

2) बहुधाप्यागमैर्भिन्नाः प्रन्थानः सिद्धिहेतवः ।

त्वय्येव निपतन्त्योवा जाह्नवीया इवार्णवे ॥

(R.X. v. 26)

says as follows:- "Zainulabidin spent large sums of money in collecting rare books from far and near and getting them translated. He founded a library, one of the biggest in the Islamic world of that country. During his last years, which were unhappy because of the dissensions in his family, the Sultan consoled himself with the study of the philosophy of the Yogavāsiṣṭha. He set himself up in a room and spent his days in hearing from Śrīvara the Mokshopāya or the message of Hindu philosophy, as a panacea for all ills and misfortunes of this earthly life."¹ There were also translations of many Persian works into Sanskrit so that the exchange of ideas was mutual and not unilateral.

The bright flame of classical Sanskrit traditions began to flicker and fail after the death of king Zainulabidin. The Hindu society in Kashmir began to disintegrate and marked the decline of Sanskrit study. Persian language began to spread its influence on the masses and have its strong-hold on them. The enthusiasm for Sanskrit learning and composition of beautiful works began to gradually disappear. Its place was taken by Kashmiri which was born afresh by a mixture of Persian and Sanskrit. The land which was the living place of the Goddess of Learning yielded to foreign influences and suffered a fall from the throes of which it has not yet recovered. But still the rich heritage which has descended through the blood among the Kashmirians down to the present day is visible even in the compositions of the vernacular. For instance the lofty teachings and tenets

1) "Kashmir", Its Cultural Heritage p. 46

of Kashmir Saivism are found in the verses composed in Kashmiri by Lallā, the woman philosopher of Kashmir. This spontaneity in the composition of poetry is visible in the works of modern Kashmir writers also though in a language slightly different from Sanskrit.

The cultural background which is as imperishable as it is deeprooted is always there to prompt the Kashmirian writer to produce useful and valuable mass of literature. Dr. Rajendraprasad, while inaugurating the 19th All India oriental Conference in Delhi has rightly observed as follows:— "The Indian culture was similarly flowing through the ages receiving tributes from various other countries, some-times shrinking, some-times subdued but ever on the move and ever rising. This is a matter of deep study by those who are in a position to interpret things of the past which has been forgotten in many respects, because that past might enable them to enrich the present and shape their future... Our ancestors are accused of ignorance of history and their disregard for history because it was impossible to fix the date of certain great works and great authors; but it matters little for humanity whether a book is written 500 years before or after, if it is good in its contents."¹

The people of Kashmir today may be mostly Muslims. The Hindus may be in a minority. They became converts only by force of circumstance as stated by Śrīvara in his Rājatarāṅgīnī. They may be speaking Persian or Urdu or Kashmiri. Whatever may be their religion or language or status in society, they cannot remain

- 1) "The Hindu" of the 27th December 1957. p. 7.

indifferent to the indigenous traditions of the past and to the inspiration that they derive constantly from beautiful natural surroundings. Even in the songs and verses of modern poets of Kashmir can be seen the reflections of the patriotic feelings in which the beautiful poetry of Bilhana is abounding. "Bilhana," says Dr. Kaumudi, "represents a link in that chain of scholars and missionaries who found patronage and repute in this 'land of milk and honey' and spread enlightenment to unknown destinations far away beyond the borders."1

It may now be stated that this Book shows the contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature and to the advancement of knowledge in general. The portions of this Book which are believed to be original may be briefly stated as follows. The views of Kuntala on Poetics as expressed in the third and fourth chapters of his *Vakroktijivita* have been explained with their implications in the first chapter. In the second chapter where a few concepts in Poetics are reconsidered it is pointed out that the theory of *Vakrokti* appears to be more balanced than other theories and *Vakrokti* is shown to have a better claim for being considered as the Soul of Poetry. The views of *Bhaṭṭanāyaka* and *Rasa* theory as gathered from the available fragments of his work are briefly explained. The theory that *Kālidāsa* might be a Kashmirian is discussed in an Appendix. The views of *Māṛgupta* on the technic of the Sanskrit drama as could be gathered from the quotations available in some of the commentaries are collected together. The importance

1) "Kashmir, The Cultural Heritage p. 206

of the Rāvanārjuniya of Bhūmaka has been pointed out. The origin of Śrividya and Śricakra-worship in Kashmir have been dealt with in the fifth chapter.

The various literary influences and powerful movements in Kashmir's cultural and literary past are visible in the poetry of Kashmirian scholars. The interests of Kashmir are completely knit with those of India culturally and literally. India and Indian history cannot exist without Kashmir. A humble attempt has been made here to present as many works of Kashmirians as possible in the Various branches of literature in Sanskrit utilising the material that is available at present in various places. Still much more remains to be done. Every effort should be made ere long to unearth and publish the works that are still there in manuscript form. The revival of Sanskrit learning should become dynamic so that Kashmir soon occupies its position as a centre of learning and the seat of Śaradādevī, the Goddess of Learning, and continue to be the light-house guiding many a literary ship in the ocean of learning as it did for centuries in the past.

APPENDIX - I

Seventy Verses of the Sage Kaśyapa quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary Abhinavabhāratī on the Nāṭyasāstra. (PP. 384 to 391 of Ns. No. 41/1925-26 of B.O.R.I. Poona) (Cf. p. vi of the General Introduction)

सा धारा गर्भसंघैः स्यादवमर्शे तु पंचमः ।
 कैशिकः स्यान्निर्वहणे प्रशस्त्यन्ते तु मध्यमः ॥ १ ॥
 षाडवः पूर्वरङ्गे स्याद्विष्णोर्ग्रामद्वयं विदुः ।
 गौर्यास्तु पंचमं कुर्यात्साधारः स्कन्दसूर्ययोः ॥ २ ॥
 मध्यमं कैशिकं विद्यात्साधारं च भयानके ।
 ललितज्जरियं शुद्धाशीतिः स्यान्नाट्य... तयोः ॥ ३ ॥
 दैन्यावमानभूयिष्ठे रसे षड्भुजो विधीयते ।
 कामिनी निर्जितेऽस्यापि भाषास्तद्व्यभिचारिणु ॥ ४ ॥
 द्वात्रिंशो शोकभूयिष्ठे षड्भाषायादिकं संमुदे ।
 मालवी गुर्जरी वाथ चिन्ताप्रशमयोः क्रमात् ॥ ५ ॥
 मतिरधृत्यवहूतेषु गीयते बालकाडवः ।
 कासलाकासले कुर्यात् गान्धारी षड्जपांक्तिके ॥ ६ ॥
 पादौ सवीरललितलालिते लालितासमे ।
 तुम्बरावश्यके चिक्वे गान्धारवल्लिता भवेत् ॥ ७ ॥
 कर्णादिबन्धनिर्वाणो चित्तकर्मणि वा भवेत् ।
 कालिङ्गयमर्षवेगेषु लिङ्गिनां कपटात्मनाम् ॥ ८ ॥
 मध्यमास्मृतिशङ्कासु निर्विण्णे पार्वती भवेत् ।
 विषादिनीविमोहादौ भिन्नषड्जे गणस्त्वयम् ॥ ९ ॥
 स्थापकीयेऽसदोत्साहे भिन्नपंचम उच्यते ।
 संभ्रमाकृतरागस्य मले कैश्चित्तथाद्भुते ॥ १० ॥

- श्रमाभ्यसयामर्षेषु शुद्धमिन्नान्नियुज्यते ।
 परागीवर्षसंवेगविस्मयेषु विधीयते ॥ ११ ॥
 धृतिस्मृत्यवहित्येषु भवेद्वैवतभूषिता ।
 आलस्यदैन्यमोहेषु विशाला ब्रीलितेऽपि च ॥ १२ ॥
 गर्वौत्सुक्यविकर्केषु दृढमापरिगीयते ।
 त्रासशंका संभ्रमेषु कौसल्या विनियुज्यते ॥ १३ ॥
 वांकाव्यमर्षा वेगेषु धृतिस्मृतिषु चामता ।
 उत्तमे करुणे भावे सूदिये व्यभिचारिणि ॥ १४ ॥
 कार्यान्तरा तन्त्रधूते भाषा तामोन्दवा मता ।
 छन्नेऽमिलाषे शृंगारे कीरे धर्मात्मके तथा ॥ १५ ॥
 कृतकर्तव्यतायां च कर्तव्यो भिन्नकैशिकः ।
 दृढाचित्योऽद्भुतोत्साहे भिन्नकैशिकमध्यमः ॥ १६ ॥
 अनया भिन्नयोर्बाला कैशिकयोर्व्यभिचारिणी ।
 सूक्ष्मवका स्वरंजात्या श्रुत्या भिन्ना निरूपिता ॥ १७ ॥
 अतः स्वरो वाथो रौद्र उत्साहो धर्मवर्जितः ।
 गौडपंचममिच्छन्ति तत्रैते कश्यपादयः ॥ १८ ॥
 चिन्ता दैन्यं धृतिः श्रद्धामर्षादौ द्राविडी स्मृता ।
 दुःखे दुरन्तेषु भये पताकादेनियुज्यते ॥ १९ ॥
 नौधकाशितमेतस्य धाषान्तं नापि कामपि ।
 भयानके मध्यमः स्याद् भीते चोत्साहयोगिनि ॥ २० ॥
 नन्दयन्तीव तन्द्राषा भवेत्तु व्यभिचारिषु ।
 गौडगीतिरयं प्रायो-वेगस्वरविचित्रता ॥ २१ ॥
 टकरागस्तु कर्तव्यो रसयोर्वीररीद्रयोः ।
 दीप्ते हृदये तस्यार्थं स्याद्वादविषयेऽपि सः ॥ २२ ॥
 हर्षे वाप्यथ चिन्तायां रूपं नात्रपणो भुवा ।
 वैराजिका हि तावत्स्यात् शैरामिरणकल्पने ॥ २३ ॥
 मालवे सारिका कार्या समराङ्गणरूपणे ।
 घूर्जर्यमर्षवेगेषु सैरन्ध्री निष्ठुरात्मके ॥ २४ ॥

सैन्धवी परितोषे स्याद् वैरस्ये वैसरी मता ।
 पञ्चमाख्या विहसिते रविचन्द्राविवादिनी ॥ २५ ॥
 अन्धा मेरिमदोन्मादे लालिता दर्पविप्लवे ।
 कोलाहलिः कलकले मध्यमे भ्रमिका-धृतौ ॥ २६ ॥
 शङ्कासूयाश्रये भाषा गेया गान्धारपञ्चमी ।
 धृतेरेता मतिस्मृत्योः स्याद् दिवाकरवर्धिनी ॥ २७ ॥
 वोलाला दीप्तभावेषु स्यादृतौ तानकूलिका ।
 बाहादिर्वेदभावानां ॥ २८ ॥
 चिन्ताविषादनिर्वेदे शार्दूली शोकसंश्रया ।
 जने हर्षे वितर्के च मालवी परिगीयते ॥ २९ ॥
 सौवीरो मतिधृत्योस्तु सौवीरी वेगमध्यमा ।
 सा धारिता च हर्षे स्याद् गान्धारी शोकचिन्तयोः ॥ ३० ॥
 आभिलाषिकशृङ्गारे मध्यस्ये हृदयेऽथवा ।
 ससार तथावाये गेयो मालवपञ्चमः ॥ ३१ ॥
 निर्वेदग्लानिशङ्कासु भ्रमे वाभिरिका भवेत् ।
 आवेगशस्त्रसामर्षराकोऽग्रे भावनी मता ॥ ३२ ॥
 वांगाली कुचदोमादे सैन्धव्यौत्सुक्यनिद्रयोः ।
 घूर्जरी धृतहर्षादौ अन्दांली गदवृद्धिषु ॥ ३३ ॥
 कामावस्था दाक्षिणात्या सर्वमुद्दीपयेत्किल ।
 श्रान्तावहित्थकान्तीषु तर्कोटादौ भवा मता ॥ ३४ ॥
 श्रवणी मदनावस्था शोकोत्कण्ठास्य कथ्यते ।
 नीचानाम्नदशंकास्था गर्वामर्षेषु कैशिकी ॥ ३५ ॥
 करुणादैन्यभूयिष्ठे आहुर्वेदमतीं बुधाः ।
 द्यौराख्यध्वश्रमे हर्षगर्वेत्वं धीः प्रचक्षते ॥ ३६ ॥
 औग्रे क्रोधे च गान्धारी संगमे च विभाविनी ।
 भिन्नकैशिकमध्यस्थस्थाने वै सा च पाण्डवः ॥ ३७ ॥
 पुष्पमोक्षे भावहित्थवृत्त्यादौ ब्रह्मपाण्डवः ।
 भाव्वान्ता ॥ ३८ ॥

हास्ययोगे तु मङ्गल्ये निपाग-करागकः ।
 मङ्गलाख्योत्सवे हर्षो रागशोभाविधायिनी ॥ ३९ ॥
 रतेः कामदशानां वा घनत्वेऽघत्तकैशिकः ।
 भिन्नषड्जस्य वा स्थाने चिन्ताव्रीलासु मालवी ॥ ४० ॥
 अन्ये तु कथयन्त्येनां चेटिकाशवरादिषु ।
 शेषे स्यात्कैशिकी बन्धे भवे स्यादामिली शुचिः ॥ ४१ ॥
 विप्रलम्भे तामदशायोगे मालवकैशिकः ।
 शुद्धा स्यात् षड्जशुद्ध ... वोराला शोकगोचरे ॥ ४२ ॥
 नमस्वज्जेऽपि चाभीरी खण्डिनी गीयते शुचिः ।
 अमर्षे धूर्जरीरौद्रकैशिकी मधुरार्चने ॥ ४३ ॥
 वृत्तौ मतौ श्रमेवोता स्यात्सिन्धुवनिताभवे ।
 शार्दूलौ यश्चकर्मादौ धृतिस्मृतिमतिष्वपि ॥ ४४ ॥
 प्रेङ्खशृङ्गारसंभोगे विदूषकपरिक्रमे ।
 आवेगवैसरीदैर्न्यचिन्तयोश्चूतमञ्जरी ॥ ४५ ॥
 औत्सुक्ये विश्रमे खेदच्छेपान्धीं संप्रयोजयेत् ।
 षड्जमध्यमिताहर्षधृत्योर्मधुरिका तथा ॥ ४६ ॥
 शोकरविचन्द्रकाख्या मदोवादिषु पिञ्जरी ।
 व्रीडायां भिन्नवलितं चापले च विधीयते ॥ ४७ ॥
 कर्तव्या भिन्नपौराला ईहासूयावितर्कना ।
 द्रामिडी स्यात्परिश्रमे पार्वत्युत्साहहर्षयोः ॥ ४८ ॥
 अष्टधा रागगतिः दोषालापित्यनीविका ।
 श्लोकेऽपेक्षेत ककुभो धृतौ कामभोजिका मता ॥ ४९ ॥
 मध्यमग्रामिकागर्वे चिन्तालस्येषु माधुरी ।
 सालवाहनचिन्तान्त्रमक्षीवेषु तु गीयते ॥ ५० ॥
 भोगवर्धनिका शोके दैन्ये निर्वेदचिन्तयोः ।
 निद्रोन्मादजडत्वेषु साकं क्षवलितं मता ॥ ५१ ॥
 भिन्नपश्चिमकां कुर्यात्स्मृतौ नृत्यवहित्ययोः ।
 भोगवर्धनिकास्थाने मदेवाभीरिका भवेत् ॥ ५२ ॥

विषादचिन्तानिर्वेददैन्यखेदप्रजागरे ।
 हरगन्धावपौरात्या धीवराद्युपहित्यगा ॥ ५३ ॥
 प्राकृतेषु सचित्तेषु मानव्यासकमिश्रिताः ।
 उत्तेरहृदितस्थाने योज्यते किराणावली ॥ ५४ ॥
 रेचयन्ती बन्धुवधे विच्छेदे प्रियवान्धवे ।
 ललित धैर्यगाम्भीर्ये हर्षोपांगाल केसरी ॥ ५५ ॥
 नर्करागमिहेच्छन्ति यत्र मालवकैशिकम् ।
 ककुभो वा दैन्यचिन्तालस्यमोहेषु नर्तकी ॥ ५६ ॥
 वीराभासे तु हास्येन निर्वीहे स क इष्यते ।
 शोकावहित्यनिर्वेदश्रमे तद्वलिता स्मृता ॥ ५७ ॥
 नारीलास्यदिदृक्षायामाहुः पञ्चमषाडवम् ।
 अस्य भार्ग्यरेव गुप्ता स तस्याथ स्वतन्त्रता ॥ ५८ ॥
 रागो हर्षमदोत्साहधृतिस्मृत्यादिगोचरः ।
 मार्गभ्रष्टेऽथ बीमत्से नीचेयं माणवंचमः ॥ ५९ ॥
 श्रमशंकावितर्केषु कार्यो मध्यमभूषिता ।
 रूपसाधारकस्तर्करागस्थाने स्वरूपकः ॥ ६० ॥
 गान्धारपञ्चमस्थानि नीचस्याद्भुतहास्ययोः ।
 बीमत्से हास्यवीरागे कर्तव्यः षड्ज कैशिकः ॥ ६१ ॥
 चिन्तावितर्कयोः सा स्यात्स्त्रीणां मालवपञ्चमा ।
 औत्सुक्ये प्रोषिते पत्या शङ्कासूयासु भावनी ॥ ६२ ॥
 इति साधारभीतिः स्वात्सर्वगीतिनिमीषिणाम् ।
 भूयस्त्वापाततो भावव्याभिचारिगता द्रवेत् ॥ ६३ ॥
 नागं रसेषु यत्रोक्ता विषयैकतया स्थिताः ।
 ध्रुवादौ मध्यमग्रामषड्जौ षाडवपञ्चमौ ॥ ६४ ॥
 गान्धारमध्ये केशाख्यावागो गान्धारपञ्चमः ।
 सूर्ये सु वीरकश्यप्याः कैशिकः पञ्चमेऽपि च ॥ ६५ ॥
 सर्व एव सुरारातौ भवेन्मालवकैशिकः ।
 सर्वे रागा महादेवि सम्यक् सन्तोष पोषकाः ॥ ६६ ॥

भीतिसाधारशौण्डीर्ये नाट्यभूप्रहरद्वये ।
 भिन्नानचरमे सैव पूर्वस्मिन्ननुमादृचि ॥ ६७ ॥
 नाट्यादभावे तानस्युः अमंगलकृतोऽप्यसौ ।
 चरमे रागगीतिः स्यान्नाट्येन नियमः स्वयम् ॥ ६८ ॥
 प्रेखोलितो वसन्ते स्यात्तथा मालवपंचमा ।
 तरागगोलकुभो भिन्नषड्जोऽथ कैशिकः ॥ ६९ ॥
 भिन्नापंचमकश्चेति वामकण्ठेषु संमतिः ।
 इत्येष कश्यपाद्युक्तौ विनियोगो निरूपितः ॥ ७० ॥

APPENDIX-II

Kālidāsa is a Kashmirian
(Cf. p. 641 of this Book)

There is a theory which says that even Kālidāsa might have been a Kashmirian. Had it been established fully, it would have been a pleasure to give him the first place among the major poets of Kashmir. As the reasons adduced in favour of this theory are not conclusive, the discussion had been relegated to this Appendix. The case made out in favour of Kashmir as the birth-place of Kālidāsa is based on grounds that will be referred to here. Some opinions about his date will also be occasionally referred to.

About the ancestry and the parentage of Kālidāsa, there are some traditional stories which need not be fully relied upon. A careful perusal of his works reveals that he might have been born in a highly cultured brahmin family and might have led a rigorous and disciplined life. It looks as though nothing can possibly be settled as regards his date. Nevertheless, on the basis of certain historical data, one of the prominent views regarding his date is in favour of the first century B.C.

The theory that Kālidāsa is a Kashmirian is partly based on the assumption that he was identical with Māṛgupta whose name occurs in many known works in Sanskrit Literature. Scholars have tried to establish this identity. The arguments that are generally put forth in this behalf are now furnished—

(1) Kalhaṇa has stated that, when Hiraṇya, the ruler of Kashmir, died without issue, Harṣavikramāditya of Ujjain appointed a poet named Mātṛgupta, who had come to seek service at his court, to the throne of Kashmir.¹ It is also learnt from Kalhaṇa that he was welcomed by the people of Kashmir and coronated in accordance with the command of king Harṣa.² This incident has also been referred to by Prof. C.C. Jhala.³ Dr. Bhaudaji⁴ and Prof. Maxmuller.⁵ This Mātṛgupta seems to have ruled Kashmir for four years and retired to Banaras as a Sannyāsin when Pravarasena II, the nephew of Hiraṇya, who had gone on a pilgrimage, returned to assume the throne. Dr. Bhaudaji thought that this Mātṛgupta who temporarily ruled Kashmir was the great poet Kālidāsa because tradition says that Vikramāditya bestowed on Kālidāsa half of his territories.

1) Rāj. III. vv. 125 to 130.

2) इति निश्चित्य चतुरं क्षपायमेव पार्थिवः ।
गूढं व्यसर्जयद्दूतान् काश्मीरीः प्रकृतीः प्रति ॥
आदिदेश च तान् यो वा दर्शयेच्छासनं मम ।
मातृगुप्तामिधौ राज्ये निःशङ्कं सोऽभिषिच्यताम् ॥
अथ प्राङ्मुखसौवर्णमद्रपीठव्यवस्थितः ।
सन्निपत्य प्रकृतिभिर्मातृगुप्तोऽभ्यषिच्यत ॥

(Rāj. III. vv. 188, 189 & 239)

3) 'Kālidāsa'—A Study p. 16.

4) The Literary Remains p. 48.

5) 'India, what it can Teach us' pp. 313, 314 & 415

- (2) Dr. Bhaudaji also argues that Māṭṛgupta is one of the synonyms of Kālidāsa in the same way as Raghukāra, Medhārudra and Koṭijit.
- (3) Kalhaṇa while mentioning the names of great Sanskrit Poets like Vākpatirāja and Bhavabhūti, patronised by Yaśovarman of Kanuj in their respective historical periods,² is curiously silent about the name of Kālidāsa. It may not be correct to argue, on this score, that Kālidāsa was unknown to Kalhaṇa.
- (4) Vidyānātha, in his Pratāparudriya, quotes an Āryā from the Setubandhamahākāvya of Kālidāsa and calls the work a great composition.
- (5) Daṇḍin praises the Setubandhakāvya as an ocean of the gems³ of good statements although it is written in Prakrit.
- (6) The Setubandha is also alluded to in the introduction of the Sāhityadarpaṇa as the work of Pravarasena, its other name being Daśamukhavadhā and that it might have been composed by some one else for him according to the view of Rāmadāsa, the minister of Akbar Jalaluddin, in his commentary on

1) M. D. Ed. by G. R. N. p. 62.

2) कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥

(Rāj. IV v. 145)

3) महाराष्ट्राश्रया भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।
सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ॥

(K.D.I. v. 34)

the Setubandha.¹ He ascribes the authorship of Setubandha to Kālidāsa himself. Two Pravarasenas belonging to the Vākātaka dynasty appear to have existed in the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era. This accounts for the reference to the work by Daṇḍin.

- (7) Kalhaṇa also refers to a Pravarasena who constructed a bridge of boats across the Vitastā (Jhelum) on which the capital of Kashmir was then situated.² The construction of this bridge is the topic of the Setubandha.
- (8) Bāṇa takes notice of Pravarasena and the Setubandha confirms the correction of the assertion of the commentator referred to above that the poem was composed at the request of the king by some one else. It is therefore thought that Kālidāsa might have written the Setubandha at the request of Pravarasena. In the introduction to the Harṣacarita, Bāṇa almost simultaneously refers to Pravarasena and Kālidāsa.³

- 1) महाराजप्रवरसेननिमित्तं महाराजाधिराजविक्रमादित्येनाज्ञप्तो
निखिलकविचक्रचूडामणिः कालिदासमहाशयः सेतुबन्धं चिकीर्षुः—
(S D. Int. p. 58)
- 2) वितस्तायां स भूगालः बृहत्सेतुमकारयत् ।
ख्याता ततः प्रभृत्येव तादृङ् नौसेतुबन्धना ॥ (Rāj. III. v. 354)
- 3) कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥
निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥
(H. C. Int. S K. M. p. 44. v. 62)

- (9) Kalhaṇa ascribes a verse to Mātṛgupta¹ which is similar in import to a verse in the Meghadūta.² Like Kālidāsa who seems to have made a faithful portrayal of his sorrowful feeling of separation from his beloved in the Meghadūta, Mātṛgupta might also have lived away from his wife and home.
- (10) Even by astronomical calculations some writers have tried to show that Kālidāsa lived in the Pre-Christian era. This is in conformity with the date of Mātṛgupta who, being a contemporary of Harṣavakramāditya of Ujjain and Pravarasena of Kashmir, has been assigned to the first century B. C.
- (11) The descriptions in the works of Kālidāsa almost resemble the flora and fauna of Kashmir.

This theory of identity of Kālidāsa with Mātṛgupta based on the reasons furnished above is not without opposition. Even Dr. Bhaudaji himself has opposed it on the following grounds:-

- (1) Kālidāsa was a worshipper of Śiva and Pārvatī; while Mātṛgupta, as ruler of Kashmir, appears to have conciliated the Buddhists and the Jains by prohibiting the destruction of living beings and pleased the Vaiṣṇavas by constructing a temple of Viṣṇu

- 1) नाकारमुदुहसि नैव विकथसे त्वं
दित्वां न सूचयसि मुञ्चसि सत्फलानि ।
निःशब्दवर्षणमिवास्मुधरस्य राजन्
संलक्ष्यते फलत एव तव प्रसादः ॥

(Rāj. III. v. 252)

- 2) M. D. v. 113.

called Madhumathana or Māṭṛguptasvāmī (which according to Prof. Maxmuller, is no serious objection taking into consideration the character of the times).

- (2) Kālhaṇa speaks of Māṭṛgupta as a poet in his historical kāvyā but does not identify him with Kālidāsa.¹ It is really surprising to note that Kalhaṇa who is so well acquainted with the literary history of Kashmir should have told the extraordinary career of Māṭṛgupta without giving even a hint that he was Kālidāsa.
- (3) It is not clear why Kālidāsa should be referred to as Māṭṛgupta. Ānandavardhana and others refer to him only as Kālidāsa.

Although the above objections leave the identity of Kālidāsa with Māṭṛgupta in doubt, they have given rise to the new problem of the connection of Kālidāsa with the Setubandhakāvyā and Pravārasena of Kashmir. It is sometimes argued that Kalhaṇa refers only to such poets as had some connection with the affairs of Kashmir such as Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja who were the court poets of an antagonist of a Kashmir king and that he does not refer even to Vālmīki and Vyāsa.² In his commentary on the Abhijñāna Śākuntala, Rāghavabhaṭṭa very frequently quotes Māṭṛgupta in defining the characteristics of a Sanskrit Drama. This may suggest that Māṭṛgūpta and Kālidāsa are distinct personalities.

- 1) M. D. by G.R.N. Int. p. 65.
- 2) The Indian Historical quarterly Sept. 1955 pp. 232 to 256.

The argument put forth in favour of the identity of Kālidāsa with Mātṛgupta may not confirm the theory that Kālidāsa is a Kashmirian. But the huge mass of internal evidence in some of his works may, to a considerable extent, substantiate the theory. For instance the descriptions of the Himālayas in the Kumārasambhava and the Meghadūta are sufficiently accurate to say that Kālidāsa might have been a Kashmirian by birth. The description of Alakā in the Pūrvamegha may suggest that Kālidāsa was thinking of his land of birth. The City is aptly compared to a स्वाधीनपत्निका.¹ Situated on the Himālayas, Kashmir looks like a young lady sitting on the lap of her lover and the black cluster of clouds with the white sparkling Gaṅgā appears like her braid bedecked with pearls. The poet also describes that young ladies in Alakā used to adorn themselves with flowers of all seasons as they could be found there at all times.² The commentator Mallinātha remarks that there was the

- 1) तस्योत्सङ्गे प्रणयिन इव स्वस्तगाङ्गादुकुलं
न त्वं दृष्ट्वा न पुनरलकां ज्ञास्यसे कामचारिन् ।
या वः काले वहति सलिलोद्गारमुच्चैर्विमाना
मुक्ताजालग्रथितमलकं कामिनीबान्धवृन्दम् ॥ (M. D. I. v. 67)
- 2) हस्ते लीलाकमलमलके बालकुन्दानुविद्धं
नीता लोभप्रसवरजसा पाण्डुतामानने श्रीः ।
चूडापाशे नवकुरवकं चारुकर्णे शिरीषं
सीमन्ते च त्वदुपगमजं यत्र नर्पं बधूनाम् ॥
यत्रोन्मत्तभ्रमरमुखरा पादपा नित्यपुष्पाः
हंसश्रेणीरचितरशना नित्यपद्मा नलिन्यः ।
केकोत्पलं भवनशिखिनो नित्यभास्वत्कलापा
नित्यज्योत्स्नाः प्रतिहततमोवृत्तिरम्याः प्रदोषाः ॥

(M. D. II. vv. 2 & 3)

wealth of all seasons at all times in Alakā¹ which may agree with the climatic condition of Kashmir.

Even in the other works of Kālidāsa there are a few indications to show that he might be a Kashmirian. For example the Kumārasambhava commences with a fine description of the Himālayas; in the Vikramorvaśiya the first meeting between Ūrvaśī and Purūravas is on the Gandhamādana mountain near Kashmir and the days of separation from Ūrvaśī were spent on the Himālayas; and in the Raghuvamśa the journey of Dilīpa to the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha is through the Himālayas. The hermitages of the sages Kaṇva and Mārīca are on the Himālayas. All these scenes seem to have been laid on the banks of the Indus river in the interior of Kashmir. The place where the messenger of Śiva (भूतेश्वरपार्श्ववर्ती) spoke to king Dilīpa is identified with the Bhūteśatīrtha in Kashmir. The rivers Indus and Mālīnī are in Kashmir and the Śacītīrtha, Śakraḡhāt and Somatīrtha on their banks are identified with certain places even now in Kashmir. They might be the places where certain scenes occurring in the several works of Kālidāsa might have been laid. The marriages that are described in the Raghuvamśa and Kumārasambhava are similar to those that take place in Kashmir to-day. The fact that Kālidāsa was a Śaivite and a worshipper of the Divine Mother who is the incarnation of Śakti may support his association with Kashmir though it may not be

1) सर्वदा सर्वर्तु संपत्तिमाह—

possible to say whether he followed the Trika or the Pratyabhijñā school of thought in philosophy.¹

There appears to be a specific reference to Kashmir in the Raghuvamśa.² The remarks of the commentator on this further clarify the point at issue.³ There is a sense of pleasure and reverence on the part of the poet while composing these verses. There is no reference to the conquest, subjugation or defeat by Raghu of the country that is referred to here. It is a striking contrast to note that the tiresomeness as described in the conquests is absent in these verses which may reveal the devotion and love of Kālidāsa to Kashmir. Dr. Bhaudaji remarks that Kālidāsa is the only poet who describes a living saffron flower the plant of which grows in Kashmir and writes ; — “In Kashmir or its neighbourhood the birth-place of Kālidāsa ultimately will be found. The name of his wife, in all likelihood, was Kamalā”⁴

- 1) M. C. K. (in Marathi) pp. 223 to 228 (based on ‘The birth-place of Kālidāsa’ by Prof. L. D. Kalla.)

- 2) विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धालम्कुङ्कुमकेसरान् ॥
तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटालादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥

(R. IV. vv. 67 & 68)

- 3) सिन्धुर्नाम काश्मीरदेशेषु कश्चिन्नदविशेषः— कुङ्कुमं काश्मीरजन्म ॥

- 4) M. A. Int. p. x.

Thus Kashmir has been claiming Kālidāsa for a long time both on the basis of his probable identification with Māṛgupta and a few internal evidences as discussed by Prof. G. C. Jhala.¹ Though the identity of Kālidāsa with Māṛgupta may not be relied upon fully, we may not altogether ignore the clues in his kāvya which go to suggest that he might be a Kashmirian. Even other provinces in India namely Bengal, Vidarbha, Mālawa, Ceylon and Ujjain are claiming him on equally strong grounds. In the face of these theories it is not possible to arrive at any decision in this behalf. Though no definite conclusion can be drawn regarding the birth-place of Kālidāsa, it can be seen that the case has its own merits. In view of the fact that other cases are also inconclusive, this also need not be altogether thrown out of consideration.

1) "Kālidāsa — A Study" pp. 16 & 29:

APPENDIX - II.

VERSES ASCRIBED TO CANDRAKA IN THE SEVERAL
ANTHOLOGIES IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

(Cf. Page 179 of the Book.)

स पातु वो यस्य हतावशे मास्तत्तुल्यवर्णाजनरञ्जितेषु ।
लावण्ययुक्तेष्वपि विवशस्ति दैव्याः स्वकान्तानयनोत्पलेषु ॥

(Subh. v. 32)

च्युतामिन्दोर्देवां रतिकलहभग्नं च वलयं
शनैरेकीकृत्य प्रहसितमुखो शैलतनया ।
अवोचद्यं पश्येयवतु स शिवः सा च गिरिजा
स च क्रोडाचन्द्रो दशनकिरणापूरिततनुः ॥

(Ibid 66)

मातर्जीव किमेतदञ्जलिपुटे तातेन गोपायते
वत्स स्वादुफलं प्रयच्छाति न मे गत्वा गृहाण स्वयम् ।
मात्रैवं प्रहिने गुहे विघटयत्याकृष्य सन्ध्याञ्जलिं
शंभोर्मिन्नसमाधिरुद्धरभसो हासोद्गमः पातु वः ॥

(Ibid 69)

एषा हि मे रणगतस्य दृढा प्रतिज्ञा
द्रक्ष्यन्ति यत्र रिपवो जघनं हयानाम् ।
युद्धेषु भाग्यचपलेषु न मे प्रतिज्ञा
दैवं यदिच्छति जयं च पराजयं च ॥

(Ibid 2275)¹

यत्रानेके कचिदपि गृहे तत्र तिष्ठत्यथैको
यत्राप्येकस्तदनु बहवस्तत्र चान्ते न चैकः ।
इत्थं चेमौ रजनिदिवसौ दोलयन् द्वाविवाक्षौ
कालः काल्या सह बहु किल क्रीडति प्राणिशारैः ॥

(S. K. M. p. 453 v. 54)²

- 1) Also quoted in A. V. C,
- 2) Also quoted in K. K. V. Sandhi.

येन ध्वस्तमनोभवेन बलिजित्कायः पुरास्त्रीकृतो
 यश्चोद्वृत्तभुजङ्गहारबलयो गंगां च योऽधारयत् ।
 यस्याहुः शशिमच्छिरो हर इति स्तुत्यं च नामामरः
 पायात्स स्वयमन्धकक्षयकरः त्वां सर्वदो माधवः ॥

(Ibid p. 35, v. 104)¹

कृष्णेनाम्ब गतेन रन्तुमधुना मृद्भक्षिता स्वेच्छया
 सत्यं कृष्ण क एवमाह मुसली मिथ्याम्ब पश्याननम् ।
 न्यादेहीति विरुसितेऽथ वदने माता समस्तं जगद्
 दृष्ट्वा यस्य जगोन विस्मयवशं पायात्स वः केशवः ॥

(A. V. C.)²

कुशः काणः खञ्जः श्रवणविकलः पुच्छरहितः
 क्षुधाक्षामो वृद्धः पिटरककपालार्चितकरः ।
 व्रणैः पूयकृन्त्रैः क्रिमिकुलकृतस्त्रावबहुलैः
 शुनीमभ्येति श्वा तमपि मदयत्येव मदनः ॥

(Ibid)³

खगोत्क्षितैरन्त्रैस्तरुशिरसि दोलेव रचिता
 शिवा दृप्ताहारा स्वपिति रतिस्विन्नेव वनिता ।
 वृषातों गोपायुः सरुधिरमसिं लेदि बहुशो
 विलान्वेष्टी सर्पो हतगजकराग्रं प्रविशति ॥

(Ibid)

-
- 1) Also quoted in Dhv. p. 95 to illustrate *Sleṣa* of *Sabdaśakti*.
 - 2) Also quoted in Subh. v. 49.
 - 3) Also quoted in Sudh. v. 3390 but as anonymous.

APPENDIX - IV

The Stray Verses of the Kumārasambhava of Udbhaṭa
which are quoted in his own Kavyālaṅkāra
(Reproduced from p. 737 of the History of Sanskrit
Literature by M. Krishnamacharya)

(Cf, p. 189 of this Book).

ततः प्रभृति निःमङ्गो नागकुञ्जरकृतिभृत् ।
शितिकण्ठः काञ्चगलत्सतीशो हान अव्यथः ॥ १ ॥
तत्रतो याशयाशे व्याकोशितकुशेशया ।
चकाशे शालिर्किशारकपिशशासामुखा शरत् ॥ २ ॥
सान्द्रारविन्दवृन्दो यमकरन्दाम्बुविन्दुभिः ।
स्यन्दिभिः सुन्दरस्यन्द नन्दितेन्दिन्दिरा क्वचित् ॥ ३ ॥
कुर्वती काननारूढश्रीनूपुररवभ्रमम् ।
क्वचिदुत्सुकुलकमला कमलभ्रान्तपट्पदा ॥ ४ ॥
केलिलो गलिमालानां कलैः कोलाहलैः क्वचित् ।
पट्पदक्काणमुखरा मुखरस्फारसारसा ॥ ५ ॥
पद्मिनीः पद्मिनीगढस्पृहया गत्य मानसात् ।
अन्तर्दन्तुरयामासुर्हंसा हंसकुलालयात् ॥ ६ ॥
जितान्यपुष्पकिञ्जल्क किञ्जल्कश्रेणिशोभितम् ।
लोकेऽवतंसतां नारीमुखेन्दुष्वसितोत्पलम् ॥ ७ ॥
काशाः काशा इवाभान्ति सरांसीव सरांसि च ।
चेतस्याचिक्षिपुर्व्यूनां निम्नगा इव निम्नगाः ॥ ८ ॥
ज्योत्स्नांबुनेन्दुकुंभेन ताराकुसुमशरितम् ।
क्रमशो रात्रिकन्याभिर्व्योमोद्यानमसिच्यत ॥ ९ ॥

उत्पतद्भिः पतद्भिश्च पिच्छालीबालशालिभिः ।

राजहंसैरवीज्यन्त शरदेव सरोनृपाः ॥ १० ॥

आसारधाराविशिखैर्नभोभागप्रभासिभिः ।

प्रसाध्यते स्म धवलैराशाराज्यं बलाहकैः ॥ ११ ॥

संजहार शरत्कालः कदम्बकुसुमप्रियः ।

प्रेयोवियोगिनीनां च निःशेषसुखसंभवः ॥ १२ ॥

क्षणं कामज्वरोच्छित्यै भूयः सन्तापवृद्धये ।

वियोगिनामभूच्चान्द्री चन्द्रिका चन्दनं यथा ॥ १३ ॥

तरुण्य इव भान्ति स्म चक्रवाकैः स्तनैरिव ।

प्रबोधाद्धवलं रात्रौ किञ्जलकालीनषट्पदम् ॥ १४ ॥

शशाङ्कबिम्बेन समं बभौ कुसुमकाननम् ।

अपि सा सुमुखी तिष्ठेद् दृष्टे पथि कथंचन ॥ १५ ॥

अप्रार्थितोपसंपन्ना पतितानभ्रवृष्टिवत् ।

इति काले कलोल्लापिकादम्बकुलसङ्कुले ।

त्रिदशाधीशशार्दूलः पद्मचात्तापेन धूर्जटिः ॥ १ ॥

तां शशिच्छायवदनां नीलोत्पलदलेक्षणाम् ।

सरोजकलिकागौरीं गौरीं प्रति मनो दधे ॥ २ ॥

स दग्धविग्रहेणापि वीर्यमात्रस्थितात्मना ।

स्पृष्टः कामेन सामान्यप्राणिचिन्तामचिन्तयत् ॥ १ ॥

चण्डालकल्पे कन्दर्पं प्लुष्ट्वा मयि तिरोहिते ।

सञ्जातातुलनैराश्या किं सा शोकान्मृता भवेत् ॥ २ ॥

स गौरीशिखरं गत्वा ददशोमां तपःकृशाम् ।

राहुपीतप्रभस्येन्दोर्जयन्तीं दूरतस्तनुम् ॥ १ ॥

पद्मं च निशि निःश्रीकं दिवा चन्द्रं च निष्प्रभम् ।

स्फुरच्छायेन सततं मुखेनाधः प्रकुर्वतीम् ॥ २ ॥

शोर्णपर्णाम्बुवाताशकण्ठेऽपि तपसि स्थिताम् ।

समुदुहन्तीं नापर्वगर्वमन्यतस्विवत् ॥ ३ ॥

या शैशिरी श्रीस्तपसा मासेनैकेन विश्रुता ।
 तपसा तां सुदीर्घेण दूराद्विदधतीमधः ॥ ४ ॥
 अंगलेखामकाश्मीरसमालम्भनपिञ्जराम् ।
 अनलक्तकताम्राभामोष्ठमुद्रां च विभ्रतीम् ॥ ५ ॥
 दन्तप्रभासुमनसं पाणिपल्लवशोभिनीम् ।
 तन्वीं वनगतां लीनजटाषट्चरणावलि ॥ ६ ॥
 तपस्तेजःस्फुरितया निजलावण्यसंपदा ।
 तपसाऽस्याः कृतान्यत्वं कौमाराद्येन लक्ष्यते ॥ ७ ॥
 अचिन्तयच्च भगवानहो नु रमणीयता ।
 पतेद्यदि शशिद्योतच्छटा पद्मे विकासिनि ॥ ८ ॥
 मुक्ताफलाक्षमालायाः करेऽस्याः स्यात्तदोपमा ।
 मन्ये च निपतन्त्यस्याः कटाक्षा दिक्षु पृष्ठतः ॥ ९ ॥
 प्रायेणाग्रे तु गच्छन्ति स्मरबाणपरंम्पराः ।
 ॥
 किं वात्र बहुनोक्तेन ब्रज भर्तारमाप्नुहि ।
 उन्वन्तमनासाद्य महानद्यः किमासते ॥ १० ॥

APPENDIX - V

Statement showing the names of important Places, Rivers, Mountains and Tirthas in the
Haracaritacintāmaṇi with their modern equivalents and references.
(Cf. Page 257 of the Book)

Sl. No.	Ref. to Canto & Verse	Name of the Place etc.	Corresponding modern name	References and remarks
1	IV II-54	R Uttaragaṇḡā	Gangabal	Rāj. I. 57. N. M. v. 297 etc., Stein's Chronicle Foot Note. Stein's Chronicle III 448 do I-32 VII-990
2	IV-87	Uttaramānasam	(L) do	
3	XIV-34	Kapāteśvara	(T) Kuthiher	
4	XIV-111	Kapālamocana	(T) In Supayan	

5	IV-83	Kālavimāla	(T)	Mundkol	Rāj. VII-1256
6	XVI-42	Kaliñjara	(M)	In Bundelkhand	Stein's Chronicle VII-586.
7	XII-44	Kṛṣṇā	(R)	Kisangaṅgā	N.M.P.
8	X-251	Khaṇḍapuchanāga	(M)	Khanbal	Stein's Chronicle VIII-1063
9	X-192	Gambhīrā	(R)	Saṅgam	do I-38
10	XIV-113	Cakratīrtha	(L)	Cakdhar	
11	X-41	Candratīrtha	(L)	Candlanyar	
12	XII-44	Candrabhāgā	(L)	Cinan	
13	XIII-200	Tripureśvara	(T)	Trifar	Stein's Chronicle V-46.
14	IV-30	Nandīparvata	(N)	Nagparbat	do I-36
15	XII-17	Nilakunḍa	(T)	Nilanāg (in Shahbad)	do I-28
16	XII-16	Nīla	(M)	do	do I-182
17	IV-27	Naubandhana	(L)	in Divsar (District)	5 Lakes flow from this lake

Sl. No.	Ref. to Canto & Verse	Name of the Place etc.,	Corresponding modern name	References and remarks
18	IV-36	Pāpasūdāna	(T) Papasudan Nag	Stein's Chronicle I-32 VII-191
19	III-85	Bhūteśvara	(T) Bhuthsar	do II-148
20	IV-88	Mukūṭa	(M) Harmukh	do I-36
21	XII-43	Varābhakṣetra	(T) Varmul	do VI-204
22	I-5	Vijayēśvara	(T) Bijbror	do I 38
23	I-27	Vitastā	(R) Jhelum or Vyath	do I-29
24	IV-55	Viśokā	(R) Visav	do IV-5
25	XII-3	Satideśa	(T) Satisar	do I-25
26	IV-49	Sandhyā	(P) Sandbrar	do I-33
27	XII-40	Sindhu	(R) Sind	do V-97
28	X-248	Suśravanāga	(M) Susirrag	do I-203
29	X-257	Somatīrtha	(P) Somyar	Rāj VIII-3360
30	I-28	Svyambhūnātha	(T) Kamraj	Stein's Chronicle I-34
31	IV-69	Haramukūṭa	(M) Haramukh	do I-36
32	XIV-43	Hastikarṇa	(P) Hastikhan	do VII-1650
L - Lake, M - Mountain, R - River, P - Province				
T - Temple or Tīrtha.				

APPENDIX - VI

Statement showing Kashmirian Authors who are known only in Name with relevant references.

(Cf. Page 634 of this Book)

Sl. No.	Name of the Author	Approximate date and name of work where available	References and remarks
1	Bhaṭṭa Prabhākara	Contemporary of Mañkha	S.C. XXV vv. 48 & 49 ¹
2	Bhogakarma or Bhogivarma	Mentioned in Sdk. of Sridharadāsa	Subh. v. 1825
3	Bhudda	Contemporary of Mañkha	
4	Caṇḍamādhava or Prācaṇḍamādhava	Mentioned in Sdk. of Sridharadāsa	Subh. vv. 1970. 1971 & 2020
5	Dattopādhyāya	Author of Samaya-pradīpa	M.C.K. p. 444

- 1) आक्रान्ता यस्य वज्रिण्या दीर्घदीर्घुणा निरः । वान्देवीक्रवहृन्मया इव पुष्पाति माधुरीम् ॥
द्विजराजेन सजता प्रमाकरचचिग्रहम् । पावनेन श्रिता येन धामत्रयमयी स्थितिः ॥

Sl. No.	Ref. to Canto & Verse	Name of the Place etc.,	Corresponding modern name	References and remarks
18	IV-36	Pāpasūdana	(T) Papasudan Nag	Stein's Chronicle I-32 VII-191
19	III-85	Bhūteśvara	(T) Bhuthsar	do II-148
20	IV-88	Mukūṭa	(M) Harmukh	do I-36
21	XII-43	Varābhakṣetra	(T) Varmul	do VI-204
22	I-5	Vijayeśvara	(T) Bijbror	do I-38
23	I-27	Vitastā	(R) Jhelum or Vyath	do I-29
24	IV-55	Viśokā	(R) Visav	do IV-5
25	XII-3	Satideśa	(T) Satisar	do I-25
26	IV-49	Sandhyā	(P) Sandbrar	do I-33
27	XII-40	Sindhu	(R) Sind	do V-97
28	X-248	Suśravanāga	(M) Susir nag	do I-203
29	X-257	Somatirtha	(P) Somyar	Rāj VIII-3360
30	I-28	Svyambhūnātha	(T) Kamraj	Stein's Chronicle I-34
31	IV-69	Haramukūṭa	(M) Haramukh	do I-36
32	XIV-43	Hastikarṇa	(P) Hastikhan	do VII-1650

L - Lake, M - Mountain, R - River, P - Province
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2	Bhogakarma or Bhogivarma	Mentioned in Sdk. of Sridharadāsa	Subh. v. 1825
3	Bhudda	Contemporary of Mañkha	
4	Caṇḍamādhava or Prācandamādhava	Mentioned in Sdk. of Sridharadāsa	Subh. vv. 1970, 1971 & 2020
5	Dattopādhyāya	Author of Samaya-pradīpa	M.C.K. p. 444

- 1) आक्रान्ता यस्य वज्रिणा दीर्घदीर्घगुणा निरः । वाग्देवीक्रवहृन्मया इव पुष्पान्ति माधुरीम् ॥
द्विजराजेन भजता प्रभाकररुचिग्रहम् । पावनेन श्रिता येन धामत्रयमयी स्थितिः ॥

Sl. No.	Name of the Author	Approximate date and name of work where available	References and remarks
6	Dāmodara	Contemporary of Maṅkha	
7	Devīdāsa	Author of Rājanīti	M.C.K. p. 463
8	Dhanañjaya	Author of Nāmamālā, a Lexicon	M.C.K. 467
9	Garga	Contemporary of Maṅkha	S.C. XXV. vv. 55 & 56 ¹
10	Govinda	do	
11	Janakarāja	do	
12	Kurpūrabhaṭṭa	1400 to 1470 A.D.	Jon. Rāj. v. 1099 ²
13	Lakṣmīdeva	Contemporary of Maṅkha	
14	Mahāmanuṣya	Mentioned in Sdk. of	Subh. vv. 1818 & 1847
		Srīdharadāsa	
15	Manoharagupta	Scholar & brother of	M.C.K. p. 600
		Abhinavagupta	

- 1) कृतश्रुतिमुद्रासेकाः सोद्रेका विविधैर्नयैः । स्तुतिं यदुचसि च्छेकाः स्वच्छे कामपि विभ्रति ॥
 स सन्मार्गचरो गर्ग आनर्चं स्थविरं चिरम् । सत्त्वनीनां तमग्रयं द्रोणं चापभृतामिव ॥
- 2) कर्पूरमद्वो निदर्पः प्राणरक्षो महोभुजः । गुणिनां शरणं चक्रेस्वगुणैः सुरभिं सभाम् ॥

16	Mandana	Son of Srīgarbha Contemporary of Mañkha expert in all Sciences	S.C. XXV. vv. 51-53 ¹
17	Manoratha	Contemporary of Ānanda- vardhana and often iden- tified with Vṛttikāra	
18	Manoratha (Manmatha ?)	Grandfather of Mañkha & father of Viśvavarta	M.C K. p. 600 & S.C. III. vv 31 & 15
19	Nandana	Contemporary of Mañkha	S.C. XXV. vv. 22-25 ²
20	Nārāyaṇa	Mentioned in Sdk. of Śrīdhārādāsa	Subh. v. 1591

- 1) चतुर्दशापि यस्यान्तर्द्विजराजश्रितोन्नतैः । कुण्डस्य भुवनानीव विद्यास्थानानि शेरते ।
श्लिष्टयत्कृत्स्नपाण्डित्यमयसंशयवर्मना । बाल्य एवोद्धृता येन मोहकर्मतो मतिः ॥
क्रमादजनि सौन्दर्यं रसस्मेरमुखः सखा । श्रैर्गर्भपण्डनस्तस्य पारणाय स चक्षुषोः ॥
- 2) नित्यं नृत्यद्वयोदेवीमञ्जीरोच्चरवैरिव । घटते शास्त्रचिन्तासु यस्य निद्रादरिद्रता ॥
महाभूतानि पंचापि विरंचेन विमुञ्चता । योऽवैमि वाङ्मयैरेव निर्मेमे परमाणुभिः ॥
क तु कानि कियत्कालमहो तेपे तपांसि यः । वैदुष्ये लग्नकाव्यान्ययोगव्यावृत्तिस क्षिणि ॥
पुनानमन्तिकं तस्य प्रथमं ब्रह्मवादिताम् । विद्वत्संस्कन्दनं तत्र स नन्दनमवन्दत ॥

Sl. No.	Name of the Author	Approximate date and name of work where available	References and remarks
21	Padmanābha	Author of Bhuvaneśvari	M.C.K. p. 503
22	Padmarāja	Stotra	
23	Paṭu	Contemporary of Mañkha	
24	Paśupati	do	
25	Prabhākara	Author of Kārikāparikṣā	M.C.K. p. 503
26	Prakaṣa	Same as Bhaṭṭaprabhākara	M.C.K. p. 511
27	Rāmānanda	First Guru of Abhinava-gupta	Item 1 p. 673
28	Ruppa Bhaṭṭa	1400 to 1470 A.D.	Mentioned by Mañkha
29	Saktisvāmī	1400 to 1470 A.D.	
30	Śākya Śrībadhra	Ancestor of Abhinanda and contemporary of Mukṭāpīḍa	Jon. Rāj. v. 1101 ¹ Jon. Rāj. v. 1100 ² M.C.K. p. 754
		1126-1224 A.D.	
		Buddhist Philosopher and Logician	do p. 763

1) श्रीरामानन्दपादानां भाष्यव्याख्या क्षणे क्षणम् । वीक्षते शारदा क्षोणीमेव संभ्रान्तमानसा ॥

2) पूर्वोन्दग्रहसञ्चारादुत्तरानन्दग्रहस्थितिम् । रूप्यभट्टो विद्वत्तासीदितुनैव गणितश्रमम् ॥

31	Simhaganapati	1400-1470 A.D.	Jon. Rāj v. 1097 ¹
32	Sīrya Bhaṭṭa	do	do
33	Srīgarbha	Contemporary of Mañkha	S.C. XXV. v. 50. ²
34	Srīkanṭha	do	do v. 54 ³
35	Srīvatsa	do	
36	Syāmala	May be the same as Bhaṭṭa Syāmala (Cf: Chap. III)	A.V.C. v. 16 Suv. vv. 2, 31 & 35 C.C.I. 663 & Subh. p. 131.
37	Ṣaṣṭha	Contemporary of Mañkha	C.C.I. 729
38	Suramūla	Mentioned in Sdk.	Jon. Rāj. 1097 ³
39	Tilaka	1400 to 1470 A.D.	S.C. XXV. v. 66 ⁴
40	Trailokya	Contemporary of Mañkha	do v. 65 ⁵
41	Tutātita (Kumarila ?)	do	M.C.K. p. 741,
42	Vinayāgnikavi	Author of a Vṛtti on Khaṇḍaprasāsti	
43	Viśvaśambhu	Author of Ekākṣaranāmāla	do p. 744

1) स विर्यमद्विस्तलकः स सिद्धगणनापतिः। सोपानान्यमवन्तुच्चपदारोहे िजन्मनान् ॥

2) तमपदवदथश्रोत्रपथसत्यस्युशा दृशा । अदभ्रगुणसन्दर्भ श्रीगर्भ हर्षनिर्भरः ॥

3) ततो व्यधित निःशेषवैदुषीकैलिसन्नि । श्रीकण्ठे निहितोत्कण्ठे दृशं तदनुजन्मनि ॥

4) तं श्रीत्रैलोक्यमालोक्य गण्यं सत्कर्मिणां धुरि । ययौ मुहुर्गघिज्यस्य कर्मवस्य सधर्मताम् ॥

5) दृढेऽपि तत्कर्काकंदये प्रगल्भः कविकर्मणि । यः श्रोतुतातितस्यैव पुनर्वन्धान्तरग्रहः ॥

APPENDIX - VII

Explanation of a few specimen diagrams or angular figures
with the Bījākṣara and the process of Japa etc.,
(Cf. Page 450 of this Book)

I. Verse 1. (Diagram 1)

शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुं
न चेदेवं देवो न खलु कुशलः स्पन्दितुमपि ।
अतस्त्वामाराध्यां हरिहरविरिंचादिभिरपि
प्रणन्तुं स्तोतुं वा कथमकृतपुण्यः प्रभवति ॥ (S.L. 1)

The union of Siva and Śakti is represented by a figure of nine angles—four for Siva and five for Śakti. This figure signifies the origin of the universe (vide Śrīcakra diagram at the beginning). The mystic syllable which is indicated in diagram 1 is written on a gold plate and the above verse should be repeated one thousand times a day continuously for twelve days. The person who does this in the proper manner with devotion is blessed with all prosperity.

II. Verse 2 (Diagram 2)

कवीन्द्राणां चेतः कमलवनवातातपरुचिं
भजन्ते ये सन्तः कतिचिदरुणामेव भवतौम् ।
विरिञ्चिप्रेयस्यास्तरलतरभृङ्गारलहरी-
गभीराभिर्वाग्भिर्विदिषति सभारञ्जनममी ॥ (S.L. 16)

This diagram has to be drawn on a gold plate and worshipped for thirty five days repeating the verse one thousand times a day. The person who does it will be blessed with Vedic knowledge.

III. Verse 3 (Diagram 3)

त्वया हृत्वा वामं वपुःपरितृप्तेन मनसा
 शरीरार्थं शम्भोरपरमपि शङ्के हृतमभूत् । -
 तथा हि त्वद्रूपं सकलमरुणाभं त्रिणयनं
 कुचाभ्यामानम्रं कुटिलशशिचूडालमुकुटम् ॥ (S.L. 23)

The yantra indicated in diagram 3 should be drawn on a gold plate with the Bijākṣara and worshipped for thirty days repeating the verse one thousand times a day. It will cure the person of all diseases and relieve him of debts ; cases of possession by devils can also be successfully treated.

IV. Verse 4 (Diagram 4)

शिवः शक्तिः कामः क्षितिस्थ रविः शीतकिरणः
 स्मरो हंसशकस्तदनु च परामारहरयः ।
 अमी हृल्लेखाभिस्तिसृभिरवसानेषु घटितां
 भजन्ते वर्णास्ते तव जननि सर्वाव्यवताम् ॥ (S.L. 32)

The yantra indicated in this diagram should be drawn on a gold plate with the Bijākṣaras and worshipped for forty-five days, chanting the mantra one thousand times every day. This process of japa confers on the person al-chemical powers.

V. Verse 5 (Diagram 5)

विशाला कल्याणी स्फुटरचिरयोध्या कुवलयैः
 कृपापारावारा किमपि मधुराभोगवतिका ।
 अवन्ती दृष्टिस्ते बहुनगरविस्तारविनया
 ध्रुवं तत्तन्नामव्यवहरणयोग्या विजयते ॥ (S.L. 49)

The yantra indicated in this diagram has to be drawn on turmeric and the sloka recited one thousand times a day continuously for ten days. The turmeric should thereafter be charred mixed with sesamum oil and used as collyrium caused to be applied to the eye by a lady under twenty-five years of age and with blue eyes. The devotee will discover a treasure

VI. Verse 6 (Diagram 6)

रणे जित्वा दैत्यानपहृतशिरस्त्रैः कवचिभि-

निर्वृत्तैश्चण्डांशत्रिपुरहरनिर्माल्यविमुखैः ।

विशालेन्द्रोपेन्द्रैः शशिविशदकर्पूरशकलाः

विलीयन्ते मातस्तव वदनताम्बूलकबलाः ॥

(SL. 65)

As before even in this case the yantra with the Bijākṣaras should be written on a gold plate and worshipped for forty-five days reciting the verse one thousand times a day. This will confer on the person concerned all-round success.

VII. Verse 7 (Diagram 7)

नखैर्नाकस्त्रीणां करकमलसंकोचशशिभि-

स्तरूपां दिव्यानां हसत इव ते चण्डि चरणौ ।

फलानि स्वस्वेभ्यः किसलयकराग्रेण ददती

दरिद्रेभ्यो भद्रां श्रियमनिशमहाय ददती ॥

The yantra with the Bijākṣara should be written on a gold plate and worshipped for thirty days repeating the sloka one thousand times a day. After the worship is over the person should wear it round his neck. He will be cured of all diseases.

VIII. Verse 8 (Diagram 8)

सरस्वत्या लक्ष्म्या विधिहरिसपत्नी विहरते

रतैः पातिव्रत्यं शिथिलयति रम्येण वपुषा ।

चिरंजीवन्नेव क्षपितपशुपाशव्यतिकरः

परानन्दाभिख्यं रसयति रसं त्वद्भजनवान् ॥ (S.L.101)

The yantra indicated in the diagram has to be drawn on a gold plate with the Bijākṣara and should be worshipped continuously for fifteen days repeating the sloka one thousand times a day. The person who does it in the proper manner with devotion obtains health and comforts.

APPENDIX - VIII - SPECIMEN DIAGRAMS



Diagram 1

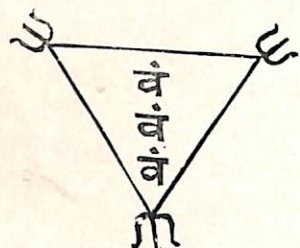


Diagram 2

APPENDIX - VIII - SPECIMEN DIAGRAMS

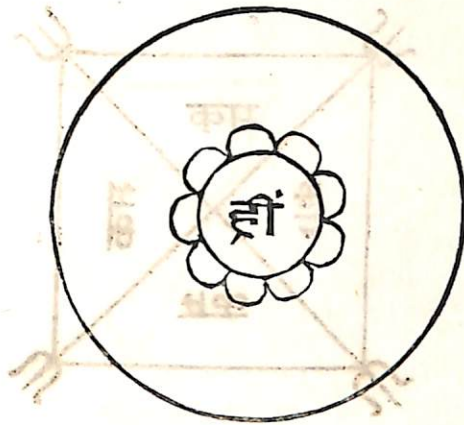


Diagram 3



Diagram 4

APPENDIX - VIII - SPECIMEN DIAGRAMS

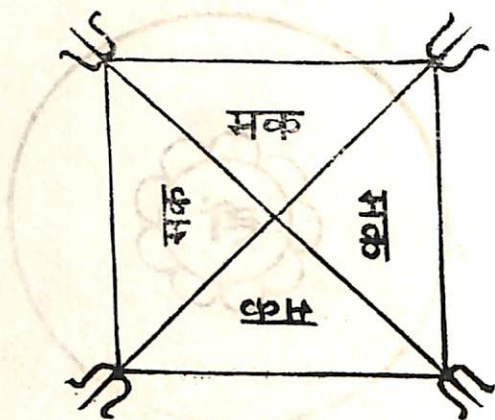


Diagram 5

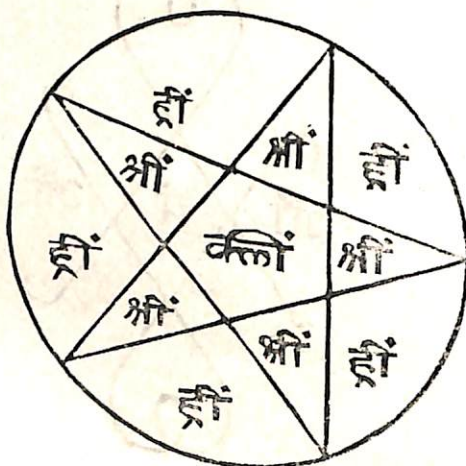


Diagram 6

APPENDIX - VIII - SPECIMEN DIAGRAMS

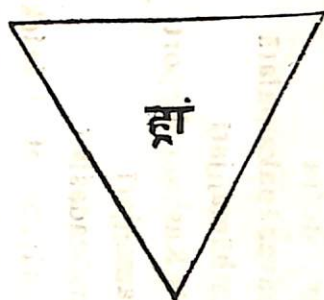


Diagram 7

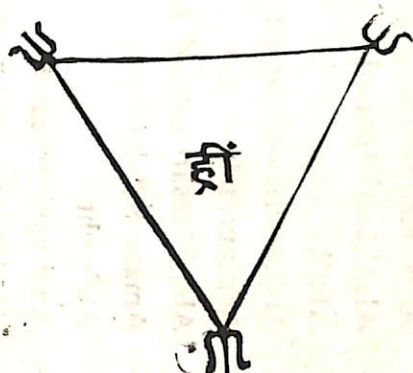


Diagram 8

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BOOK

A. B. -	Abhinavabhāratī	B. G. -	Bhagavadgītā
A. B. K. -	A. B. Keith	B. G. S. -	Bhagavadgītārtha saṅgraha
A. C. -	Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi	B. H. -	Bhāvopahāra
A. H. -	Āhnika	Bh. S. -	Bhāirava stotra
A. N. S. -	Ardhanārīśvara stotra	B. K. L. -	Bauddhāvadānakalpalatā
A. P. -	Agnipurāṇa	B. K. M. -	Bṛhatkathāmañjarī
A. S. -	Alaṅkārasarvasva of Ruyyaka	B. K. R. -	Bühler's Kashmir Report
A. Sa. -	Amaru Śataka	B. M. -	Bhāratamañjarī
Auf. -	Aufrecht	B. P. -	Bodhapañcadaśikā
A. V. C. -	Aucityavicāracarcā	B. R. -	Bālarāmāyana of Rajaśekhara
A. V. M. -	Abhidāvṛttimātrkā of Mukula	B. O. R. I. -	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
B. B. -	Balabodhinī of Jagaddhara	B S. -	Bhallaśataka
B. B. M. P. -	Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery	B. U. -	Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat
B. C. -	Bilhanacarita (Kāvya)	C A. -	Comparative Aesthetics

Ca. C. -	Cārucaryā	D. S. -	Deviśataka
Cat. -	Catalogue	Ed. -	Edited
C. C. -	Catalogus Catalogorum	E.V. -	Ekāvali
Chap. -	Chapter	G. P. -	Gurunāthaparāmarśa
Coll. -	Collection	Har. Cint -	Haracaritacintāmaṇi
Com. -	Commencement	H. C. -	Harsacarita of Bāṇa
Comm -	Commentary	H.I.L. -	History of Indian Logic
C. S. -	Catu, vargasanṅgraha	Hist. -	History
C. V. -	Candravyākaraṇa	H.S.L. -	History of Sanskrit Literature
Da. S. -	Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra	H.S.P. -	History of Sanskrit Poetics by S.K.De.
D.C. -	Daśāvatāracarita	H.V. -	Haravijaya
D. D. -	Darpadalana	I.H.Q. -	Indian Historical Quarterly
Din. -	Dīnākrandanastuti	Imp Gaz. -	Imperial Gazeteer of India
Dhv. -	Dhvanyāloka (Kāvyaṃālā 25)	Int. -	Introduction
Dhv. (Tr)	English Translation of Dhvanyā-I. P. loka by Dr. K. Krishna murthy.	- I. P. -	Indian Philosophy by Dr. Radhakrishnan
Des -	Deśopadeśa	I. O. -	India Office
D.R. -	Daśarūpaka of Dhananjaya	I.P.V. -	Īśvarapratyabhijñā vimarśini

- J.B.U. - Journal of the Bombay University Kr.S. - Krāmastotra
J.M.V. - Jananamarāṇa vicāra K.S. - Kyālānkārasūtra of Vāmana
Jon. Rāj. - Jonarāja's Rājatarāṅgiṇī K.S.S. - Kāthāsaritṣāgara
J.O.R.B. - Journal of the Oriental Research, K.S.V. - Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāna
Bombay. K.U. - Kāthopaniṣat
J.O.R.M. - do- Madras K.V. - Kalāvīlāsa
J.R.A.S. - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society L.V. - Lallāvākyaṇī
K.A. - Kavyālānkāra of Bhāmaha Kāsi Series) M.A. - Mālavikāgnimitra
Kap. - Kapṛiṇābhhyudaya MB. - Mahābhārata
Kav. - Kavīndravacana samuccaya M.C.K. - Madhyayugincātrakos
K.D. - Kāvyaḍarśa of Daṇḍin M.C.M. - Manvantara caturyuga method
K.K.S. - Kādamba-īkathāsāra M.D. - Meghadūta
K.K. - Kavikanṭhābharaṇa M.M. - Mahārthamanjari
K.Ku. - Kathākautuka Mr.V. - Mṛgendravṛtti
K.R.V. - Kāmakalāvīlāsa Mr.V.D. - Mṛgendravṛtti Dīpikā
K.L. - Kāvyaālānkāra of Rudraṇ Ms. - Manuscript
K.M. - Kuṭṭinimata M.U. - Mundaḥkopaniṣat
K.P. - Kāvyaṇṛakāśa of Mammaṭa with the M.V. - Mālini Vijaya
commentary Bālabodhini of Vāmana. M.V.T. - Mālini Vijayatantra
M.V.V. - Mālini Vijayavārtikā
cārya

90 M.U.G. - Mugadhopaśeśa (Mug).	P. S. - Paramārthasāra
Nai. - Naiṣadha of Harṣa	P & S. Rāj. - Prājyabhaṭṭa & Suka's Rājata- raṅgiṇī
N. C. - Nalacampū	P. T. - Pādatāḍitaka
N. K. - Nīṭikalpataru	P.T.V. - Parātrimsīkāvivṛti vivaraṇa
N. M. - Narmamālā	P. V. - Parātrimsīkāvivṛti
N.M.P. - Nīlamatapurāṇa	P.V.K. - P.V. Kane's History of Sanskrit Poetics
N. S. - Nāṭyaśāstra	R. - Raghuvamśa
N.S.C. - Navasāhasāṅkacarita	Rāj. - Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī
N. T. - Nyāyabindutikā	Rav. - Rāṇṇārjuniya
Ny. M. - Nyāyamañjarī	R.C. - Rāmacarita of Abhinanda
P. - Page	Res. - Research
Pan. - Pāṇini	R.G. - Rasagaṅgādhara
P. C. - Purāṇic Chronology by Dr. Mankad	R. K. - Rajendrakarṇapūra
P. H. - Pratyabhijñānhrdaya	R. T. - Ratnatraya
P.O.C. - Poona Oriental Conference	R. V. - Rgveda
PP. - Pages	San. Ch. - Śaṅkarācārya
P. P. - Paryantapañcāśikā	
P.P.K. - Pramāṇa Parikṣā	

Sārng.	-	Sārngadharapaddhati	Sp. P.	-	Spandapradīpikā of Ūtpala
S. B.	-	Setubandha	S. R.	-	Saṅgitaratnākara
S. C.	-	Śrīkanṭhacarita of Mañkha	Sri. Rāj	-	Śrīvara's Rājatarāṅgiṇī
S. Ch.	-	Svachandachandas	S. S.	-	Sevyasevakopadeśa
S. D.	-	Sāhityadarpaṇa of Visvanātha	S. S. B.	-	Subhāsitasudhāratna Bhāṇḍāgāra
S. Dig.	-	Saṅkaradigvijaya	S. Su.	-	Śivasūtras
S. Dr.	-	Sivadr̥ṣṭi	S. S. V.	-	Śivasūtravārtika
S. dk.	-	Saduktikarṇāmr̥ta	S. S. Vi.	-	Śivasūtravimarsinī
S. D. S. Prat.	-	Sarvadarśanaśa-ṅgraha (Pratyabhijñā)	S. T.	-	Śṅgārātilaka
S. K.	-	Śākuntala of Kālidāsa with the commentary of Rāghavabhaṭṭa	Sa. T.	-	Śaradātilaka
S. K. C.	-	Samskṛtakavīcarita	S. Tr.	-	Siddhitrāyī
S. K. M. (Skm.)	-	Sūktimuktāvalī	St. C.	-	Stavacintāmaṇi
S. K. V.	-	Spandakārikāvṛtti of Bhāskara	Sv. U.	-	Śvetāśvataropaniṣat
S. L.	-	Saundaryalaharī	Subh.	-	Subhāṣitāvalī
S. M	(Sam. Mat.)	-	Suv.	-	Suvṛttatilaka of Kṣ. mendra
S. N.	-	Spandanirṇaya	S. V.	-	Śiśupālavadha of Māgha
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Sl. No.	Name of Author	Particulars of work, Edition etc.,	Published by the B.O.R.I.
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	Vol. XII (Alaṅkāra Saṅgīta and Nāṭya)		
12)	do Vol. XIII. part 1	do	1950
	(Kāvya)		
13)	do do Part 2	do	1942
	(Kāvya)		
14)	do do Part 3	do	1950
	(Stotras etc.)		
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24)	Kashmir Vol. VI. No. 1 January 56	do Kashmir's Contribution to Aesthetics by Dr. V. S. Naravane pp. 3 to 5.
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7)	Nātyavedavivṛti (Abhinava- bhāratī) of Abhinavagupta.	Ms. No. 41/1925-26 do pp. 384-391 Also see Appendix I.
8)	Rāvaṇārjunīya of Bhaṇūmaka in Kashmiri Devanagari lipi	Ms. No. 184/18/75-76 of B.O.R.I. Poona.
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10)	Vakroktijivita of Kuntala	Ms. No. 114/1919-24 do

ERRATA.

PAGE	LINE	FOR (Incorrect)	READ (Correct)
vii	Foot-note-6	p. 324	p-p. 3 & 4
x	21	idoas	ideas
x	25	tne	the
x	29	Sugpes	Sugges-
xi	17	imporceptebly	imperceptibly
xiii	Foot-note-1	जन्मभूमिः	जन्मभूमिः
xv	14	Poetlcal	Poetical
xv	31	to day	to-day
xvii	5	assessed	assessed
xviii	1	Pre historie	Pre-historic
5	3	'Asthetics'	'Aesthetics'
7	15	Thongh	Though
8	Foot-note	Vol X	Vol. II
12	11	issucs	issues
14	11	Bhāmuha 3-4	Bhāmaha 3-4"
21	4	Populnity	Popularity
21	9	Kumarasam-	Kumārasam-
		bhava	bhava
21	17	Udbhata	Udbhaṭa
21	20	Rāṣṭrakūta	Rāṣṭrakūṭa
22	16	do	do
22	23	Sutrās	Sūtras
23	Foot-note	वृत्तिविधीयते	वृत्तिविधीयते
31	21	Rudrata	Rudra
32	Foot-note	दक्षविर्मदने	दक्षविर्मदने च
33	17-18	He -Dhvanyāloka	to be omitted.
33	Foot-note 1	गभीरेण	गभीरेण

PAGE	LINE	FOR (Incorrect)	READ (Correct)
35	Foot-note 3	प्रणीत	प्रणीतं
37	2	Kārikas	Kārikās
37	14	them in	them in
37	15	Sasneauthor	Same author
38	8	Vamana	Vāmana
38	11	lifie	like
38	16	norranelature	nomenclature
40	19	Abhiaha	Abhidhā
41	24	classs	class
42	Foot-note 3	I bid	Dhv.
45	16	gracefully	gracefully
49	Foot-note 2	शम्भुपादै	शम्भुपादैः
50	Foot-note 1	लक्ष्म	लक्ष्म
55	Foot-note 1	B. K. E.	B. K. R.
58	6	ithe	the
58	7	s	is
74	Foot-note 1	प्रजापत	प्रजापति
75	17	folo	folio
91	13	Laukikr	Laukika
92	8	essenec	essence
94	Foot-note 6	सन्दर्शित	सन्दर्शितं
94	12	illnstrating	illustrating
99	3	later	later
104	7	there	there
104	13	thi	the
107	16	Ratnakantha	Ratnakanṭha
112	Foot-note 11	नाम्नोऽलंकार	नाम्नोऽलंकार
115	14	wss	was
117	Foot-note	2)	1)
		1)	2)

PAGE	LINE	FOR (Incorrect)	READ (Correct)
119	15	cxtracted	extracted
125	20	namə	name
129	8	thə	the
134	18	oo	on
136	10	Apanueti Dhvanl	Apahnuti- dhvani
136	18	later	later
139	8	Tke	The
144	9	could not	could
144	19	Post-Dhkani	Post-Dhvani
155	7	sfficient	sufficient
158	16	the	the
159	Foot-note. 1-1	युक्तत्वेन	युक्तत्वेन
169	Foot-note 3-1	प्रबन्धार्थे	प्रबन्धार्थे
171	6	or	of
178	6	Nātya	Nāṭya
178	Foot-note 3-2	परेणत्मकान्तम्	परेणात्मकान्तम्
179	11-12	Menha	Menṭha
179	Foot-note 2-4	वाङ्मय -	वाङ्मय
180	5	determincd	determined
181	Foot-note 3-2	भर्तृवौ	भार्यौ
182	2-4	भर्तृमेष्ठ	भर्तृमेष्ठ
182	13	Raghava	Rāghava
183	Foot-note 1-9	स्त दूरे	स्तं दूरे
184	6	Bnt	But
186	14	s. j,	subject
188	12	con ribution	contribution
190	Foot-note 2-2	यत्रासी	यत्रासी
190	15	clcary	clearly
192	17	occurring	occurring

PAGE	LINE	FOR (Incorrect)	READ (Correct)
192	Foot-note 1-1	कालिदसाः	कालिदासः
192	Foot-note. 1-2	नैव विक्रमस्य	एव विक्रमस्य
194	6	duriug	during
194	Foot-note 3	)	3)
200	6	occurring	occurring
200	Foot-note. 5-1	किंचत	किंचन
202	6	dutuminante	determinants
202	Foot-note 2-4	श्रुथा	श्रुथो
207	10	establisded	established
208	5	Abbinandas	Abhinandas
208	5	redicules	ridicules
208	15	Rāmāyṇa	Rāmāyaṇa
209	12	occurring	occurring
209	Foot-note 1-1	स्मिः	स्मितैः
211	Foot-note 1-1	वांछिता	वांछितानि
212	12	Crrite	Carita
217	6	Mahā Bharata	Mahābhārata
226	Foot-note 1-13	यन्निर्मितान्यमृत	यन्निर्मितान्यमृत
232	Foot-note 1-2	व्यरचमदसौ	व्यरचयदसौ
238	Foot-note 2-2	पुंस्कीकिलः	पुंस्कोकिलः
243	5	do	XXV
250	Foot-note 1-5	परस्पर	परम्परा
251	3	charactors	characters
253	24	opinion	opinion that
256	Foot-note 1-4	मीमिब्रह्म	मीमिर्ब्रह्म
260	Foot-note 1-6	पुनदर्श	पुनर्दर्श
260	Foot-note 2-1	नास्ति चिन्ना	नास्ति चिन्ना
264	Foot-note 1-1	अद्य द्यत	अद्यद्यूत
274	15	or	of
280	12	seconcciled	reconciled

PAGE	FINE	FOR (Incorrect)	READ (Correct)
281	24	occurring	occurring
283	2	occurring	occurring
285	8	occurring	occurring
286	Foot note 1-6	मप्यत	मन्यत
289	F. X. (ii)-4	वेः पश्चिमाशयां	रवेः पश्चिमाशयां
292	Foot note 2-4	चिराद्	स चिराद्
294	Foot-note 2-2	जागति	जगति
298	Foot-note 1-3	नुच्छिन्धि	नुच्छिन्धि
302	18	reference	reference
308	4	Poetical	Poetical
311	10	Gaurahara	Gauradhara
	17-1	centuary	century
314	7	Kamlakara	Kamalākara
315	Foot-note 8-1	मशन	मर्शन
335	9	Mādhavācāyya	Mādhavācārya
343	22	therfore	therefore
348	17	Uddhādvās	Suddhādhvas
352	25	sujected	subjected
361	Foot-note 1-1	रेव वशिष्यते	रेवावशिष्यते
361	27	areemancipated	are emancipa- ted
354	15	g rbha	garbha
366	Foot-note 3-1	श्र कण्ठ व	श्रीकण्ठं (वसु)
368	3	Suddhādhvās	Suddhādhvās
368	20	popnlarly	popularly
376	27	Āhanikas	Āhnikas
377	Foot-note 3-2	मत्कफर्तुर्बैकम	मत्पूर्वकर्तृकम्
382	7	oentury	century
382	10	Vivekāñjana	Vivekāñjana

PAGE	LINE	FOR (Incorrect)	READ (Correct)
393	27	V śvottirṇa	Viśvottirṇa
395	7	statemennt	statement
398	11	occurring	occurring
398	13	occurring	occurring
419	8	Kashmīri	Kashmīr
424	25	Universe	Universe
430	10	1800	1000
441	8	Sytem	System
450	21	sorounded	surrounded
451	11	Triangle	Triangles
457	Foot-note 1-3	भोमट्ट	श्रीमट्ट
471	2	Puraṇa	Purāṇa
471	14	ror	for
471	19	searf'	scarf ²
482	27	Persians	Persian
484	Foot-note	Ibid	Sri Rāj
484	12	rulers	ruler
494	16	coofluence	confluence
513	Foot-note 1-1	referrod	referred
513	Foot-Note 6	genelaogy	genealogy
515	Foot-note 2-6	ज्ञयो	ज्ञेयो
515	17	Tufijina	Tuñjina
517	11	no	not
524	8	chriniclcr	chronicler
524	Foot-note 1-1	मैक्षवेऽय	मैक्षवेऽय
535	16	coud	could
539	Foot-note 4-4	भ्रतृश्च	भ्रातृश्च
557	Foot-note 2-2	राक्षःलो	राक्षसो
559	15	माक्षि	माक्षि
		Persccution	Persecution

PAGE	LINE	FOR (Incorrect)	READ (Correct)
566	3	ao	as
569	9	ntcrest	interest
569	11	Grammatica	Grammatical
604	20	rom	from
607	Foot-note 1-2	चाचार	चार
614	16	sesul	result
616	8	in	is
623	26	yonger	younger
628	19	Kṣemarendra	Kṣemendra
639	10	bonaption	conception
639	12-14	Dhavani	Dhvani
639	24	possibility	possibility of
644	26	Kashmit	Kashmir
645	20	learing	learning
647	3	sorroundinp	surrounding
650	19	भाषान्तं	भाषान्तं
652	3	धिन्नत्वे	छिन्नत्वे
657	18	ths	the
659	18	grounda	grounds
659	Foot-note 1-2	मुच्चसि	मुञ्चसि
662	10	Raghurvamśa	Raghuvamśa
667	4-1	रब	रव
668	3-2	समुद्रहन्तीं नापूर्वगर्वम् न्यतस्त्विवत्	समुद्रहन्तीं नापूर्व गर्वम् न्यतपास्त्विवत्
669	10-2	उ न्वन्त	उदन्वन्त
676	10	Śākya Śribadhra	Śākya Śri Bhadra
677	Foot-note 1-1	द्विजन्मनाम	द्विजन्मनाम
677	Foot-note 3-1	तर्ककार्कश्ये	तर्ककार्कश्ये

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681	8	washipped	worshipped
688	2	Kyālaṅkārasūtra	Kāvyālaṅkāra
688	12	Kadamba ikathī	Kādambari
689	14	sāra	kathāsāra
		Pratyabhijnān	Pratyabhijnā
		hṛdaya	hṛdya
690	5	Vivanāta	Viśvanātha
700	63	Nā āyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa
702	17	79) Muknamda	79 Mukunda
703	85	utpalndeva	utpaladeva
704	91	Kāvālnākāra	Kāvyālaṅkāra
711	44	Sūtra	Sūtra
713	1	Rrdaya	Hṛdaya
713	8	kāldāsa	Kālidāsa
716	17	Nyāyāstra	Nyāya Śāstra
717	8	Pd	PP.
717	17	1 ti IV	I to IV
719	9	154	1954
719	14	Kasemarāja	Ksermarāja
720	3	Kavamāta	Kāvyamālā
		Bbanūmaka	Bhaūmaka

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